

From Necropraxis to Necroresistance: Transgender Experiences in Latin America

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Abstract

Latin America is one of the deadliest regions for trans communities. Scientific research generated in the region has reported that trans people live through a complicated panorama shaped by multiple forms of oppression, extreme violence, and micro-aggressions. Although necropolitics, as a theoretical approach, has been useful to understand how State policies negatively affect trans individuals, it does not fully account for informal dynamics within groups and among individuals that are potentially lethal for this population in Latin America. To account for this gap, the author proposes two novel concepts: necropraxis (a pattern that manifest itself in everyday social interactions, through which gradual small doses of death are delivered to eliminate, symbolically and/or literally, trans people); and necroresistance (the ways in which trans people defy the threats imposed by necropraxis through “ordinary” acts manifested in their everyday life). The main objective of this article is to put forth definitions for these two concepts and identify how they apply in the context of trans communities in three countries of the region: Guatemala, Argentina, and Chile. To achieve the latter, the author relies on her ethnographic work in these contexts. Data were gathered through participant observation, in-depth interviews with trans persons ($N = 11$) and informal conversations with individuals during the site visits. A deductive qualitative analysis was conducted. Results evidence how the manifestation of necropraxis and necroresistance were highly influenced

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by the historical, political, economic and sociocultural context of each country. This study provides valuable information to help both policymakers and other stakeholders understand the problem's magnitude in the region and the ways necropraxis is experienced in everyday relations between trans individuals and others. Similarly, through the understanding of what constitutes necroresistance and its value, the proposed framework could help them outline prevention and management strategies to strengthen trans communities in different countries.

Keywords

cultural contexts, GLBT, hate crimes, homicide

Introduction

Latin America is a region of the Americas that consists of 20 countries and 14 dependent territories which cover an area that stretches from Mexico to Tierra del Fuego and includes much of the Caribbean. These countries have more in common with each other than they do with North America, as they share historical experiences (e.g., centuries of oppression and structural violence due to the ongoing legacy of colonialism) (Maldonado-Torres, 2007; Mignolo, 2011), language (mainly Spanish), and cultural characteristics (e.g., highly religious contexts) (Ramos-Castañeda et al., 2016). Transgender individuals living in the region experience inequality in various ways due to multiple intersecting social positions (e.g., gender, race, social class) (Molina Rodríguez et al., 2015; Welsh, 2014). In turn, these positions intersect to inform various configurations of social relations and positionalities this segment of the population hold in the region (de Vries, 2015; Rodríguez-Madera, Ramos-Pibernus et al., 2015). This intersectional framing is important for understanding the boundaries and hierarchies of social life among oppressed populations, such as transgender people (de Vries, 2015). The manifestations of oppression that affect transgender individuals are multilayered. It operates through inequalities generated at the structural level via State-sponsored policies, but also through quotidian sites of social interactions such as homes, schools, streets, neighborhoods, and workplaces, just to name some examples (Monterrubio et al., 2020; Rodríguez-Madera, Ramos-Pibernus et al., 2015). Additionally, it is upheld by dominant cultural norms regarding gender binary and supported by local traditions, religions, and education (Barrientos, 2016; Molina Rodríguez et al., 2015).

Transgender individuals are those for whom sex (i.e., physical characteristics) and gender (i.e., self and social identity) are not always congruent

(Blight, 2000). In the present article, the author uses the term “trans” to refer to individuals whose gender identity differs from the sex assigned at birth but are framed within the gender binary continuum, which places the traditional definitions of male and female on two ends of a line and asserts that there is a range of variations in between (Castleberry, 2019).

Scientific research generated in Latin America has reported that trans people frequently live through a complicated panorama shaped by multiple forms of oppression, extreme violence (e.g., stoning, beheadings, burnings, genital mutilation), and micro-aggressions (indirect or unintentional discrimination including expressions of heteronormative bias and misgenderism) (Barrientos, 2016; Chang & Chung, 2015; Rodríguez-Madera, Padilla, Varas-Díaz et al., 2016). Furthermore, Latin America has a high percentage murder rate of trans people. Data from the Transgender Europe’s Trans Murder Monitoring Project (a collection, monitoring, and analysis of reported killings of trans people worldwide) ranked Latin America as one of the deadliest regions for trans communities (TGEU, 2019). Between 2008 and 2017, Transgender Europe reported 2,609 murders of trans persons, mostly trans women. Out of those, 78% were located in Latin America. However, the manner in which these data are presented can hide one crucial fact: these deaths are not isolated events (unrelated to one another), but rather the outcome of practices aimed at systematically eliminating trans people, symbolically and literally, from the social landscape in the Latin American region.

Necropolitics is a theoretical framework that has recently been used to understand the social oppressions, exclusions, and death rates that trans populations have suffered (Caravaca-Morera & Padilha, 2018; Gündüz, 2017; Padilla & Rodríguez-Madera, in press). This concept posits the expression of *necropower* (the force that subjugates life) as a manifestation of authority based on formality, rationality, rules, regulations, and legitimacy, mostly because it emanates from the State and its official structures (Davies, 2018). Although necropolitics as a theoretical approach has been useful to understand how State policies affect trans individuals, it neglects to address other more informal areas where necropower manifests itself outside of the State’s formal gaze (e.g., personal social relationships, everyday interaction in public spaces). Thus, it does not fully account for particular dynamics within groups and among individuals that do not adhere to formal written rules (i.e., laws, policies), but are instead driven by looser and tacit social agreements more heavily influenced by emotions, beliefs, and personal motivations.

To account for this gap and based on her 20-year research trajectory documenting the social and structural factors that affect the trans communities in the Caribbean context (Padilla et al., 2016; Padilla & Rodríguez-Madera, in press; Ramos-Pibernus et al., 2016; Rodríguez-Madera & Toro-Alfonso,

2002, 2005; Rodríguez-Madera et al., 2009; Rodríguez-Madera, Ramos-Pibernus et al., 2015; Rodríguez-Madera, Padilla, Varas-Díaz et al., 2016; Rodríguez-Madera, Varas-Díaz, Ramos-Pibernus et al., 2017; Rodríguez-Madera, Varas-Díaz, Padilla et al., 2019), the author coined the concept *necropraxis* as a more appropriate term to explain these informal practices in which necropower manifests itself to systematically eliminate trans people in the Latin American region. Also, like the two sides of a coin, the author proposes that there is no necropraxis without its counterpart, *necroresistance*. Therefore, she presents examples of how this type of resistance is evidenced in ways that might seem ordinary to the unreflective eye but contain in them the seed of survival and social transformation for the trans community in this geographical context. The main objective of this article is to put forth definitions for these two novel concepts (necropraxis and necroresistance) and identify how they apply in the context of trans communities in three countries of the region: Guatemala, Argentina, and Chile. To achieve the latter, the author relies on her ethnographic work in these contexts, which will be explained in this article's Method section.

