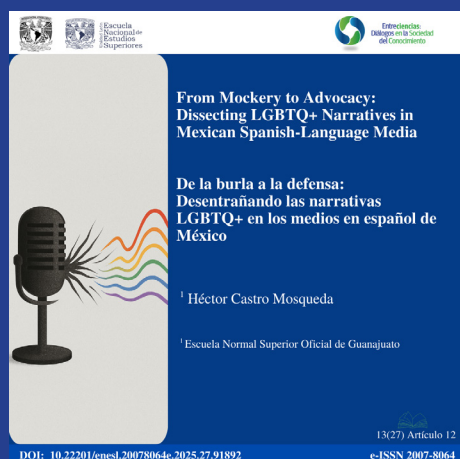




# Entreciencias: Diálogos en la Sociedad del Conocimiento

Año 13, Número 27, Artículo 12: 1-16. Enero - Diciembre 2025  
e-ISSN: 2007-8064



## From Mockery to Advocacy: Dissecting LGBTQ+ Narratives in Mexican Spanish-Language Media

### De la burla a la defensa: Desentrañando las narrativas LGBTQ+ en los medios en español de México

DOI: 10.22201/enesl.20078064e.2025.27.91892  
e25.91892

Héctor Castro Mosqueda<sup>1</sup> ✉  
<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3900-2356>

Fecha de recepción: 20 de junio de 2025.  
Fecha de aceptación: 4 de septiembre de 2025.  
Fecha de publicación: 26 de septiembre de 2025.

✉ Autor de correspondencia  
castro32579@hotmail.com

<sup>1</sup> Escuela Normal Superior Oficial de Guanajuato

Se autoriza la reproducción total o parcial de los textos aquí publicados siempre  
y cuando se cite la fuente completa y la dirección electrónica de la publicación.  
CC-BY-NC-ND





## From Mockery to Advocacy: Dissecting LGBTQ+ Narratives in Mexican Spanish-Language Media

### De la burla a la defensa: Desentrañando las narrativas LGBTQ+ en los medios en español de México

Héctor Castro Mosqueda  

<sup>1</sup>Escuela Normal Superior Oficial de Guanajuato

✉ Autor de correspondencia: castro32579@hotmail.com

#### RESUMEN

#### PALABRAS CLAVE

LGBTQ+  
Queer  
Discurso  
México

**Propósito:** analizar los discursos sobre los derechos LGBTQ+ en México a través del análisis de comentarios realizados en YouTube en español, con el objetivo de comprender cómo se construye y reproduce la discriminación, la marginación y las percepciones sociales hacia las personas LGBTQ+ en los espacios digitales.

**Diseño metodológico:** se empleó un enfoque cualitativo basado en el Análisis Crítico del Discurso (ACD), siguiendo el modelo de cuatro etapas propuesto por Fairclough (2013). Se compiló un corpus titulado LGBTQ+dis a partir de comentarios en 16 videos de YouTube seleccionados mediante términos de búsqueda intuitivos relacionados con temas LGBTQ+. De un conjunto inicial de 27 438 comentarios, se filtraron 5 496 que contenían términos relevantes, conformando un corpus de 421 639 palabras. Se utilizó el software AntConc para examinar concordancias y frecuencias léxicas.

**Resultados:** el análisis evidenció un uso generalizado de lenguaje discriminatorio, estereotipos y temas de exclusión, reflejando prejuicios sociales arraigados contra las personas LGBTQ+. No obstante, también se identificaron expresiones de solidaridad, apoyo y defensa de los derechos, lo cual posiciona a YouTube como un espacio disputado donde coexisten discursos tanto de marginación como de empoderamiento.

**Limitaciones del estudio:** el uso de términos de búsqueda seleccionados de manera intuitiva y de comentarios públicos limita la representatividad de los datos y excluye perspectivas de usuarios menos activos digitalmente.

**Hallazgos:** el discurso digital sobre temas LGBTQ+ en México revela una tensión entre narrativas dominantes de exclusión y contra-narrativas emergentes que abogan por la igualdad y el reconocimiento. Estas dinámicas subrayan la importancia de fomentar una alfabetización digital inclusiva y una mayor concienciación pública para desafiar los discursos discriminatorios y promover la visibilidad y dignidad de las comunidades LGBTQ+.

#### ABSTRACT

#### KEYWORDS

LGBTQ+  
Queer  
Discourse  
Mexico

**Purpose:** To analyze the discourses on LGBTQ+ rights in Mexico by analyzing Spanish-language YouTube comments, to understand how discrimination, marginalization, and social perceptions of LGBTQ+ individuals are constructed and reproduced in digital spaces.

**Methodological design:** A qualitative approach grounded in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), following Fairclough's four-stage model (2013), was employed. A corpus titled LGBTQ+dis was compiled from comments on 16 YouTube videos selected using intuitive search terms related to LGBTQ+ topics. A filtered subset of 5 496 comments containing relevant terms was retained from an initial pool of 27 438 comments, resulting in a corpus of 421 639 words. The AntConc software was used to examine concordances and word frequencies.

**Results:** The analysis revealed widespread use of discriminatory language, stereotypes, and exclusionary themes, reflecting broader societal prejudices against LGBTQ+ individuals. Nonetheless, the comments also included expressions of solidarity, support, and advocacy, highlighting YouTube as a contested space where both marginalizing and empowering discourses coexist.

**Research limitations:** The use of intuitively selected search terms and publicly available comments limits the data's representativeness and excludes perspectives from less digitally active users.

**Findings:** Digital discourse on LGBTQ+ issues in Mexico reveals tension between dominant narratives of exclusion and emergent counter-narratives advocating for equality and recognition. These dynamics emphasize the importance of fostering inclusive digital literacy and public awareness to challenge discriminatory discourse and promote LGBTQ+ communities' visibility and dignity.

Recibido: 20 de junio de 2025

Aceptado: 4 de septiembre de 2025

Publicado: 26 de septiembre de 2025

## INTRODUCCIÓN

The LGBTQ+ community in Mexico navigates a reality shaped by deep cultural and legal barriers, insufficient progress toward equality, and a media environment saturated with offensive discourses. Critical analysis is essential to understand and transform these social dynamics.

This article presents a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of comments derived from Spanish-language YouTube videos, focusing on discourses related to the LGBTQ+ community in Mexico. This study aims to uncover the underlying narratives and attitudes that shape public perceptions of LGBTQ+ issues, by examining user comments. CDA extends beyond simple textual examination; it serves as a foundational approach in transdisciplinary research, revealing the intricate connections between discourse and various social elements (Fairclough, 2013). The methodology employed in this analysis highlights the complex interplay between discourse and critical social factors, such as power dynamics, ideologies, and institutional influences. Using [Fairclough's \(2013\)](#) framework allows for a comprehensive exploration of how these factors interact within the context of the LGBTQ+ community in Mexico. This methodology enables the identification of societal wrongs, the recognition of obstacles, the analysis of the role of social order, and potential solutions to be proposed.

