OUT in Mexico

ReportOUT

“Lo que no se nombra, no existe”*: An analysis of the experiences of violence from LGBTTTIQA+ communities in Mexico

*What cannot be named, doesn’t exist

Registered with FUNDRAISING REGULATOR

ReportOUT is a global SOGIESC human rights organisation
For more information, please visit our website: www.reportout.org
Registered Charity Number (England and Wales): 1185887

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Who are ReportOUT?

Since 2019, ReportOUT has been at the forefront of protecting the human rights of sexual and gender minorities in the United Kingdom and globally. As a registered charity in England and Wales (registered charity number 1185887) we are **fearless, determined and relentless** in our belief that human rights are fundamental to advancing the lives of sexual and gender minorities, and their communities. We recognise that we need to succeed in our aims and objectives by using principles from international development alongside human rights frameworks; we believe both approaches should **always include sexual and gender minorities.** We align our work with Agenda 2030, so no one should be left behind.

ReportOUT's official aims and objectives are:
To promote human rights (as set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and subsequent United Nations conventions and declarations) throughout the world for sexual and gender minorities by all or any of the following means:

- Eliminating infringements of human rights;
- Research into human rights issues;
- Raising awareness of human rights issues;
- Educating the public about human rights;
- Monitoring abuses of human rights;
- International advocacy of human rights;
- Providing technical advice to government and others on human rights matters.

Our guiding principles:

- **Principle 1:** No one should be left behind in delivering the articles set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
- **Principle 2:** Every person has a part to play in achieving the goals and targets set out in the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals.
- **Principle 3:** Positive change should be led by communities within a nation state and ReportOUT will support them to do this.

When it comes to formal research projects, ReportOUT is proud to follow the Amsterdam Network Guiding Principles, which were born out of concern that an advocacy community in one country should not speak for groups in another country, without a clear and informed mandate to do so. It sets out clear guidance about how we at ReportOUT, work as an organisation with others in different nation states, and parts of the globe. ReportOUT is a volunteer-led charity, with volunteers and Trustees originating from over thirty nation-states.

Introductory Note: Drew Dalton

ReportOUT is delighted to present the findings of our 'OUT in Mexico' research study. We worked in close partnership with Contramapeo in Mexico over 12 months to construct this deep insight study into the lived experiences of the LGBTQI+ Mexican community. With our survey receiving over 20,000 responses, this is not only ReportOUT's largest ever study but also one of the largest studies ever undertaken on LGBTQI+ communities anywhere in Central America. This is a testament to the superb teamwork and diligence of our organisations. We are extremely grateful to have been able to work with such a knowledgeable and generous partner as Contramapeo and would like to extend our sincere thanks for the partnership, in particular to Fredel Granados, whose leadership and guidance have been exemplary.

Mexico represents a complex picture where legal protections for LGBTQI+ communities and societal attitudes do not always align. Our study demonstrates that over 88% of LGBTQI+ Mexicans have experienced a form of violence or discrimination, with the proportion even higher amongst more marginalised groups, such as trans, Indigenous, and non-Mexican communities. Despite a high proportion of respondents reporting feeling safe in their city, our study also shines a light upon the largely hidden phenomenon of LGBTQI+ individuals being victims of violence within their own family, which is far more frequent than violence at the hands of police or state institutions. That said, it is also clear that LGBTQI+ Mexicans have a low level of trust in the police and judicial institutions, as many victims feel unsafe in publicly denouncing and reporting their experiences of violence.

The Mexican government has stated a commitment to improving LGBTQ+ rights, as a function of meeting the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) by 2030, which includes commitments to end discrimination and strong institutions for all citizens. Our study highlights key themes where there is a danger that, without action, LGBTQI+ communities could be left behind. We end this report with recommendations that, if implemented, would aid Mexican authorities in fulfilling obligations under the SDGs towards the LGBTQI+ community, which would benefit society as a whole.

Lastly, thank you to our volunteers who managed this study over the past year, in particular Daniel Santos and Josh Hurn. ReportOUT only exists because of the dedication, passion and commitment of its volunteers, and this dedication has been clear throughout the project. We continue to be proud and grateful for the effort of our entire volunteer base.

Drew Dalton
Chair of Trustees, ReportOUT

Drew Dalton
Chair of Trustees
ReportOUT

Introductory Note: Fredel Granados

This report stands as one of the largest accounts of the realities LGBTTTIQA+ individuals face in Mexico, where legal protections often exist in theory but disappear in practice. Legislatively, our results found gaps in the enforcement of anti-discrimination policies, gender identity recognition, and access to justice. Many respondents described bureaucratic obstacles, institutional as well as educational violence, and a lack of accountability that leave them unprotected despite Mexico's apparent formal commitments to equality.