Necropraxis: The Everyday Systematic Elimination of Trans People

Social scientists have extensively written about how societies tend to negatively react against embodiments that are considered deviant (e.g., people with HIV/AIDS, women, black people) (Butler & Athanasiu, 2013; Graham, 2014; Lugones, 2008; Rodríguez-Madera, Varas-Díaz, Ramos-Pibernus et al., 2017). Byung-Chul Han (2015) has used an "immunological" metaphor to describe how systems (i.e., societies, groups) recognize unwanted bodies (as if they were bacteria or viruses) and move to eliminate them in order to protect the "self." This elimination phase begins once the "deviant" entity fails to be disciplined and normalized.

To understand this process, one can refer to Michel Foucault's work on biopolitics (Foucault, 1978) and the role of biopower, which he described as: "{A} power that exerts a positive influence on life, that endeavors to administer, optimize, and multiply it, subjecting it to precise controls and comprehensive regulations" (1978, p. 137). Where discipline is about the control of individual bodies, biopolitics is about the control of entire populations. Prior to the invention of biopolitics, governments had no serious attempts to regulate the people who lived in a territory (Kelly, 2020). The application of Foucault's theory of biopolitics has allowed social scientists to understand how, in the context of Latin America, trans bodies have been subjected to multiple strategies of accommodation and modification aimed at making them part of a homogeneous cisgender (people whose gender identity matches

the sex that they were assigned at birth) and heterosexual population (Molina Rodríguez et al., 2015; Rodríguez-Madera, 2009; Welsh, 2014). Evidence of these strategies is the pathologization of any transgression of the gender binary, reparative therapies, and “corrective” rapes (Jones & Hill, 2018; Prunas, 2019; Reisner et al., 2016). As mentioned earlier, the efforts to discipline and normalize the trans body have yielded a high death rate for this population in Latin America.

Several decades after Foucault’s work on biopower and biopolitics, the Cameroonian philosopher Achille Mbembe’s theory on necropolitics emerged as a contestatory effort to account for death and dying around the globe in the neo-imperial and neoliberal era (Mbembe, 2011). He interrogated the adequacy of the notion of biopower to account for individuals who had been identified as “disposable” in contemporary societies, and whose deaths simply did not matter, or were actively hastened to death. Therefore, he coined the terms necropower and necropolitics to explain how life in a biopolitical frame, far from solely being a matter to regulate, was always subjugated to and determined by the power of death (Quinan & Thiele, 2020). In this sense, necropolitics questions, in today’s political climate, who lives and who dies—or to be more explicit, who gets to live and who is left to die.

Necropolitics includes diverse mechanisms (e.g., slavery, apartheid) that aim to instrumentalize human existence in a way that destroys human bodies and populations (Mbembe, 2011). As previously stated, the concept of necropolitics has begun to be used to understand particular necropower practices that deliberately “push” the trans population towards death and invisibility (Caravaca-Morera & Padilha, 2018). However, research on these practices has been usually linked to more structural levels of society by focusing on the State’s role in the implementation of strategies to gradually kill or let specific sectors of the population die, through political, economic, and military devices (Pele, 2020). For this reason, necropolitics uses strategies to produce death on a large scale via mechanisms based on authority, and thus, via formal and socially legitimate strategies (e.g., laws, rules, and regulations) (Mbembe, 2011). This leaves very little space to address other more informal ways in which social interactions that transcend the structural sphere, like interpersonal relationships in informal areas such as the home and every day occupied public spaces, also foster elimination and death (Padilla & Rodríguez-Madera, in press; Rodríguez-Madera, Padilla, Varas-Díaz et al., 2016; Rodríguez-Madera, Varas-Díaz, Ramos-Pibernus et al., 2017). It is precisely in these informal spaces, in which trans people transit on a daily basis, where other less formal strategies to foster death operate, and which the author names here as necropraxis.

The author has coined the concept necropraxis to describe acts induced by the social conditions of necropower that are a threat to life through their

constant unfolding in the context of everyday human interactions that happen outside the purview of the more institutionalized structural spheres of society. These are acts that do not emanate “from above” through policies and laws, but rather are reproduced in everyday relations with others (e.g., friends, family members, neighbors, co-workers, doctors, teachers, sex clients) and devalue trans people, affecting their sense of worth, and positioning them as unwanted in society (Barrientos, 2016; Chang & Chung, 2015). Necropraxis may emerge, for example, when a trans boy is repeatedly forced to dress like a girl triggering feelings of hopelessness and suicidal thoughts (Olson et al., 2016; Rood et al., 2015). They also happen when a trans woman stops going to medical appointments because a physician does not recognize her gender identity (Ramos-Pibernus et al., 2016; Rodríguez-Madera, Varas-Díaz, Padilla et al., 2019). These everyday practices, which can occur even where and when protective gender laws exist, can cause premature death (inflicted by others or by a range of one’s own practices). These practices are not isolated events, but rather a systematic pattern of small doses of death that are evidenced in acts that deliberately aim to eliminate trans individuals, symbolically and/or literally (Caravaca-Morera & Padilha, 2018). Many trans people experience this threat of elimination on a daily basis (Marques, 2019). For example, this symbolic elimination happens by distancing trans people from equal participation in society. Simultaneously, literal elimination happens through both overt (as occurs in murders, for example) and covert means (such as high levels of stress or medical neglect that get “under their skin”, result in chronic conditions, and lead to truncated lives) (Hatzenbuehler, 2009; Townsend et al., 2011). In this manner, necropraxis becomes a day-to-day experience, and its deployment causes trans people’s lives to be tinged by the need for constant survival strategies. This occurs particularly among trans people who embody the intersection of multiple axes of inequality such as race, ethnicity, and social class (de Vries, 2015; Monterrubio et al., 2020; Rodríguez-Madera, Ramos-Pibernus et al., 2015). This resembles what Han has described as a life whose ultimate goal is basically survival in a world that seems to be in a permanent state of war (Sigüenza & Rebollo, 2020). Since trans people are not passive targets of necropraxis, it cannot occur without its counterpart: necroresistance.