Studying LGBTQ+ discourse on YouTube is significant for several reasons. First, the platform has emerged as a vital space for expression and activism for this community, fostering diverse voices and a virtual space for community building ([Jones et al., 2015](#); [Page et al., 2014](#); [Burgess & Green, 2013](#)). Second, analyzing Spanish-language videos provides access to a culturally situated perspective, which is essential for comprehending the specificity of the LGBTQ+ experience in México. Finally, this study contributes to the growing field of research on Spanish-language LGBTQ+ discourses.

### Corpus, language, and sexuality studies

Corpus linguistics is becoming increasingly vital in language and sexuality studies. [Baker \(2018\)](#) highlights its multifaceted benefits, particularly in analyzing discourse

on sexual topics, tracking language shifts over time, and exploring cultural discourse variations, thereby enriching our comprehension of language and sexuality in diverse contexts. [Baker \(2018\)](#) also shows how corpus linguistics, often thought of as purely quantitative, is essential for studying language and sexuality. He stresses thorough linguistic analysis, contextual understanding, and human interpretation for meaningful insights, emphasizing collaborative research for comprehensive coverage.

[Motschenbacher \(2018a\)](#) investigated the compatibility of corpus linguistics with queer linguistics, addressing inherent limitations. Corpus linguistics tends to overlook contextual and subjective aspects due to its focus on quantifying data. To address this, Motschenbacher recommends concordance analysis for the immediate syntactic context, aiding critical discourse analysis. Additionally, corpus linguistics' emphasis on frequency may miss marginalized discourses, necessitating qualitative analyses such as concordance analysis for a nuanced view. Furthermore, its quantitative focus may neglect non-normative discourses, requiring pairing with qualitative methods like discourse analysis. Motschenbacher underscores how corpus linguistics' reliance on pre-established categories may not align with the diversity emphasized in queer linguistics, suggesting ethnographic approaches to manage this discrepancy. However, overcoming this challenge may necessitate critical examination through secondary qualitative analysis.

### Sexuality in México

The LGBTQ+ rights history has evolved from secrecy to a public struggle for representation. [Vázquez et al. \(2019\)](#) examined the impact of religious and moral views during the Spanish conquest, shaping beliefs and behaviors. These views justified colonization and established societal norms, condemning adultery and homosexuality. All sexual activities were stigmatized as impure, and associated with sin and guilt ([Gruzinski, 1986](#)).

[Vázquez et al. \(2019\)](#) also traced the concept of sin and sexuality in Christianity back to Saint Paul in the first

century, reinforced by figures such as Saint Augustine and Saint Thomas in the Late Middle Ages. The cultural expressions of that era, including art and literature, solidified these ideas. Literature and iconography in colonial society aimed to link sin and sexuality, depicting sensuality and desire as tools of the devil ([Gruzinski, 1986](#)). This perspective led to the persecution of sexual minorities, often by neighbors or invasive state interventions ([Ortega, 1998](#)). Despite some shifts in attitude, sexual repression persisted.

The LGBTQ+ equality movement in México was influenced by historical religious and moral impositions of the Spanish conquest, which enforced rigid sexual norms and organized oppression against sexual minorities. During the colonial era, breaches of moral standards remained consistent, with attempts to establish a more humane penal system ([Suárez, 1999](#)).

### From repression to organized resistance

The 20th century marked a transitional period in the treatment of sexual diversity in Mexico. The notorious 1901 “baile de los cuarenta y uno” scandal ([Monsiváis, 2001](#)), where authorities arrested 19 men for cross-dressing, represented a watershed moment that forced public acknowledgment of homosexuality despite official attempts at suppression. This incident triggered decades of intensified police harassment while paradoxically increasing the visibility of sexual diversity in Mexican society. During this period, [González \(2019\)](#) documented how LGBTQ+ communities developed survival strategies through coded language, underground networks, and subversive humor. These covert resistance practices laid crucial groundwork for later organized activism, particularly as the social contract between authorities and marginalized groups deteriorated in the 1970s ([González, 2019](#)).

### The birth of modern LGBTQ+ activism (1978- 1984)

The contemporary LGBTQ+ movement officially began on July 26, 1978, when activists participated in a political march in Mexico City, marking their first public demonstration ([Diez, 2011](#)). This “golden age” of mobilization

(1978-1984) saw the rise of pioneering organizations such as FHAR (Frente Homosexual de Acción Revolucionaria), which connected sexual liberation with broader political struggles. [González \(2021\)](#) examined how travestismo (cross-dressing) became both a radical act of resistance and a source of internal debate, with some activists championing its revolutionary potential while others worried it reinforced stereotypes. This period was characterized by four key developments: inspiration from international liberation movements, a focus on sexual freedom and social acceptance, growing visibility through public protests, and strategic alliances with feminist and leftist groups ([Diez, 2011](#)).

### Challenges and transformation (1984-1997)

The movement faced significant setbacks from the mid-1980s to the 1990s. Internal divisions over strategy and identity ([Diez, 2011](#)) coincided with the HIV/AIDS epidemic and ongoing police repression ([González, 2019](#)). Religious conservatives amplified their opposition, framing homosexuality as sinful.

### Contemporary progress and challenges (1997- present)

The movement regained momentum in the late 1990s by adopting the concept of “sexual diversity” as a unifying framework ([Diez, 2011](#)). [López \(2022\)](#) notes that there has been significant but uneven progress in LGBTQ+ rights, with a total of 97 measures approved nationally, only six of these measures apply at the federal level, with the majority of advances (76.92%) achieved through state legislatures.

Modern activism has shifted from liberation rhetoric to rights-based discourse, resulting in greater political engagement and legislative victories. However, persistent challenges include gaps in domestic policy implementation and international backlash, evidenced by the dramatic rise of anti-LGBTQ+ legislation in the United States ([Choi, 2023](#)). [López \(2022\)](#) critiques how modern identity politics, influenced by Cartesian philosophy, continues to marginalize non-conforming bodies

through biopolitical tools, highlighting the need for more comprehensive federal protections.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review does not aim to be exhaustive, but rather to highlight selected studies that share similar concerns to the present research. The literature was chosen based on its relevance to three key aspects: language, corpus linguistics, and LGBTQ+ studies. The search focused on academic publications that applied linguistic and/or corpus-based methods to analyze representations or uses of language in relation to LGBTQ+ topics. Databases, such as Scopus, Web of Science, and Google Scholar, were consulted using combinations of keywords, including *queer linguistics*, *LGBTQ+ discourse*, *corpus linguistics and sexuality*, *media representations of LGBTQ+*, and *language and gender*. The selection prioritized peer-reviewed studies that explicitly analyzed discourse about or by LGBTQ+ individuals, with an emphasis on media, press, and online platforms.