On an international level, our partnership with ReportOUT elevates local experiences to the global stage. The testimonies and data we were able to gather will contribute to human rights monitoring mechanisms, national dialogues, and the work of international organisations that hold governments accountable. Our investigation reinforces the urgency of addressing these violations within Mexico and places them within broader struggles against state neglect and impunity. In a world where LGBTTTIQA+ lives are constantly either under negotiation or under fire, our report ensures that the voices of those most affected are not left out of the conversation.

Beyond its legal and political significance, this investigation carries an emotional weight. It has been an honour to listen to individuals who, often for the first time, found a space to share their fears, frustrations, and experiences. Many spoke of harassment, rejection, and violence, but also of resilience, community, and the need to be heard. Our report, more than any other academic article, represents lives. It is a reminder that even in the face of systemic neglect, the act of existing remains a form of love and resistance. To have been part of creating this space is both a privilege and a responsibility, one that must continue beyond these pages.

This project would not have been possible without the support of ReportOUT and its team of research volunteers. Thank you for bearing with my late responses, long waits, and unexpected challenges. Your dedication, patience, and belief in this work made it possible to bring every one of these realities to light.

Fredel Granados, Contramapeo

Fredel Granados
Contramapeo

Our Research Partner

Contramapeo

Contramapeo is a multidisciplinary cartography project dedicated to mapping and analysing gender-based violence within territorial and urban dynamics. We integrate different methodologies from social sciences, data analysis, and community engagement, in order to make visible the spatial dimensions of violence, and the systemic inequalities that sustain it. Our work intersects activism, research, and digital tools to generate the critical knowledge needed to inform policies, urban planning, grassroots interventions, and ultimately, create a safe space for all types of narratives to converge. Our main goal is to contribute to the inclusivity of spaces, both urban and private, for all, particularly for women and LGBTQIA+ communities.

Our Research Team at ReportOUT

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ReportOUT must give special thanks to our partner organisation in Mexico, Contramapeo, who helped to design, collate, and inform the research project at every stage. Their diligence has led to this resulting in our largest ever respondent rate for a survey (over 20,000 valid responses). The picture in Mexico is a complex one and we all hope that this research will make an impact on the work undertaken by Mexican civil society to continue to progress the rights of sexual and gender minorities. In particular, the experience of working with Fredel Granados has been exceptional and we are grateful for all of her insights, support and guidance throughout the project.

A project of this size cannot be driven forward without a significant cast and we thank Drew Dalton, Chair of Trustees and Phil Thomas, Lead Researcher for Human Rights Research at ReportOUT for developing the partnership with the Contramapeo and establishing the project. A special thanks is owed to ReportOUT volunteers Daniel Santos and Josh Hurn who have led this project with distinction. Thanks too to all of our contributing researchers: Arnaldo de Santos, Gustavo Hernandez, Sofia Victoria Rodriguez and Ricardo Henao-Galvis; the last two researchers have since left the organisation. ReportOUT remains an entirely volunteer-led organisation and we remain extremely grateful for the motivation and passion of our volunteer researchers. Our research team also owes thanks to Thusara Chandrasiri, Lead Volunteer for Communications and Ilia Hionidiu, Lead Volunteer for Global Campaigns for their support and leadership in getting this launched.

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Key Research Findings

Overview

The research project "Out in Mexico" sought to explore the experiences of violence faced by Mexican LGBTTTIQA+ individuals and communities. Henceforth, the term "LGBTTTIQA+" (Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, transsexual, transvestite, intersex, queer, asexual) encompasses all individuals expressing and/or living non-cisheteronormative sexual orientation, gender identity, gender expression, and sexual characteristics. Amongst the various terms, LGBTTTIQA+ is the preferred one because it is the most used in the Mexican context.

Contextualisation of Mexico

The protection of LGBTTTIQA+ individuals and communities in Mexico reflects a complicated mix of progress and persistent challenges. Legally, the country has made significant advancements, including the nationwide legalisation of same-sex marriage in 2022 and the implementation of anti-discrimination laws at the federal and state levels. Legislation in the country is decided on a federal and state level, and some states also allow legal gender recognition for transgender individuals, as well as same-sex adoption for queer families. However, enforcement of these protections remains inconsistent, and some states still lack anti-discrimination measures. Hate crimes targeting LGBTTTIQA+ individuals often go unpunished, which perpetuates a culture of impunity and corruption.