Necroresistance: The “Ordinary” Acts of Defiance in Trans People’s Everyday Life

Most of the existing literature on necropolitics presents those affected by it as victims who are seemingly condemned to passively accept the conditions that life has brought upon them (Gündüz, 2017; Mbembe, 2011; Mendiola &

Vasco, 2017). This position leaves little room to identify and understand the ways in which people resist social practices that foster their elimination and death (Skorzak, 2019). Indeed, understanding marginality and exclusion as instances where resistance can also occur is crucial and can be liberating for oppressed, exploited, and colonized people (hooks, 1990). This is where necroresistance comes into play.

The author coined the term necroresistance influenced by Jonas Skorzak's work (2019), which critically examines the extraordinary, and therefore limited, forms of resistance proposed by authors such as Mbembe (2011) and Giorgio Agamben (1998), which were mainly associated to highly visible acts like martyrdom (i.e., suicide bombers), where the body is sacrificed to overcome mortality and unfreedom. As an option to such extraordinary acts, Skorzak proposes that the understanding of other acts of resistance/subversion by people with "disposable lives" must consider the fact that such manifestations are not necessarily part of traditional large social movements (e.g., when people take the streets), but rather are sometimes simpler strategies of survival and endurance embedded in everyday life activities. Similarly, Schradie (2014) proposes the value of resistance that focuses, not on the big heroes or iconic giants of history, but rather on ordinary acts carried out by people; acts that, rather than relying on extraordinary events, unfold slowly as we watch regular people struggle with everyday circumstances. These activities are not mere self-preservation strategies but rather important exercises of contingencies of freedom even while living in unfree, bare life-conditions (Butler & Athanasiu, 2013). Sometimes, the manifestation of power, as expressed through the ordinary, is slow, and its effects are seen only in the long run (Schradie, 2014). Such is the case of on-the-ground trans activists who engage in struggles for survival and justice through daily interactions with other people in organizations, communities, and elsewhere. These individuals, organizations, and groups, engage in multiple strategies, including direct services, community building, and education, among others (Currah, 2008).

Taking into account the above, the author defines necroresistance as the ways in which trans people defy the threats imposed by necropraxis through individual or collective "ordinary" acts manifested in everyday life. As stated earlier, this concept responds to a reconceptualization of resistance, which, instead of focusing on heroic or exceptional actions to challenge oppression, explores its manifestation in everyday acts. In this sense, going grocery shopping, attending school, engaging with other community members, and the overall act of being in public, become instances through which trans people challenge necropraxis via everyday actions. Due to the "ordinary" character of these acts, which seem unproblematic to some people, they are often unnoticed by the external eye (i.e., the privileged cisgender observer). However,

they are highly significant for trans people because they fill a particular need (e.g., social support, sense of worth, normalcy), infuse them with hope, and give them a sense that the challenges of everyday life can be managed (Bockting et al., 2020; Ruff et al., 2019; Schrock et al., 2004).

Faced with the question of how these concepts apply to the realities experienced by trans people in Latin American nations beyond the Caribbean (where her previous studies have been conducted), the author undertook the task of carrying out an ethnographic study aimed at documenting the manifestations of necropraxis and necroresistance in the region and how they could be linked to the historical and socio-political characteristics of the different countries. This article adds to the current state of knowledge about the contextual elements that shape the different oppressive practices that result in the symbolic and literal elimination of a large number of trans people in the region and, in turn, the ways in which they resist such potentially lethal strategies. Motivated by a social justice agenda, the author proposes the applicability of these concepts to the field of trans studies in Latin America as a way to address the complexity of a systemic pattern that detrimentally affects trans Latino communities. She also wants to provoke a reflection that could be translated into the future development of management and prevention initiatives that take into account the contextual factors of the region and seek to improve the living conditions of trans people.

Methods

The author implemented an ethnographic research design (Atkinson et al., 2007) with participant observation and qualitative interviews as data gathering techniques. Data were gathered in seven Latin American countries, but the author focuses on three for this particular article: Guatemala (Guatemala city and Antigua), Argentina (Buenos Aires), and Chile (Santiago). She opted to focus on these three countries since, although they share common characteristics (e.g., the legacy of Spanish colonization, Catholicism is the main religion, and Spanish is spoken as their official language), they have diverse political experiences and present varied social challenges for the trans population.

Data Sources

This research combined three data sources: (a) observations of the spaces frequented by trans people in the different cities, (b) in-depth interviews with trans persons, and (c) informal conversations with individuals during the site visits. As with other ethnographic studies, the understanding of the complexity of the phenomena being addressed is achieved by integrating the researcher's observations with the perspectives of other various actors and communities

(Atkinson et al., 2007). Eleven individuals participated in in-depth interviews: eight trans women (Argentina, $n = 2$; Chile, $n = 2$; Guatemala, $n = 4$); two trans men (Argentina, $n = 1$; Chile, $n = 1$); and a non-binary trans individual (Chile, $n = 1$). Thematic saturation, centered on issues of necropraxis and necroresistance, was achieved with this number of interviews (Francis et al., 2010). The average age of participants was 43 years. Most participants ($n = 10$) identified themselves as heterosexual and had full-time employment ($n = 9$). Three of them were completing a university degree at the moment of the interview.

Data collection was conducted in the previously mentioned cities. For the ethnography, the researcher visited areas highly populated and frequented by trans people or where organizations that provide services to them could be found. Participant observation was conducted in these environments (e.g., streets, small shops, organizations). Data were collected between April 2019 and January 2020 (10 months). The author completed an average of 35 hours of observation in each site (total 105 hours).

Data Gathering

The author developed a Spanish in-depth semi-structured interview guide that included 31 questions divided into four main domains: (a) sociodemographic information, (b) general information about trans issues in the country, (c) influence of their gender identity on their social interactions, and (d) ways in which they faced experiences they deemed to be problematic.

The sociodemographic section gathered information regarding participants' age, education, work status, among other features. The general information section included questions aimed at exploring how the country/society reacted to and treated trans people (e.g., In general, how are trans people treated in your country?). The third domain included specific questions about participants' experiences in everyday social interactions with others (e.g., Tell me about a situation of oppression and/or violence you have experienced). The last section included questions aimed at identifying the ways in which participants had faced and overcome the challenges they encountered in social interactions (e.g., Provide me with an example of how you have dealt with the struggles you have faced as a trans person?). The questions included in this final section were aimed at exploring manifestations of necropraxis and necroresistance.