Queer linguistics fundamentally challenges traditional linguistic and social categorizations by embracing diversity and fostering inclusivity. Its primary concern lies in interrogating how language constructs and constrains perceptions of gender and sexuality, advocating nuanced, non-binary discourses that better reflect the complexity of human experience (Baker, 2008). A central aim of queer linguistics is to dismantle heteronormative structures embedded in language, thereby exposing its pivotal role in shaping identity representations. Scholars stress that investigating how members of LGBTQ+ communities use language (Zimman, 2014; Ryan, 2019; Bailey, 2019; Jones, 2020) and how these communities are discursively represented by others is equally important.

In this regard, several corpus-based studies offer valuable insights into media representations of LGBTQ+ individuals. Collectively, these works illustrate the potential of corpus linguistics for uncovering patterns of representation and the persistent limitations of mainstream media discourse. Baker's (2014) study of British press coverage of trans individuals demonstrates how a relatively small but targeted corpus (902 articles) can reveal systematic tendencies in language use. While terms such as *transgender* were often linked to positive

associations like "communities" and "equality", more dated and pejorative terms, such as *tranny*, though less frequent, were associated with overtly negative portrayals. Baker highlighted the scarcity of genuinely positive representations, with trans individuals often depicted as recipients of "special treatment" or as being involved in scandals, a theme echoed in other contexts.

Hunt's (2021) analysis of sexual representations in South African media expands this line of inquiry by focusing on a broader array of sexual orientation labels (27 in total) across an 11-year corpus. Like Baker, Hunt observed that frequently used terms, such as *gay* and *lesbian*, were associated with both positive and negative connotations. However, Hunt's findings also illuminated cultural specificity: terms like *homosexual* were primarily invoked in legal and moral discourses of disapproval, while the term *corrective*, linked to *rape*, underscored the particularly violent forms of discrimination faced by Black lesbians in South Africa. This cultural anchoring reveals a limitation in cross-cultural generalization while simultaneously point to the importance of situated analysis.

Other studies have also emphasized how representations shift according to media type and national context. Zottola (2018), combined queer linguistics with corpus linguistics, to examine the portrayal of transgender individuals in British newspapers between 2013 and 2015. Like Baker (2014), Zottola found that linguistic choices critically shaped readers' understandings of trans identities, with quality newspapers generally adopting more positive framings than popular press outlets. However, Zottola's study also highlighted the fluctuation in representations over time, from moments of reappropriation to periods of renewed discrimination, suggesting that media discourse is dynamic and highly sensitive to sociopolitical shifts.

Åkerlund's (2019) work in the Swedish context complements these findings while introducing innovative methodological approaches, such as topic modeling in combination with Critical Discourse Analysis. Åkerlund identified two dominant thematic frames: one focusing on the appearance of trans individuals and the other on legal/medical aspects of trans lives. Notably, only a small fraction (8.5%) of the articles focused specifically on trans identities, underscoring the ongoing issue of invisibility. Similarly to Baker and Zottola, Åker-

lund emphasized that representations often remain partial or stereotyped, although his use of mixed methods allowed for a particularly nuanced mapping of discursive trends over a 17- year period.

In contrast to these studies of mainstream print media, [Raun \(2016\)](#) shifted focus to the affordances of digital platforms, particularly YouTube, as spaces for counter-discourse. Raun illustrated how trans individuals use YouTube not only for representation but as an active tool for social connection, identity construction, and political mobilization. In this sense, Raun’s work, along with earlier contributions by [Baker \(2005\)](#) and [Morrish & Sauntson \(2007\)](#), demonstrates the importance of examining both institutional and grassroots discourses, recognizing that platforms like YouTube may offer more empowering spaces for marginalized voices than traditional media channels.

A few key patterns emerge from these studies. First, media representations of LGBTQ+ individuals remain uneven and deeply context dependent. Positive portrayals coexist with lingering stereotypes and pejorative framings, with mainstream media still struggling to offer fully inclusive or accurate representations. Second, differences in national, cultural, and media contexts shape the specific contours of these representations – as seen in the contrast between South African, British, and Swedish media landscapes. Finally, the shift toward analyzing user-generated content [UGC] ([Raun, 2016](#)) highlights the potential of digital platforms to challenge mainstream narratives and foster new forms of queer visibility and community-building.

At the same time, important limitations remain. Most corpus-based studies focus on English-language or European media, leaving significant gaps in understanding representations in other linguistic and cultural contexts. Additionally, while combining corpus linguistics with qualitative analysis offers valuable depth, more attention should be paid to intersectionality and diversity within LGBTQ+ communities.

## METHOD AND MATERIAL

The corpus “LGBTQ+dis“ was compiled from comments on 16 YouTube videos. A search was conducted on YouTube using various terms related to LGBTQ+ topics,

such as “Pride LGBTQ+ march,” “Same-sex marriage,” “Transsexual,” “Homosexual,” “Bisexual,” “Gay,” and “Lesbian.” These terms were selected based on intuition rather than a specific approach. Among the retrieved videos were titles like “Equal Marriage” and “I am trans.” Comments from YouTube users were then downloaded from each selected video, resulting in a corpus totaling 421 639 words. Initially, 27 438 comments were retrieved; however, only those containing the searched terms referring to the LGBTQ+ community were retained. After this filtering process, 5 496 comments were obtained.

The AntConc software ([Anthony, 2023](#)) was used to identify frequencies and concordances within the corpus. Table 1 displays the most frequently identified words in the corpus.

**Table 1. Frequency of the most commonly used content words**

Content word	Frequency
<i>Dios (God)</i>	2286
<i>soy (I am)</i>	1554
<i>solo (alone, only)</i>	1336
<i>todos (everybody)</i>	1233
<i>personas (people)</i>	1181
<i>todo (everything)</i>	1017
<i>bisexual (bisexual)</i>	980
<i>eres (you are)</i>	929
<i>gente (people)</i>	913
<i>mujer (woman)</i>	870

Source: Author’s elaboration.

While this study’s primary analytical focus is on the concordance lines obtained from the corpus, the frequency data of content words provide valuable contextual information about the discursive landscape surrounding LGBTQ+ topics in Mexican YouTube commentary. The prominent appearance of “Dios” (God, 2286 instances), though not directly analyzed in the concordance examination, substantiates the literature’s emphasis on religious frameworks ([Vázquez et al., 2019](#); [Gruzinski, 1986](#)) by demonstrating their continued salience in digital discourse. Similarly, the prevalence of identity markers (“soy,” “eres”) and collective terms (“todos,” “personas”), while not the focus of the concordance analysis, quantitatively reinforces [Diez’s \(2011\)](#) qualitati-

ve findings about identity negotiation in Mexican LGBTQ+ activism. These frequency patterns serve as important background indicators of the discursive environment from which the concordance lines were extracted.