Politically, there is growing institutional support for LGBTTTIQA+ inclusion, particularly at the federal level, with bodies like the National Council to Prevent Discrimination advocating for rights. However, stigmatising rhetoric from some political leaders undermines these efforts. Representation of openly LGBTTTIQA+ politicians is improving but remains limited due to the danger it presents.

Key Research Findings

Socially, Mexico exhibits significant regional and cultural disparities. Urban areas like Mexico City demonstrate greater acceptance, while rural and conservative regions often maintain discriminatory attitudes. Intersecting vulnerabilities, such as race, class, and location, usually exacerbate marginalisation, particularly for indigenous and Afro-Mexican LGBTTTIQA+ individuals. Community networks provide crucial support in cities but are sparse in rural areas, leaving many without physical safe spaces or resources. Most progress in community building and advocacy is driven by non-profits, grassroots projects, alliances, and civil society groups pushing for systemic change.

Economic exclusion is also a key issue for LGBTTTIQA+ individuals, especially transgender people, who are often confined to informal economies due to workplace discrimination. Although legal protections exist, they are poorly enforced. In healthcare, systemic barriers and stigma continue to hinder access to trans-specific services and HIV-related care. The cost and geographic concentration of these services further exacerbate inequalities. Limited data on LGBTTTIQA+ security challenges hinders informed policy-making, leaving civil society organisations to fill critical gaps in monitoring rights violations and advocating for reform.

Education systems are another area of concern, as anti-bullying policies are weakly enforced, leaving LGBTTTIQA+ students vulnerable to violence and discrimination. School curricula largely exclude LGBTTTIQA+ perspectives, and sexual education is often taught incorrectly due to shame or stigma. Meanwhile, media representation has improved but is frequently stereotypical, and cultural narratives remain divided between traditionalist and progressive views.

LGBTTTIQA+ individuals face heightened risks during crises, mainly migrants and asylum seekers, who are often targets of violence and discrimination both en route to and within Mexico. Humanitarian responses frequently overlook the needs of LGBTTTIQA+ individuals, leaving them especially vulnerable, with transgender individuals disproportionately affected. While urban centres offer some safe spaces, rural areas lack such infrastructure, further isolating LGBTTTIQA+ individuals.

Key Research Findings

The key findings of this research study demonstrate that:

Experiences of Violence in Mexico

- Violence against LGBTTTIQA+ people in Mexico is the norm, with 88.5% of participants reporting that, at least once in their lives, they have experienced violence and/or discrimination.
- LGBTTTIQA+ individuals from particularly marginalised groups, such as trans communities, Indigenous communities, and non-Mexican communities, are especially vulnerable to violence.

Types of Violence

- 60.8% of participants have been victims of verbal aggression.
- 31.9% have suffered from street harassment.
- 24.7% of respondents have been physically assaulted due to their sexuality and/or gender identity and expression.
- 13.9% have been sexually assaulted .
- Other types of violence registered included economic aggression, confrontation, kidnapping, homicide, (trans)femicide, and human trafficking.

Spaces of Violence

- Major Mexican states and cities offer an ambivalent context where LGBTTTIQA+ people feel more insecure as well as safer.
- 49.9% of the experiences of violence were registered in the private sphere, making Family violence the most common form of anti-LGBTTTIQA+ violence in Mexico.
- 27.3% of respondents denounced their workplace as a site of anti-LGBTTTIQA+ violence.
- 17.3% of LGBTTTIQA+ Mexicans reported that they have been victims of anti-LGBTTTIQA+ violence during their childhood and adolescence at educational premises.
- 8.6% of respondents have denounced being subjected to violence by the Mexican National Guard and Mexican Armed Forces.

The results allow for a discussion of the recommendations proposed at the end of the report

Literature Review

Mexico

Mexico, in North America, is by far the largest Spanish-speaking nation on earth, with a population of over 125 million people (Santiago, 2019). Like so many others, it is a country dealing with poverty and wealth inequalities, violence and beauty. One acute paradox is the distance between its progressive and largely liberal legislation on LGBTTTIQA + rights compared to the reality of life for gender and sexual minorities there. Faced with high levels of violence, hatred, and discrimination, Mexico's overt political progressiveness has not helped the challenges facing these communities.

1. LGBTTTIQA+ History in Mexico

The Spanish colonisation of Mexico was characterised by strong religious doctrine and included the imposition of strict patriarchal gender and sexual norms. Homoerotic behaviours were strictly forbidden and punishable by severe measures, such as being burned at the stake (Christel, L. 2022). The consequences of these harsh prohibitions continued to reverberate through the centuries, shaping societal attitudes towards LGBTTTIQA+ individuals.