Procedures

Once the author obtained authorization from the Florida International University's IRB (Protocol Approval #IRB-19-0231), she began the

recruitment process via three mechanisms: (a) through a snowball sampling technique, proceeded to contact (via email or WhatsApp) trans people in Latin America who had been referred to her by other trans individuals with whom she collaborated with in previous studies; (b) contacted others potential participants identified through trans organizations in the different countries who had active webpages, and finally, (c) interviewed participants she met through the ethnographic outings in each country. The latter were trans people to whom, after informal conversations, the researcher proceeded to inform about the study and explore their interest in participating in it. If the person was interested, they agreed on the time and place to carry out the interview.

As previously mentioned, ethnographic observations were conducted in areas where trans people lived, worked and/or socialized, including streets, restaurants, and residential neighborhoods in each city. During this process, the author also engaged in casual conversations with individuals (e.g., drivers, artisans, vendors, shop workers, hotel employees) to explore their perception about the trans population and their challenges. As with her previous ethnographic research on trans issues in Puerto Rico (Padilla et al., 2016; Rodríguez-Madera, Ramos-Pibernus et al., 2015; Rodríguez-Madera, Padilla, Varas-Díaz et al., 2016; Rodríguez-Madera, Varas-Díaz, Ramos-Pibernus et al., 2017), the author took extensive field notes following observation sessions and informal conversations. In-depth interviews took place in locations in which the participants agreed to meet me. These included offices at workplaces, homes, cafes, restaurants, and university campuses. The study's aims, structure, and confidentiality were explicitly explained to the interviewees, who then gave their consent to participate. Participants could provide consent in writing (signing the form) or verbally. Since some interviewees were activists or leaders of community organizations, they consented to use their names for this study's purpose. Thus, in this article, the author uses their complete name. Pseudonyms were used for those participants who preferred anonymity. Most interviews were conducted in person (except one that was carried out via Skype) and lasted an average of two hours. Participants did not receive any compensation for their participation.

Analysis

In-depth interviews were recorded and transcribed. The author used a deductive qualitative approach for the analysis, which allowed for integrating previously existing notions derived from the researcher's formerly published work and experiences to guide the data collection, analysis, and interpretation (Gilgun, 2008, 2013). In this study, the author used information gathered in the Caribbean region to develop the terms necropraxis and necroresistance

and subsequently explored their applicability in three countries of the Latin American region.

The analysis consisted of systematic coding of the interview transcripts and ethnographic field notes using a two-staged technique (Atkinson et al., 2007; Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). In the first stage, the author conducted open coding of all transcripts and field notes regarding the issues of interest (manifestations of necropraxis and necroresistance, for example: harmful and threatening experiences of social interactions shaped by participants' gender identity, ways in which they faced/resisted such experiences, social reactions of cisgender individuals when interacting with trans persons) grounded in the words or phrases of participants or issues that emerged as important during the ethnography. This stage allowed the author to understand how participants' experiences were congruent with the proposed definitions of the concepts of necropraxis and necroresistance. In addition, this stage allowed the author to identify how these experiences were embedded in the cultural, socio-historical, and political characteristics of the countries where they lived. During a subsequent stage, the author identified instances in participants' narratives that expanded the initial definitions proposed by the author (Gilgun, 2008).

Researcher's Positionality

Positionality in studies is determined by where the researcher (i.e., outsider) stands in relation to "the other" (i.e., insider) (Monterrubio et al., 2020). Due to positionality's potential effect on research with trans populations, this aspect needed to be acknowledged throughout the research process. The author identifies herself as a cisgender woman. However, her background as a researcher and allied activist in favor of trans rights for two decades provided her with some level of legitimacy when establishing contact with trans people in Latin American countries. To tackle the potential challenge stemming from positionality, the author made an effort to continually reflect on her possible cisgender bias through several strategies such as (a) ensuring that the ethnographic observation process took place in public places without inappropriately intruding on trans people's privacy in those spaces, (b) avoiding heterosexist language, and (c) conducting member checking to discuss data interpretation with trans key informants from Latin America (Herek et al., 1991; Iivari, 2018).

Results

Participants' narratives were shaped by multiple manifestations of necropraxis that are common to each other. For example, most participants

mentioned recurrent acts of humiliation by parents and siblings, being physically assaulted by family and community members and strangers on the street, experiencing bullying by peers at school and work, and being mistreated by health professionals, among many others. Nevertheless, one of the benefits of interviewing people from different countries and conducting ethnography in these sites is that it allowed the author to surpass these common denominators and understand how necropraxis and necroresistance are highly influenced by the historical, political, economic, and socio-cultural context of each setting. This section is organized by country in the following order: Guatemala, Argentina, and Chile. Each one includes a description of contextual elements of interest for each site, and how both concepts of interest in this article manifested themselves.

Guatemala: The Importance of Collective Actions to Meet Trans People's Essential Needs

High levels of violence have marked this Central American country. The decades of armed conflict (1960–1996), the marginalization of its indigenous population (mainly Mayan descendants who have been historically displaced or assassinated), and an underground economy controlled by the *Maras* (criminal gangs) (Horst et al., 2020) make this country a complex place to live in, especially for trans people. In fact, from 2008 to 2018, 47 trans people have been murdered in Guatemala (TGEU, 2020). The examples of necropraxis that the author presents here are linked precisely to the *Maras* and other culturally based strategies that force trans people to adapt to the gender binary, causing them physical and mental damage.

The author's latest visit to Guatemala occurred during August 2019. In conversations with local people, they shared their concern over the lack of security in the country. The violence perpetrated by the *Maras* was one of the most worrisome issues they discussed, as it fostered the high levels of outward migration in the country. Currently, there are two main active *Maras* (*Salvatrucha* and *Barrio 18*) presenting an increasing threat to the national security of Guatemala. They have been mostly responsible for the migration and displacement of trans people who fear for their safety and lives. Their presence and actions are a clear form of necropraxis, as they engage in what some describe as a social cleansing strategy. The *Maras* have been involved in the persecution of people who are seen as transgressors of the gender binary, and thus, trans people have felt the burden of their actions. "Alejandra," a trans woman who works in an HIV clinic, shared the following:

{*Maras*} are responsible for the enforced disappearances of people in Guatemala. They are extremely transphobic gangs. I know of several cases, but I will tell you about the closest one, my trans male friend. When he began his {physical} transformation, the *Maras* threatened him with death. He had to ask for political asylum in the USA.