Table 2 also presents the frequency of the most commonly searched LGBTQ+ related terms.

**Table 2. Frequency of the searched terms**

Searched terms	Frequency
<i>gay*</i>	1263
<i>bisexual*</i>	1196
<i>homosexual*</i>	1136
<i>heterosexual*</i>	604
<i>lesbian*</i>	323
<i>transsexual*</i>	115
<i>transgender</i>	12

Source: Author’s elaboration.

Although the methodological approach prioritizes the qualitative analysis of concordance lines over quantitative frequency counts, the distribution of searched terms also offers meaningful insight into the relative visibility of different LGBTQ+ identities in Mexican digital discourse. The higher frequency of “gay” (1263) compared to “homosexual” (1136), while not directly analyzed in the concordance study, empirically validates [González’s \(2021\)](#) observations about terminological shifts in Mexican activism. The lower frequencies for trans-related terms (“trans\*” at 115, “transgender” at 12), although not the focus of my concordance analysis, numerically corroborate [López’s \(2022\)](#) findings about gender-diverse identity marginalization. These frequency patterns provide important contextual framing for understanding the broader discursive patterns within which the concordances are analyzed.

To ensure a more meaningful interpretation of the frequency list, it is essential to complement it with qualitative interpretive analysis. By integrating quantitative frequency analysis with qualitative interpretation, it is possible to attain a more comprehensive understanding of the corpus. The concordance tool is the primary method for achieving such a goal in this study.

### Concordance lines

The primary motivation for using concordance data in corpus linguistics is the belief that interesting insights into the structure and usage of a language can be obtained by looking at words in real texts and seeing what patterns of lexis, grammar, and meaning surround them ([Wynne, 2008](#)).

Concordances offer a means to explore words within their co-text, bridging the gap to the original texts. While some detachment from the source remains, concordances provide the most faithful approximation when dealing with extensive corpora ([Mautner, 2022](#)). In the research phase involving concordance analysis, corpus linguistics tends to emphasize qualitative methods while retaining a link to quantitative perspectives, which can be revisited as needed. [Mautner \(2022\)](#) also observed that concordance lines often contain intriguing words, especially within the corpus’s sociopolitical context. This holds particular relevance when investigating topics like LGBTQ+ discourse, especially within the specific context of this study. Table 3 shows some examples of the obtained concordances.

The sample concordance lines displayed in Table 3 provide valuable insights into how Mexican YouTube commentary discusses LGBTQ+ identities. While the main analysis focuses on qualitative patterns, these sample concordances also reveal several important discursive trends. The data shows users actively negotiating sexual identities through phrases like “I am gay” and “I am bisexual,” often accompanied by value judgments that reflect broader societal tensions. Religious framing appears prominently, with comments like “Being homosexual is not a sin” demonstrating the enduring influence of Catholic morality on these discussions. An evolving terminology is also observed, where traditional labels like “Lesbianas” coexist with newer terms such as “Queer.” These samples further reveal contested definitions of sexual identities, with some users attempting precise explanations while others employ dismissive or satirical language. These patterns align with the historical and sociopolitical context outlined in the literature review, showing how contemporary digital discourse continues to engage with longstanding debates about sexual diver-

sity in Mexico. Although these sample concordance lines are not the primary focus of the analysis, they effectively illustrate the complex ways in which LGBTQ+ identities are constructed and debated in online spaces.

Owing to the large number of concordances obtained for each of the search terms, only a selection of concordances was used to perform the analysis presented in the results section.

**Table 3. Sample concordances of searched terms**

File	Left Content	Hit	Right Content
LGBT+ Corpus	I love being part of LGBT because I am	gay	and I did not feel offended at all.
	<i>Amo ser parte de LGBT Pues soy</i>		<i>y no me sentí para nada ofendido.</i>
	Something different from man or woman. If a man is	trans	, that does not make him any less of a man than a cisgender (person).
	<i>algo diferente a hombre o mujer. Si un hombre es</i>		<i>no por eso es menos hombre que un cisgender,</i>
	I don't like in-between terms because I am	bisexual	and honestly, I love being who I am.
	<i>no no me gustan los términos medios Pues yo soy</i>		<i>y la verdad me encanta ser como soy...</i>
	Ma'am, I do not consider myself transphobic. If I see a	Transexual	person, it doesn't matter to me, they are just another person among many.
	<i>señora yo no me considero transfóbico si veo a un</i>		<i>no me importa es otra persona más del montón</i>
	Friend, being homosexual does not mean you go to hell. Being	homosexual	is not a sin, and the Church acknowledges that.
	<i>amigo, no por ser homosexual te vas al infierno, ser</i>		<i>no es un pecado y la iglesia reconoce que</i>
A bisexual person is attracted to both men and women, while a	Pansexual	person is attracted to all kinds of people, right?	
<i>bisexual es quien les gustan hombres y mujeres y</i>		<i>es quien le gustan todo tipo de personas, no</i>	
We are all equal; it makes no difference whether I am a	Lesbiana	or gay. We are all equal, each one of us	
<i>todos somos iguales no hay diferencia de que si soy</i>		<i>o gay somos iguales cada uno</i>	
It should be a civilized march. Just demand, and that's it.	Queer	, You should not care if you are a woman or a man. You are simply yourself.	
<i>Debe de ser una marcha civilizada. Solo exigir y ya.</i>		<i>que no te importe si eres mujer u hombre, simplemente eres tú.</i>	

Source: Author's elaboration.

## Critical Discourse Analysis

I approached the analysis of the concordances through the lens of Critical Discourse Analysis. Both CDA and the language and sexuality fields share common ground in exploring power dynamics, challenging prevailing ideologies, and maintaining a distinctive political focus (Motschenbacher, 2018b).

As proposed by Fairclough (2013), CDA, rooted in a qualitative paradigm, extends beyond the realm of discourse or text analysis; it serves as an essential component of systematic, transdisciplinary research aimed at unraveling the complex interplay between discourse and various social elements. Furthermore, Fairclough (2017) underscored that CDA embodies a form of critical social analysis, which not only highlights the potential harm inflicted on individuals by certain aspects of social life but also emphasizes the capacity for change within these dynamics. The significant contribution of CDA lies in its ability to shed light on the intricate connections between discourse and other critical social elements, such as power dynamics, ideologies, institutions, and more. Fairclough (2013) proposes a methodology that discusses how CDA can be integrated into broader interdisciplinary research framework. Such a methodology involves four stages which I outlined as follows:

*Stage 1: Focus upon a social wrong, in its semiotic aspects.*

*Stage 2: Identify obstacles to addressing social wrongs.*

*Stage 3: Consider whether the social order ‘needs’ the social wrongs.*

*Stage 4: Identify possible ways to overcome the obstacles.*

Given the large number of concordance lines generated, two representative examples were selected per search term (*gay*, *trans*, *homosexual*, etc.) based on the following four CDA-informed criteria:

- 1) Ideological significance: Concordance lines revealing power dynamics or discrimination (Fairclough’s Stage 1)
- 2) Discursive patterns: examples reflecting dominant and marginal perspectives
- 3) Obstacle visibility: comments demonstrating barriers to addressing social wrongs (Stage 2)

- 4) Critical potential: comments either reinforcing or challenging oppressive norms (Stages 3–4)

This approach ensured that the qualitative analysis remained focused on the most socially revealing discourses while maintaining methodological rigor. The selected concordances (presented in Results) best exemplified the intersection of language, power, and LGBTQ+ marginalization in Mexican digital discourse.

## RESULTS

The following concordances were selected for the analysis, with these concepts translated into English while preserving their original meaning as accurately as possible.

### The term “gay\*”

“You’re right when it comes to the fact that **being gay has been taken to another level by exhibiting themselves disrespectfully, and it shouldn’t be that way**, marching **almost naked** through the streets where there are children walking, and that’s where **they don’t respect** others.”

“The **gay community** is created by **people who share a common issue**, which is discrimination. **If gays hadn’t formed** it and simply continued with their lives without marching, protesting, or showing the world that they exist, **LGBT rights wouldn’t exist**, and **they would still be getting killed**, or **being gay would still be considered a crime**. Everything has a reason for being.”

### The term “bisexual”

“What **bullshit** is this about being **bisexual**; **it does not exist**, it is either **one thing or the other**, one has to define oneself, or in the end, they are **not psychologically stable**.”

“I also **get told that I’m confused**. I just **don’t like** labeling myself as **bisexual**; I’m just **someone who likes people, whether they’re men or women**. Why limit ourselves?”

### The term “trans”

“Adoption for **same-sex couples** and the **right to marriage** equality are **not aberrations**; they might be for you because **you’re simply ignorant**. It is entirely legal in more than 26 countries around the world. So, the **only aberration here is your ignorance**.”

“**Why don’t they create their church for gays and lesbians**, and that’s it, it’s not +forbidden, and they **could get married and worship God there?**”

When a **trans** woman, who has completed her **legal process**, dies, **the death certificate will say she is a woman, even if she has two penises and four testicles**.

**You’re right, adults were born in a better time**; what can you expect? My grandmother sees the new generations of **trans** people, and that didn’t exist before. **These generations are getting worse and worse**.

### The term “pansexuality”

**Pansexuality doesn’t exist; bisexuality does**.

### The term “queer”

**Unlike straight people, gays are still oppressed, not to mention queers**, trans, etc. Think before you write.

### Stage 1

The social discrimination faced by the LGBTQ+ community is evident in the discourses observed in the analyzed comments, highlighting the challenges encountered by this community. The comments reflect various forms of

discrimination, particularly focusing on homosexuality, bisexuality, and broader LGBTQ+ rights.

The first two comments center on homosexuality. The initial comment illustrates several discriminatory expressions. For example, it presupposes heterosexuality as the norm and views homosexuality as a deviation from this standard. It deems LGBTQ+ pride expressions inappropriate for not conforming to heterosexual behavioral expectations. Additionally, it exhibits prejudice by portraying LGBTQ+ individuals as exhibitionists who threaten children. Such comments reduce the sexuality of LGBTQ+ individuals while disregarding their diversity, assuming uniform behavior across the community.

In terms of bisexuality, discrimination manifests in the perception that bisexuality is an invalid sexual orientation. This viewpoint reinforces a binary understanding of gay or straight attraction, and links bisexuality to psychological instability, perpetuating stigma. The second comment addresses the complex issue of identity labels and their limitations within the LGBTQ+ community. Despite the inherent sexual diversity, there is pressure to conform, suggesting that sexual orientation is a journey where labels may evolve. This acknowledgment of attraction’s fluidity validates diverse experiences and creates a space where individuals feel comfortable expressing their attractions without the pressures associated with labels.

When discussing LGBTQ+ rights such as same-sex marriage, adoption, and freedom of worship, discrimination is evident through dislike and prejudice, specifically homophobia. The first comment responds to a previous critique of same-sex couples’ desires for marriage or adoption, rejecting the notion that same-sex unions are deviations from societal norms. It challenges the assumption that heterosexual marriage is the default.

The second comment further embodies various aspects of discrimination faced by the LGBTQ+ community. It creates a division between “them” (LGBTQ+ individuals) and “us” (presumably straight individuals), suggesting that LGBTQ+ individuals do not belong in mainstream churches and implying their incompatibility with religious faith. Additionally, it downplays the significance of religious inclusion and marriage equality within established institutions.

Regarding the term “transexual,” one comment reflects a significant social wrong: the ridicule and dehumanization of trans individuals. The phrase “even if she has two penises and four testicles” perpetuates mockery and delegitimization of trans identities by reducing a trans woman’s identity to an exaggerated and biologically inaccurate description, undermining both legal and social recognition of their gender identity.

Another comment referring to “trans” disparages younger generations by associating them with the existence and visibility of trans people, framing their presence as indicative of societal decay. The phrase “These generations are getting worse and worse” signals a rejection of social progress while perpetuating the marginalization of trans identities.

In discussing “pansexuality,” one comment dismisses this identity altogether, erasing the experiences of those who identify as pansexual. By invalidating pansexuality, the statement reinforces a binary understanding of sexual orientation that excludes identities not conforming to traditional categories.

Finally, regarding the term “queer,” one comment highlights the continued oppression faced by queer and trans individuals but does so in a dismissive tone that potentially trivializes their experiences. The phrase “Think before you write” conveys condescension rather than fostering constructive engagement with these critical issues.

Overall, these comments reflect deep-seated prejudices within societal discourse surrounding LGBTQ+ identities and rights, underscoring the need for greater understanding and acceptance.

These patterns reflect [Butler’s \(2024\)](#) concept of anti-gender ideology as a “phantasmatic scene” that projects societal anxieties onto LGBTQ+ communities. The comments demonstrate condensation (framing queer visibility as societal decay) and displacement (blaming queer identities for structural issues). They embody Butler’s “restorative project”, reinforcing gender binaries by portraying LGBTQ+ identities as threats. The mockery of trans and pansexual identities, for example, exemplifies how gender nonconformity is rendered illegitimate to preserve patriarchal hierarchies, revealing systemic discursive violence rather than isolated prejudice.

## Stage 2

In Mexico, there are significant obstacles hindering the advancement of the LGBTQ+ community’s agenda, many of which are evident in the comments collected from the corpus. One major obstacle is societal expectations, which often revolve around traditional gender roles and heteronormative relationships. These expectations lead to the discrimination and marginalization of LGBTQ+ individuals, creating pressure to conform to established norms. This pressure manifests as homophobia and discrimination, with derogatory language stigmatizing LGBTQ+ activities and reinforcing discriminatory norms. Such language normalizes discrimination within Mexican society by framing LGBTQ+ expressions as inappropriate and appealing to traditional family values. Emotional language and hyperbolic statements further delegitimize LGBTQ+ rights movements, perpetuating hierarchies that favor heteronormativity. These comments reflect broader societal attitudes toward LGBTQ+ activism and visibility, which fuel antagonism toward the community.