The *Maras* are not the only group involved in this social cleansing. Other collectives, which are organized to fight the *Maras*, are also strongly motivated by transphobia and hate. Alex Castillo, a trans man who works on migration issues in LAMBDA (an association that aims to collaborate with the government and civil society to promote the social and economic inclusion of the LGBTI population in Guatemala) stated the following:

These social cleaning groups are organized to remove thieves, *Maras*' activity, etc. They walk around with hoods and guns. They target the trans population too. We have provided services to trans people who had to flee during the night because they {group members} arrive unexpectedly at their homes. They were so terrified that they ran away only with what they had on.

The events, although highly problematic, are not uniformly experienced by the trans population. Some sectors have been historically more vulnerable to actions by these groups, as is the case of trans indigenous people who live mostly in rural areas of extreme poverty and low levels of education. On this matter, Galilea Bracho, a trans woman who is in charge of the *Red Multicultural de Mujeres Trans de Guatemala* (Multicultural Network of Trans Women in Guatemala, an organization aimed at self-empowering this sector from different class and ethnic backgrounds to defend themselves) indicated the following:

The indigenous groups are much more vulnerable and working with them is crucial because they need to be empowered. In many cases, they cannot read or write, which complicates the situation. In the case of trans indigenous women, when they show their feminine features, they are banished by their families, exposing them to the worst.

This doubly problematic situation was echoed by Debby Linares, a Mayan trans woman who founded *OTRANS Reinas de la Noche* (Queens of the Night, an organization that provides prevention service and health care to trans women). She stated, "We have had stories of Mayan trans women who have their genitals burned and are banned from wearing Mayan clothing."

These dire situations are not limited to trans women. It is also important to highlight that trans men living in the rural areas of Guatemala have been victims of atrocious manifestations of necropraxis, strongly rooted in

traditional cultural conceptions about gender and sexuality. Alex shared data from a study conducted by LAMBDA with 50 trans men that revealed that a third suffered “corrective” rapes from their own family members, including brothers and parents. Alex explained the following:

They {trans women} are expelled from their homes. On the contrary, we {trans men} are locked up. By doing this, they expose us to the greatest rapist, who is usually a member of the family. In a survey that we conducted, 62% of participants said that what they had suffered the most were the corrective rapes, lack of respect for their gender identity, and impositions on how to behave and dress up. It is too strong! In my case, I know that for my parents it wasn't easy. When I see the photos of my childhood, I see that they dressed me differently from my sister. And I asked my mother: How did I get you to dress me like this? “Because you stopped eating and you didn't stop crying”, she answered.

Afterward, he proceeded to tell the researcher that during his early adulthood, he was forced to marry. In fact, he has two children who are a product of that marriage. “I was married for four years and lived a life of physical and psychological violence of all kinds”, he concluded.

These examples from Guatemala demonstrate how necropraxis draws upon contextual mechanisms, such as gangs and social cleansing groups, to intimidate or eliminate what attackers perceive as “deviant” subjects (through displacements or disappearance). This process is echoed throughout the cultural system, which functions to maintain the integrity of the gender binary and family structure to force individuals to adjust their gendered practices (e.g., coerce them to: wear uncomfortable clothes, have sex, marry, give birth). All these practices negatively impact the lives of those who manage to survive.

In an environment where trans people are the target of social cleansing and where avoiding gang violence becomes a priority, one of the most important acts of necroresistance happens through collective actions. These are concerted acts that arise from the union of people who face similar challenges and the same basic unmet needs (i.e., health care). One example is OTRANS, which has established a health clinic for trans women to meet their medical needs in the face of difficulties they have faced when interacting with physicians at other sites. OTRANS was created by trans people (including those from the indigenous and sex work sectors) and has become a valuable community space for the development of strategies to face the challenges imposed by necropraxis during the past decade, including access to health care. The author had the opportunity to visit its facilities, which struck her as a very humble space with an atmosphere of camaraderie and informality. This was a space where economic survival continues to be a significant concern, as improving trans

people's health is not a State priority. As Debby explained: "Even though we don't have the ability to self-finance, we are a community-based organization that is always looking for alliances to survive." They always stressed the role of communal and collective action to face their dire context.

Although the act of organizing under a joint name provided them with a sense of communal identity, less structured initiatives were also present and successful. Such was the case of an informal trans men health clinic developed by Alex. Tired of witnessing the invisibility to which trans men were subjected while navigating the health care system, he decided to start an informal clinic with his wife, a Cuban family physician. This informal clinic (which is completely unknown to most cisgender people) provides care (e.g., hormones and medical screening) to trans men and operates as a monthly "pop-up" site at the building where Alex works. "We are invisible. Those in the LGBTI population who are born with a vagina are fucked. There is never support for us." He explained:

{...} when they (some sectors from the LGBTI community) started working on a comprehensive health care strategy, they did not want me there, and I told them: "either I am accepted at the working tables, or you need to change the name because you cannot say 'trans' if there is not even one trans man there." I insisted until finally, they invited me, and I was like: "OK, let's talk about the pap smear, breast exams, etc." For me, the battle was to be accepted at the working tables.

What struck the author most during the interviews and ethnographic visits was how some trans people in Guatemala were forced to prioritize strategies to avoid being displaced or disappeared. This entailed prioritizing some fundamental needs over others. Thus, collective efforts, such as a clandestine clinic, become manifestations of necroresistance, as they provided trans communities opportunities to access resources for survival, in this case, basic trans-sensitive health care. The Guatemalan government and society, in general, usually disregard trans community organizations. It is no coincidence then that these organizations are so keenly focused on survival, and that their actions are generally carried out clandestinely. In the context of militarized and warring groups known to target trans persons who embody intersecting socially devaluated positions (e.g., gender, ethnicity, and social class), many trans people in Guatemala have learned to draw upon informal social networks to provide life-saving resources underground. The challenges and responses of trans communities are different in other countries, as we will see next, using Argentina as an example. In this setting, the military dictatorship marked the ways in which trans communities have fought for their visibility.

Argentina: Making Trans People Visible and Part of Local Collective Memory

The last dictatorship experienced by this South American country (1976–1983) was marked by the targeting of thousands of dissidents that “disappeared” or were murdered (Moloney, 2018). Surviving the restrictions imposed by military governments, as well as the trauma resulting from violence and death, has left lasting marks on the collective memory of the Argentinian people. Unfortunately, there have also been efforts to erase trans people from the country’s collective memory and, therefore, the official history. Their elimination from the country’s historical accounts of the dictatorship period is precisely a symbolic way in which necropraxis is manifested locally.