Additionally, entrenched transphobia poses a significant barrier to progress. The conflation of biological sex with gender identity reveals a lack of societal understanding or respect for trans experiences. This misunderstanding is compounded by the normalization of transphobic language in everyday discourse, which discourages critical engagement with the realities faced by trans individuals. Generational prejudice and misinformation about the history of trans identities, identities that have always existed, further complicate the landscape. Many perceive trans visibility as a modern phenomenon linked to moral decline, an attitude fueled by a lack of exposure to diverse identities and uncritical acceptance of conservative social narratives.

Moreover, there is a lack of understanding regarding the distinctions between bisexuality and pansexuality, alongside broader issues of biphobia and the marginalization of these identities within LGBTQ+ discourse. This reflects resistance to expanding the vocabulary and recognizing diverse sexual orientations. Societal indifference or hostility toward the systemic oppression of queer and trans individuals also presents a significant challenge. There is a tendency to minimize or dismiss these struggles in public discourse, as evidenced by

comments that superficially acknowledge these issues without providing substantive support for the marginalized groups they reference. Together, these obstacles create a complex environment that hinders progress for the LGBTQ+ community in Mexico.

Mexico's strong Catholic background also contributes to discrimination against the LGBTQ+ community. The Catholic Church has historically been opposed to same-sex relationships and transgender identities, influencing societal attitudes and policies toward the LGBTQ+ community. Traditional values and a patriarchal vision are also obstacles to LGBTQ+ rights. Traditional values often prioritize heterosexual relationships and gender roles, leading to the discrimination and marginalization of LGBTQ+ individuals. A patriarchal vision also contributes to gender-based violence and discrimination against women, including members of the LGBTQ+ community. Conservative ideologies are also a barrier to LGBTQ+ rights. In Mexico, conservatism has often opposed LGBTQ+ rights, including same-sex marriage and adoption. Although Mexico is recognized for the number of LGBTQ+ rights achieved, only six of the 97 LGBTQ+ rights approved so far are of national scope, according to [López \(2022\)](#). This means that progress is being made at the state level, in a fragmented and disjointed manner, with different legal characteristics depending on the approval routes. In fact, the obstacle becomes more complicated when observing that there are some parts of the country where rights for the LGBTQ+ community are limited. This is due to a deeply rooted history in Christianity, where religious groups opposed laws that proposed controlling Catholic worship, and conservative political groups also influence the slow progress of the LGBTQ+ agenda. Labor discrimination against LGBTQ+ individuals is also a significant obstacle to their economic and social inclusion. According to the National Institute of Statistics and Geography [[Inegi by its acronym in Spanish](#)] (2021), labor discrimination is the most common type of discrimination faced by members of the LGBTQ+ community, with a rate of 29.9%. Discrimination in employment leads to a lack of resources and opportunities for LGBTQ+ individuals, perpetuating poverty, and marginalization. These issues are interconnected and can create a complex web of discrimination and marginalization for the LGBTQ+ community in Mexico.

The obstacles identified align with [Butler's \(2024\)](#) analysis of how anti-gender movements institutionalize resistance through “moral panic” rhetoric. Religious objections mirror what Butler terms the “Vatican strategy”, framing LGBTQ+ rights as threats to family and faith to justify exclusion. Political opposition reflects the authoritarian co-option of gender debates to consolidate power, while social stigma exemplifies the “phantasmatic binding” of diverse fears into a unified resistance against gender diversity. These structural barriers demonstrate how anti-gender discourse, as Butler argues, weaponizes tradition to obstruct progress while masking its own ideological violence.

### Stage 3

The social order often benefits from the existence of social wrongs, particularly in the context of discrimination against the LGBTQ+ community. Criticisms of public displays of LGBTQ+ identity reflect a desire to keep these identities invisible and conform to societal norms. Groups opposing the advancement of LGBTQ+ rights perceive this struggle as a threat to traditional and religious values, using it to bolster their influence across various sectors of society. By framing LGBTQ+ rights as a challenge to the status quo, these groups can solidify their support base and reaffirm their vision of society, which is rooted in entrenched societal expectations and conservative ideologies.

This resistance to LGBTQ+ progress is not just a reactionary stance; it actively reinforces existing power structures. For instance, maintaining transphobia serves to uphold binary gender norms, marginalizing individuals who challenge these norms. This marginalization sustains a hierarchical system that privileges cisgender identities while alienating trans individuals. Comments that frame trans identities as disruptive to societal norms only serve to validate this exclusion, perpetuating stigma and reinforcing generational divides.

Moreover, the invalidation of pansexuality contributes to a simplified view of sexual orientation that reinforces heteronormativity. Society prevents a more inclusive understanding of human diversity by maintaining rigid, binary categories of sexual identity, an understanding that could destabilize traditional power structures and

norms. Thus, the marginalization of queer and trans individuals sustains heteronormative dominance and cisnormative standards, further entrenching societal norms that privilege heterosexual, and cisgender identities.

The information above also resonates with [Butler's \(2024\)](#) critique of how patriarchal systems actively reproduce LGBTQ+ marginalization to sustain their dominance. The social order's investment in maintaining these wrongs reflects what Butler terms the "restorative project", where gender-based discrimination serves as a stabilizing mechanism for heteronormative power structures.

#### Stage 4

In addressing the social wrongs related to LGBTQ+ issues in Mexico, identifying strategies that can effectively overcome existing obstacles is essential. Political activism emerges as a vital avenue for navigating these challenges, as it holds politicians accountable for their commitments to LGBTQ+ rights. Voters must critically examine the double discourse of political parties, advocating for political leadership that prioritizes LGBTQ+ inclusion in policymaking. This activism can lead to the implementation of comprehensive anti-discrimination laws that specifically protect LGBTQ+ individuals, provide legal recognition for various rights, and establish legal precedents affirming LGBTQ+ rights.

Moreover, improving the living conditions for the LGBTQ+ community is crucial in advancing their agenda. The realization of rights is often perceived as a post-materialist issue, which is more likely to occur once basic material needs are addressed ([Pierceson, 2010](#)). In Mexico, significant socioeconomic disparities exist within the LGBTQ+ population: 20.9% of nearly 5 million individuals identified as part of this community are unemployed; 38.8% live in rural areas with limited economic development; 42.8% report having a disability; and 28.1% have experienced workplace rejection. Addressing these economic challenges can create a more favorable environment for advancing LGBTQ+ rights.