The last time the author visited Buenos Aires was in April 2019. During her stay in the city, she went to the *Museo Sitio de Memoria ESMA* (Memory Museum) that was inaugurated in 2015. The heavy environment, colorless surroundings and walls marked by the passing of time reminded the author of Nazi-era concentration camps in Europe. The Museum was previously a detention, torture, and “transfer” center (a euphemism used when people disappeared) that housed nearly 5,000 individuals during the dictatorship. Most people were thrown into the sea on death flights while still alive. The Museum housed a special exhibition aimed at making the abuse suffered by women visible. In conversations with the curator, the author asked specifically about the abuse against trans people during the dictatorship: the curator made it clear that they were completely invisible from the stories commonly presented about this atrocious period. In fact, the report generated by the National Commission on the Disappearance of Persons (CONADEP), entitled *Nunca Más* (Never Again), whose purpose was to account for the crimes against human rights committed during the dictatorship, did not include information about the violence perpetrated against individuals who embodied sexual and gender dissidence. They were made invisible.

In a conversation with Carmen Belén Correa, an exiled Argentine trans woman activist, it was evident how the dictatorship had explicitly targeted the trans community. “There were a series of persecutions, imprisonments, murders, and disappearances that caused many trans women to leave the country to Europe for fear of police repression”, she explained. While discussing the disappearance of trans people, she added:

At the time of the dictatorship, the *legajos* (the technical files) didn’t mention trans people. They also didn’t allude to transvestites, gays, or lesbians. The words the dictatorship used at the time were “depraved,” “degenerate,” or “deviant” {...} Those were the categories with which they filled out the form.

According to Carmen Belén, although the return to democracy in 1983 implied important changes for the Argentine society, “there were many offenses against us.” She explained:

In 1983, democracy arrived for the rest of society, but not for us. All LGBT identities had to be hidden because they were a shame. Many people did not want to show their dead heterosexual relatives with ours {during funeral visitations}. They did not want our trans dead to be compared to theirs, because it was preferable that they kill you for being a *guerrillera* {guerrilla member} than for being a trans or a lesbian. With the arrival of democracy, trans communities continued to suffer. They continue to persecute us as if we were criminals.

Necropraxis in this setting is linked to trans people’s literal elimination based on their gender identity (i.e., disappearances). Still, it is also manifested through a more subtle process of symbolic invisibilization, including attempts to exclude them from the official registry of damages caused by the dictatorship, and therefore, from the official history of that period. Trying to erase those lives from the country’s collective memory sends a clear message that their lives were worth less than others, or simply did not matter. Both invisibility and symbolic disappearance from the annals of history are a manifestation of necropraxis. They have been challenged through necroresistance initiatives aimed at making trans people visible and part of local collective memory. One clear example of this type of necroresistance is the establishment of the *Archivo de la Memoria Trans* (Trans Memory Archive). It embodies the value of resistance that comes from on-the-ground activism, as earlier stated in the definition of necroresistance, which seeks justice through ordinary actions. This time, those actions were the use of photographs taken by trans people in their daily lives. Carmen Belén shared with the author that the Archive began with the photographs found in the house of her friend, María Pía Baudracco when she died. She used to keep hundreds of photos and other materials from her time as an activist. Then, Carmen Belén and another friend rescued the box with the pictures and began the Archive in 2012.

The stories of trans people who disappeared during the dictatorship are now there, even if partially. Regarding those who disappeared during the dictatorship, Carmen Belén said the following:

When the 30,000 disappeared were counted, CONADEP found 400 files. That is why on March 24, LGBT people write the number 30,400. Officially the list of the disappeared is 30,000, but the people of the Archive made those 400 files visible. Until the State makes those 400 files visible, we will continue with the struggle for the 30,400.

In addition to including trans people who disappeared during the dictatorship in the annals of history, the Archive is an homage to trans women who have engaged in five decades of necroresistance (from the 1960s to 2000s). In addition to Pia's photos, the Archive also include photographs that have been taken by other trans people with their cameras during the past decades. It has more than 5,000 personal documents (e.g., videos, newspaper clippings, magazines) that together construct the collective and historical memory of trans women in Argentina and the struggles they endured. For example, when a photograph in the Archive fails to mention the name of a pictured trans woman, the group searches through public records to identify her. It seems like a small act, but placing a name to a photograph in the Archive has become a way to resist invisibilization.

The value of this project has continued to grow as it amasses more followers on social media, and people are exposed to the stories behind the collection. Carmen Belén explained to the author that the Archive's itinerant exhibitions change as they move through different cities. Although they always exhibit the main pieces of the collection, they add other photos that are relevant to each city or region they visit as a means to have local trans people feel connected to the project. "For these trans women, sharing their experiences with us usually entails telling the stories of other women who can no longer tell their own, and who have left otherwise little tangible trace", she said.

As stated in the Introduction, sometimes the power of ordinary acts, such as sharing photographs that reflect the everyday like of people, is an important weapon for visibility. The Archive also reflects stories of everyday life necroresistance. For example, pictures show a trans woman sunbathing on the beach, and another waiting in the men's queue to vote. This initiative is certainly one of the most memorable examples of necroresistance in a context historically marked by repression, invisibilization, and elimination of trans individuals.

The dictatorship experience is not limited to Argentina but is shared by other regional countries like Chile. There, trans people navigate the problematic intersection between their gender identity and racism, as it will be presented next.

Chile: A Mausoleum for the Dignified Rest of Trans Remains

Chile is one of the countries in the Latin American region where social positionality based on the intersection of race and gender identity as axes on inequality is most evident. Research has documented highly racist attitudes among the Chilean population, which regards itself as, not just white, but

whiter than most other Latin American countries (Salgado & Castillo, 2018). This denial of its racial diversity, as well as the preference given to whiteness, have been well documented by historians (Walsh, 2015) and social scientists (Salgado & Castillo, 2018). Racism has been exacerbated during the past decade as Chile has become a leading destination for migrants from Haiti, the Dominican Republic, and other South American countries with black populations (Charles, 2018). At this juncture, the example of necropraxis that the author will discuss here is related precisely to racism towards dark-skinned trans people, particularly immigrants, which makes it difficult to even walk the city streets without facing the potential for death.

During the author's latest visit to Santiago in September 2019, she was able to converse with diverse people about the current problems they faced in the country. Almost all wanted to talk about what seemed at the time the hottest topic in the news: immigration. Some of them explained that Haitian, Dominican and Bolivian immigrants were the groups that lived in the most precarious conditions in Chile. However, in those conversations with locals, most considered that the Haitian people lived in the worst social conditions. The author was eager to understand how trans people perceived and experienced the topic of migration. When she asked trans participants about the implications of this situation for them, a local restaurant worker, "Albert," provided with a crude example of necropraxis. "Well, considering that many of them (trans women) prostitute themselves on the streets, the situation is brutal," he stated. Albert explained that the dangers faced by Haitian or dark-skinned trans women were of such magnitude that they could easily die in a hit-and-run because drivers would not even yield for a trans pedestrian with dark skin. "Stories like these are not as rare as you might think," he concluded as to highlight his concern over the intersection of racism and transphobia in Santiago.

The fact that dark-skinned people are the poorest in Santiago is an issue reflected in the city's organization. For example, racism's influence in Santiago's socio-spatial segregation is tangible when one transits through the city. Plaza Italia is a key geographic and cultural zone of the city (the presumed center of the city), and its conspicuous whiteness illustrates the social organization of race and socioeconomic class differences in Santiago. Providencia, and the other wealthy municipalities of Santiago, lie directly to the East of Plaza Italia. Santiago Centro, and other more crowded and often more impoverished communities, lie largely to the West. It is no coincidence then that immigrants, dark-skinned people in general, and trans individuals in particular, live, work, and face challenges related to necropraxis mostly in these "marginal" parts of the city. In these sectors of the city, race, migratory status, and social class intersect each other, providing fertile grounds for necropraxis.

I had the opportunity to interview Franco Fuica, a trans individual who works as the vice president of the *Asociación Organizando Trans Diversidades* (Organizing Trans Diversities Association, a political project of cultural transformation of trans communities in Chile). We spoke about the intersectional nature of problems faced by trans women there. Franco explained, “In Chile, there are many intersectionalities. It is a highly classist country; classist to die for.” Although he stressed that Chile was “one of the best places for trans people to live” due to lack of extreme violence, the current migration of dark-skinned people into the country had begun to make things harder. He mentioned the following:

[T]he increasing migratory wave has changed the panorama a little due to tensions between local trans and {trans} immigrants. They have sparked territorial fights that end in deaths. In fact, the latest murdered trans people were darker-skinned immigrants from Colombia, Honduras, and Ecuador. They have been mainly killed as a result of these territorial struggles.

It was evident from our conversation that the streets became the most likely space where necropraxis towards trans people was manifested, especially if they were dark-skinned or immigrant. Skin color became a trigger for necropraxis in this context, to the point that it could be displayed by both cisgender people and lighter-skinned members of the trans community. Thus, racism permeated multiple social groups and spaces, and its intersections with gender, sexuality, and space resulted in unique expressions of necropraxis.

Since racism in Chile is closely related to migration, the embodiment of these axes of inequality in trans people is a complicated matter. Racism operates through exclusion and the separation of social territories occupied by those who “matter” and have value (lighter-skinned people), from those who allegedly do not (dark-skinned individuals). This reality does not go unchallenged by trans people. If the manifestation of necropraxis they face has to do with palpable forms of exclusion based on skin color, its counterpart, necroresistance, would be found in developing inclusion strategies. Ironically, one of these local inclusive approaches had to do with death itself. Specifically, the burial of trans people in a dignified manner, regardless of who they were or their skin color.

In Chile, as well as other countries, trans people who die are frequently buried and identified with an NN (No Name) because their family members, who usually disown them at a young age, never claim their bodies. Kathy Fontaine spoke to the author about this issue in detail. The author met Kathy and her friend, also a trans woman, at the General Cemetery’s main entrance.

Kathy is a 68-year-old trans woman, and a vivid example of versatility, energy, and compassion. Kathy shared that she made a living sewing circus costumes and selling food at public outings. The fact that she was an older trans woman became the subject of conversation between the three, as this contrasted with the data from the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (2015), which points to a life expectancy of 35 years in this population. On this issue, Kathy expressed that she was definitely “a survivor” because she had to fight her way through life on her own since her childhood. “Either you survive, or you survive. I have done many things to get where I am, and I have always helped others {trans women} in need.” As she said this, her friend nodded, so as to confirm that Kathy was indeed a source of support for many. That sense of solidarity and support for others with similar challenges seemed to be an important driver of necroresistance. As part of her commitment to trans women, she takes care of the trans mausoleum. This mausoleum, basically a common tomb at ground level, was built in 2018 and is located at the General Cemetery in Santiago. This is the only trans mausoleum that exists in Chile, and probably in the Latin America region. Both commented on its importance for the trans community and their difficulties in keeping it running.

Kathy was talking about her life as we walked to the mausoleum. When we got there, she immediately climbed onto the tombstone to inspect the site and proceeded to clean the surroundings and pick up an artificial flower arrangement that the wind had knocked down. Afterward, she began to speak about those who were buried there. She proceeded to take the author to a nearby grave where the remains of a trans woman that was beaten in her home rested. She told her that this space was temporary, and for that reason, she was making arrangements to move her body to the trans mausoleum so “she could rest in peace.” Both Kathy and her friend said they felt calm knowing that they would have a space to rest when they died.

When the author asked them how the initiative came about, without giving it much thought, Kathy stated, “Although I celebrate the victories of what happens at the political level (regarding the trans community), my actions are more humanistic, more at the level of the skin.” For this reason, she dedicates time to maintaining the mausoleum and ensuring that trans people whose remains have no place to be buried have a space where they can dwell with dignity. She added the following:

This mausoleum is the result of an effort by a group of trans female friends, who could not allow the last affront against us because if we have not been respected in life, much less dead.

Kathy's mention of the "last affront" alludes to what the author has mentioned throughout this article, specifically how necropraxis becomes a systematic pattern that operates in trans people's everyday lives, causing negative consequences. Since trans people deal with it throughout their whole lives, the way they manage death can become an act of resistance.

This example of necroresistance presents a clear message to Chilean society: even in a racist and exclusionary environment that affects trans people during life, in death, there was no room for that division. It did not matter if the trans person was Chilean or immigrant, black or white, their remains would be treated equally and would have a place to rest.