Education plays a critical role in combating discrimination and fostering acceptance. Inclusive education and awareness campaigns are essential for challenging stereotypes and promoting understanding.

[Åkerlund \(2019\)](#) emphasizes the importance of accurate representations and countering misconceptions through education. Promoting clear distinctions between sex and gender, amplifying trans voices in public discourse, and fostering empathy through cultural initiatives are necessary steps to dismantle transphobia. Public discourse should include accessible definitions of sexual orientations, highlighting the validity of diverse identities, including pansexuality.

Intergenerational dialogue is also vital for challenging stereotypes and building mutual understanding across communities. Historical education about gender diversity and inclusive representation in media can bridge gaps and foster acceptance of trans identities as integral to human diversity. LGBTQ+ advocacy groups must play a pivotal role in educating the public and fostering acceptance of less commonly understood identities.

To effectively overcome barriers to LGBTQ+ rights in Mexico, it is essential to promote solidarity across communities and amplify queer and trans voices in discussions about oppression. This includes advocating for allyship that goes beyond performative gestures and calls for structural changes such as policy reforms and inclusive education initiatives. By framing activism as a response to historical discrimination and emphasizing its positive outcomes, such as legal advancements, societal attitudes can begin to shift toward greater inclusivity.

Ultimately, creating a more inclusive environment for LGBTQ+ individuals requires comprehensive efforts that encompass political engagement, economic improvement, educational initiatives, and intercommunity dialogue. These strategies collectively contribute to dismantling systemic oppression and fostering a society that values diversity in all its forms.

Judith Butler's framework illuminates Mexico's path to LGBTQ+ equality. Political activism embodies her "coalitions", transforming voting into a tool for accountability. Addressing economic precarity, where almost 21 % of LGBTQ+ Mexicans face unemployment, challenges the material foundations of oppression, what Butler terms "differential precarity". Educational initiatives also disrupt anti-gender narratives by reclaiming discourse through sex/gender education and trans visibility.

## Examining Discursive Complexities in Mexican Digital Spaces

This study employs Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 2013) to investigate the construction of anti-LGBTQ+ discrimination within Spanish-language YouTube commentary in Mexico. While the analysis has primarily focused on deconstructing dominant patterns of prejudice due to their significant social impact, the dataset also reveals important counter-discourses that merit attention. These alternative perspectives, though less prevalent, provide crucial insights into the multifaceted nature of public discourse surrounding LGBTQ+ rights in contemporary Mexico.

The corpus includes examples of users challenging normative frameworks, such as those expanding queer identity beyond binary classifications (“Queer is not limiting yourself to being a man or a woman” [Queer es no limitarte a ser hombre o mujer]) or reinterpreting religious doctrine to advocate for LGBTQ+ inclusion (“God loves every one, without exceptions” [Dios ama a todos, sin excepciones]). These discursive strategies are particularly significant as they expose the complex ideological negotiations regarding gender and sexuality occurring within Mexican society.

Further exploration of these competing discourses could advance our understanding in three key ways. First, a systematic analysis of the interaction between exclusionary and inclusive narratives would more accurately capture the dynamic nature of social acceptance. Second, examination of counter-discursive tactics could illuminate their relationship to established activist methodologies (Diez, 2011; González, 2021). Third, comprehensive engagement with this discursive spectrum would prevent reductive characterizations of Mexican public opinion, instead reflecting the sophisticated sociopolitical reality outlined by López (2022).

While the current study prioritized identifying social wrongs in accordance with Fairclough’s (2013) model, a more extensive investigation of discursive diversity could yield valuable strategies for advancing equality—a central objective of Stage 4 in Fairclough’s methodology. This represents a productive avenue for future research that could build upon the empirical foundations established here while exploring new dimensions of digital discourse analysis.

## CONCLUSION

The methodology combines Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) with a corpus of YouTube comments selected using intuitive search terms, which introduces some limitations. The intuitive term selection bias restricts representativeness by excluding relevant voices and less active users. Additionally, the focus on publicly visible discourse limits the diversity of perspectives.

Innovatively, the approach merges quantitative analysis of word frequencies and concordances with qualitative CDA, allowing the identification of linguistic patterns along with power relations and social exclusion present in digital discourse about LGBTQ rights in Mexico. Using YouTube comments provides a current and contextualized view of a digital space where both discriminatory and supportive discourses coexist.

To improve, it is recommended to systematize term selection based on theory or prior studies, expand to other social media platforms, incorporate qualitative methods like interviews, and conduct longitudinal studies to track discourse evolution over time. This study aligns with Jones’s (2021) call for broader, global perspectives in the field, emphasizing the importance of exploring queerness in non-Anglophone contexts. In Mexico, the LGBTQ+ community navigates a complex reality shaped by historical oppression, societal expectations, and persistent discrimination. Using Critical Discourse Analysis to examine concordances, this research highlights the challenging narratives that frame LGBTQ+ experiences in the country.

Despite these challenges, avenues for hope and progress have emerged. Political mobilization, economic empowerment, and educational initiatives are identified as catalysts for meaningful change, challenging deep-seated prejudices, and fostering a culture of inclusivity and equality. Transforming the Mexican society into one that fully embraces diversity and respects the rights of all requires a multi-dimensional approach. This entails not only legislative reforms and policy enforcement but also a fundamental shift in societal attitudes and cultural norms.

Collaborative efforts across sectors and communities are essential for dismantling systemic barriers faced by

the LGBTQ+ community. Such efforts can pave the way for a future where every individual can live authentically, free from fear and discrimination.

## **INFORMACIÓN DE LOS AUTORES Y CONTRIBUCIÓN DE ACUERDO A LA TAXONOMÍA CREDIT**

<sup>1</sup>Héctor Castro Mosqueda, <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3900-2356>.

Conceptualización, Análisis formal, Metodología, Redacción – borrador original, Redacción – revisión y edición.

## **DECLARACIÓN DE CONFLICTO DE INTERÉS**

El autor declara que no existe ningún conflicto de interés financiero, profesional o personal que pudiera haber influido en los resultados ni en la interpretación de los datos presentados en este artículo.