Discussion

During the writing of this article, 17 new murders of trans people were reported in Latin America. The author found out through social network messages posted by the trans individuals, who were trying to shed light on this worrisome issue. The messages reflected the outrage they felt when finding out that another trans person was killed, but also the terror they experienced when they thought the same thing could happen to them. Every time the author read a story about a new murdered trans person in a Latin American country, she was overwhelmed by a simple idea: we were not dealing with isolated acts, but rather with a pattern of a systematic extermination of trans people in the region. Moreover, these murders only represent one manifestation of other disastrous and potentially lethal dynamics that are present in the everyday life of trans people (Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, 2005; Molina Rodríguez et al., 2015; Monterrubio et al., 2020; Rodríguez-Madera, Padilla, Varas-Díaz et al., 2016) and that are shaped by the intersection of the multiple axes of inequality they embodied (e.g., gender, race, social and migratory status) (Molina Rodríguez et al., 2015; Monterrubio et al., 2020; Welsh, 2014).

Throughout this article, the author has aimed to provide an alternative conceptual framework to address the related factors (e.g., social, historical, cultural) that foster the atrocities that are committed against trans people in the region and its implications for this population (Barrientos, 2016; Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, 2005; Molina Rodríguez et al., 2015; Monterrubio et al., 2020; Rodríguez-Madera, Padilla, Varas-Díaz et al., 2016). Specifically, she has proposed the use of the concept *necropraxis* to address a pattern that manifests itself in everyday social interactions, through which gradual small doses of death are delivered to eliminate (symbolically and/or literally) trans people. The author has argued that necropraxis is a more apt concept than necropolitics because it exceeds the limitations of the

latter (e.g., mainly its State-focused actions through policies) in its approach to the fundamental challenges that trans people face for their survival. Challenges that, as we have seen, do not come mostly “from above” (i.e., the State, policies), but rather from interactions with other people in different settings (e.g., home, street). She is not arguing for the replacement of the concept of necropolitics, whose use in the field of scientific knowledge on trans issues has represented a significant advance and is still very relevant to address the potentially lethal practices linked to the structural levels of society (Caravaca-Morera & Padilha, 2018; Gündüz, 2017; Mbembe, 2011; Padilla & Rodríguez-Madera, in press). The author suggests that necropraxis serves to complement the understanding of the complexities that characterize the life and death experiences of these communities, by also paying attention to everyday instances through which trans people are made to suffer and die.

As the author argued at the onset of this article, the previous studies conducted in the region have been thorough in documenting the many difficulties that trans people face (e.g., discrimination, violence, micro-aggressions), but they have fallen short in addressing all of them as part of a systematic and comprehensive strategy to eliminate them from the social landscape (Barrientos, 2016; Chang & Chung, 2015; Monterrubio et al., 2020; Padilla et al., 2016; Ramos-Pibernus et al., 2016; Rodríguez-Madera & Toro-Alfonso, 2002; Rodríguez-Madera, Padilla, Varas-Díaz et al., 2016, Rodríguez-Madera, Varas-Díaz, Ramos-Pibernus et al., 2017; Rodríguez-Madera, Varas-Díaz, Padilla et al., 2019).

Her ethnographic work points to the idea that acts of necropraxis are not unrelated experiences of violence, as they are often conceptualized, but rather constitute a process of eradication that occurs in all the social spaces that trans people transit on a daily basis (e.g., homes, public areas) causing many of them to experience everyday life as survival in a war zone.

The proposed conceptual framework on necropraxis posits three central arguments that can inform future trans studies: (a) that there is an urgent need to interpret necropraxis as a systematic pattern of extermination similar to those implemented with other groups (e.g., indigenous people in Latin America); (b) the importance of recognizing that necropraxis is generated and reproduced in everyday social interactions, which means that the strategies developed to manage it must take into account, but simultaneously surpass, the structural sphere (e.g., public policies), and (c) that necropraxis is always accompanied, in varying levels, by manifestations of necroresistance that illustrate how trans people are not passive targets of necropraxis, but actively work to defy its logics. The examples of necroresistance provided throughout this article evidence that these acts could be interpreted by cisgender people as “ordinary,” as they can be easily implemented by individuals

living free from social exclusion. The author argues that in the apparently mundane manifestation of these (individual or collective) acts is where the transgressive nature of necroresistance resides. Therefore, the author proposes that *necroresistance*, more than a self-preservation strategy, is an extremely important exercise of freedom, even while living in unfree conditions. In this sense, necroresistance, which is exercised by people struggling with everyday circumstances, is a seed with the potential of gradually imploding the foundations of necropraxis from within.

Finally, this article is an opportune pretext for a necessary reflection on the ongoing situation faced by trans people in Latin America. Several issues are, in the author's opinion, pivotal for this reflection: First, we must stop seeing the oppressive experiences faced by trans people in a fragmented and decontextualized way, but rather as a manifestation of a systematic pattern in the region that has historically sought to eliminate particular populations; Second, genocides have been historically characterized by the denial of such events while they are happening, and we should avoid making the same mistake (e.g., denialism) of being silent while it happens to trans people in the region; Third, building a comprehensive understanding of the historical, political, social and cultural factors that enable necropraxis, and hence, the elimination of trans people in the region, is fundamental; and finally, we need to recognize which necroresistance strategies are effective in the various countries of Latin America to learn from them and explore ways to foster them in other settings. Understanding and addressing the necropraxis affecting the trans population in Latin America is of crucial importance, and it can no longer warrant marginal attention.

The author recommends that future studies address limitations faced by her own efforts. This includes conducting in-depth ethnographies that entail spending extended periods of time in Latin American countries, and therefore allow for the collection of more data (e.g., hours of observation, number of interviews, and informal conversations). Future studies should also include other countries in the Latin American region to identify commonalities and divergences in the manifestations of necropraxis and necroresistance. It would be ideal to develop measures, within the framework of quantitative studies, that allow for the assessment of these constructs and the large-scale identification of the structural, institutional, and individual factors associated with these practices. This type of data could inform public policies and future intervention strategies at multiple levels.

The author hopes that the present article provides valuable information to help both policymakers and other stakeholders (e.g., health service providers, community organizations' workers) understand the problem's magnitude in the region and the ways necropraxis is experienced in everyday relations

between trans individuals and others. Similarly, through the understanding of what constitutes necroresistance and its value, the proposed framework could help them outline prevention and management strategies to strengthen trans communities in different countries.

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