## REFERENCES

- Aguilar, R. (2024, March 13). El PAN: liberal y conservador. *El Economista*. <https://www.eleconomista.com.mx/opinion/PAN-liberal-y-conservador-20131006-0001.html>
- Åkerlund, M. (2019). Representations of trans people in Swedish newspaper. *Journalism Studies*, 20(9), 1319-1338. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2018.1513816>
- Anthony, L. (2023). AntConc (Version 4.2.4) [Computer Software]. Waseda University. <https://www.lauranceanthony.net/software>
- Baker, P. (2005). *Public discourses of gay men*. Routledge.
- Baker, P. (2008). *Sexed texts: Language, gender and sexuality*. Equinox.
- Baker, P. (2014). Bad wigs and screaming mimis': Using corpus-assisted techniques to carry out critical discourse analysis of the representation of trans people in the British press. *Contemporary critical discourse studies*, 211-235. <https://doi.org/10.5040/9781472593634>
- Baker, P. (2018). Language, sexuality and corpus linguistics: Concerns and future directions. *Journal of Language and Sexuality*, 7(2), 263-279. <https://doi.org/10.1075/jls.17018.bak>
- Bailey, A. (2019). "Girl-on-girl culture" Constructing normative identities in a corpus of sex advice for queer women. *Journal of Language and Sexuality*, 8(2), 195-220. <https://doi.org/10.1075/jls.18013.bai>
- Burgess, J. & Green, J. (2013). *YouTube: Online video and participatory culture*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Butler, J. (2024). *Who's afraid of gender?* Farrar, Straus & Girou.
- Choi, A. (2023, April 6). Record number of anti-LGBT bills have been introduced this year. CNN. <https://edition.cnn.com/2023/04/06/politics/anti-lgbtq-plus-state-bill-rights-dg/index.html>
- Diez, J. (2011). La trayectoria política del movimiento Lésbico-Gay en México. *Estudios sociológicos*, 687-712. <https://www.redalyc.org/pdf/598/59823584010.pdf>
- Fairclough, N. (2017). CDA as dialectical reasoning. In J. Flowerdew, & J. E. Richardson (Eds.), *The routledge handbook of critical discourse studies* (pp. 13-25). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315739342-2>
- Fairclough, N. (2013). *Critical discourse analysis*. In J.P. Gee, & M. Handford (Eds.). *The routledge handbook of discourse analysis* (pp. 9-20). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203809068>
- González, M. H. (2019). Contra el agandalle de la tira. El surgimiento del Movimiento de Liberación Homosexual y la resistencia a las razias policiacas en la ciudad de México, 1978-1984. *Sémata: Ciencias Sociales e Humanidades* (31). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15304/s.31.6003>
- González, M. H. (2021). Vestidas para marchar. Traves-tismo, identidad y protesta en los primeros años del Movimiento de Liberación Homosexual en México, 1978- 1984. *Revista Interdisciplinaria de Estudios de Género de El Colegio de México*, 7, e582. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.24201/reg.v7i1.582>
- Gruzinski, S. (1986). Las cenizas del deseo. Homosexuales novohispanos a mediados del siglo XVII. In S. Ortega (Ed.), *De la santidad a la perversión o de por qué no se cumplía la ley de Dios en la sociedad novohispana* (pp. 255-290). Grijalbo.
- Hunt, S. (2021). The South African news media and representations of sexuality. In J. Angouri, & J. Baxter (Eds.), *The routledge handbook of language, gender, and sexuality* (pp. 587-601). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315514857-47>
- Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía [Inegi] (2021). Encuesta Nacional sobre Diversidad Sexual y de Género (Endiseg). <https://www.inegi.org.mx/programas/endiseg/2021/>
- Jones, L. (2020). Subverting transphobia and challenging ignorance: The interactive construction of resistant identity in a community of practice of transgender youth. *Journal of Language and Discrimination*, 4(2). <https://doi.org/10.1558/jld.18488>
- Jones, L. (2021). Queer linguistics and identity: The past decade. *Journal of Language and Sexuality*, 10(1), 13-24. <https://doi.org/10.1075/jls.00010.jon>
- Jones, R. Chik, A., & Hafner, C. (2015). *Discourse and Digital Practices*. Taylor & Francis. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315726465>
- López, E. (2022). Radiografía de los derechos subna-

- cionales LGBT+ en México y sus mecanismos de aprobación. *Andamios*, 19 (49), 361-390. [https://www.scielo.org.mx/scielo.php?pid=S1870-00632022000200361&script=sci\\_arttext](https://www.scielo.org.mx/scielo.php?pid=S1870-00632022000200361&script=sci_arttext)
- Mautner, G. (2022). What can a corpus tell us about the discourse? In A. O’Keeffe, & M.J. McCarthy (Eds.), *The routledge handbook of corpora* (pp. 250-262). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780367076399-18>
- Monsiváis, C. (8 of November, 2001). La gran redada. *La Jornada*. <https://www.jornada.com.mx/2001/11/08/ls-monsivais.html>
- Morrish, L. & Sauntson, H. (2007). *New Perspectives on Language and Sexual Identity*. Palgrave Macmillan
- Motschenbacher, H. (2018a). Corpus linguistics in language and sexuality studies: Taking stock and future directions.” *Journal of Language and Sexuality*, 7 (2) 145-174. <https://doi.org/10.1075/jls.17019.mot>
- Motschenbacher, H. (2018b). Sexuality in critical discourse studies. In J. Flowerdew, & J. E. Richardson (Eds.), *The routledge handbook of critical discourse studies* (pp. 388-402). Routledge.
- Ortega, S. (1988). El discurso teológico de Santo Tomás de Aquino sobre el matrimonio, la familia y los comportamientos sexuales. In J. Mortíz (ed.), *El placer de pecar y el afán de normar* (pp. 15-78). Contrapuntos.
- Page, R., Unger, J. Zappavigna, M., & Barton, D. (2014). *Researching language and social media: A student guide*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315771786>
- Pierceson, J. Piatti-Crocker, A., & Schulenberg, S. (2010). *Same-Sex Marriage in the Americas: Policy Innovation for Same-Sex Relationships*. Lexington Books. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s1531426x00004027>
- Raun, T. (2016). *Out Online: Trans self-representation and community building on YouTube*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315599229>
- Ryan, J. M. (2019). Communicating trans identity: Toward an understanding of the selection and significance of gender identity-based terminology. *Journal of Language and Sexuality*, 8 (2), 221-241. <https://doi.org/10.1075/jls.19001.rya>
- Suárez, M. (1999). *Sexualidad y norma sobre lo prohibido. La Ciudad de México y las postrimerías del virreinato*. Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana.
- Vázquez., J. C., Coss y León, D., & Salinas, O. (2019). Una aproximación histórico-social a la evolución de los derechos de la comunidad LGBTI+ en México. *Revista humanidades*, 9 (2), 1-20. <https://doi.org/10.15517/h.v9i2.37751>
- Wynne, M. (2008). Searching and concordancing. In A. Lüdeling, & M. Kytö (Eds.), *Corpus linguistics* (pp. 706-737). Walter de Gruyter.
- Zimman, L. (2014). The discursive construction of sex: Remaking and reclaiming the gendered body in talk about genitals among trans men. In L. Zimman, J. Davis, & J. Raclaw (Eds). *Queer excursions: Retheorizing binaries in language, gender, and sexuality* (pp. 13-34). Oxford. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199937295.003.0002>
- Zottola, A. (2018). Transgender identity labels in the British press: A corpus-based discourse analysis. *Journal of Language and Sexuality*, 7 (2), 237-262. <https://doi.org/10.1075/jls.17017.zot>