From the 1850s, LGBTTTIQA+ individuals, in particular gay men, began to organise private gatherings as a way to express their identities and find community. Those caught engaging in these activities faced incarceration and public humiliation. The severity of the punishment varied significantly based on social class; upper-class individuals often managed to bribe their way out of harsh penalties, while lower-class individuals faced much harsher consequences (Lozano-Verduzco & Sánchez, 2015).

Moreover, in the 20th century, although homosexuality was not formally punishable by law since the 1929 Penal Code reform, it was still viewed as a moral failing. The police frequently prosecuted LGBTTTIQA+ individuals, especially gay men, reflecting the persistent stigma and societal discrimination (Lozano-Verduzco & Sánchez, 2015). The emergence of the HIV epidemic further intensified stigmatisation and obstructed the progress of LGBTTTIQA+ rights (Lozano-Verduzco & Sánchez, 2015).

Furthermore, the roots of organised modern LGBTTTIQA+ activism in Mexico can be traced back to the 1970s, with the formation of groups like the Homosexual Liberation Front and the Homosexual Front of Revolutionary Action. These groups were often linked with left-wing political movements and played a crucial role in advocating for sexual expression and social respect. The first pride march in 1979 was a landmark event, highlighting demands for sexual freedom and respect from society and law enforcement (Weis, 2014; Negroni, 2004).

Review of the Literature

The turn of the 21st century marked a significant shift in the narrative of LGBTTTIQA+ activism in Mexico. Activists began framing their efforts as part of a broader human rights struggle, which led to notable achievements such as the National Anti-Homophobia Campaign and the legalisation of same-sex marriage and adoption in several Mexican states since 2009 (Lozano-Verduzco & Sánchez, 2015).

This new wave of activism in Mexico that started in the 1990s transcended local contexts and focused on several key areas: the decriminalisation of homosexuality, the visibility of diverse sexual populations, the rejection of state and social repression, sociosexual education, and the fight against HIV (Vazquez Parra, 2021). This comprehensive approach has been instrumental in advancing the rights and visibility of the LGBTTTIQA+ community in contemporary Mexico.

2. Legislation and Protections relevant for LGBTTTIQA+ people in Mexico

Mexico decriminalised homosexuality in its first Federal Penal Code back in 1871 (ILGA, n.d.). Since 2022, same-sex marriage has been legal in Mexico. However, rights to same-sex civil unions are still not widespread; only 28% of the Mexican population lives in states that allow them. Joint adoption and second-parent adoption vary depending on the sub-national legislation (ILGA, n.d.).

In terms of legal gender recognition, according to the 1928 Federal Civil Code, it is possible to legally change your name in official documents (ILGA, n.d.). Moreover, a legal gender marker change has been possible since the Supreme Court of Mexico's 2009 decision in Judgement No. 6/2008, which recognised the right to gender identity as an inherent part of personal identity and free development of personality, demanding that the state provide access to gender marker change. Nevertheless, the law still has limitations because some subnational legislation requires a diagnosis, hormonal treatment, and medical surgery before permission to legally change the gender marker in official documents (ILGA, n.d.). There is no legal national recognition of non-binary identities; however, in May 2023, the first non-binary passport was reportedly issued (ILGA, n.d.).

Regarding legal protections for LGBTTTIQA+ people in Mexico, Article 1 of the Mexican Constitution has prohibited discrimination based on sexual orientation since 2011. Several subnational State Constitutions also include gender identity, gender expression, and sex characteristics as protected grounds, covering between 7% and 11% of the Mexican population (ILGA, n.d.).

Moreover, since the 2003 Federal Act to Prevent and Eliminate Discrimination, sexual orientation is a characteristic protected from discrimination in the provision of goods and services, healthcare, education, employment, and housing. These protections do not extend to gender identity, gender expression, or sex characteristics. However, in November 2023, a Comprehensive Access to the Rights of Trans People Bill was introduced into discussion in the Chamber of Deputies, which could extend these protections on the grounds of gender identity, gender expression, and sex characteristics (ILGA, n.d.).

Furthermore, regarding legal protection from hate crimes based on sexuality, gender identity, gender expression, and sex characteristics, there is no national-level protection. Moreover, there are some subnational protections. Around 25% of the Mexican population is covered by the protection of hate crimes based on sexual orientation, and 17% of the

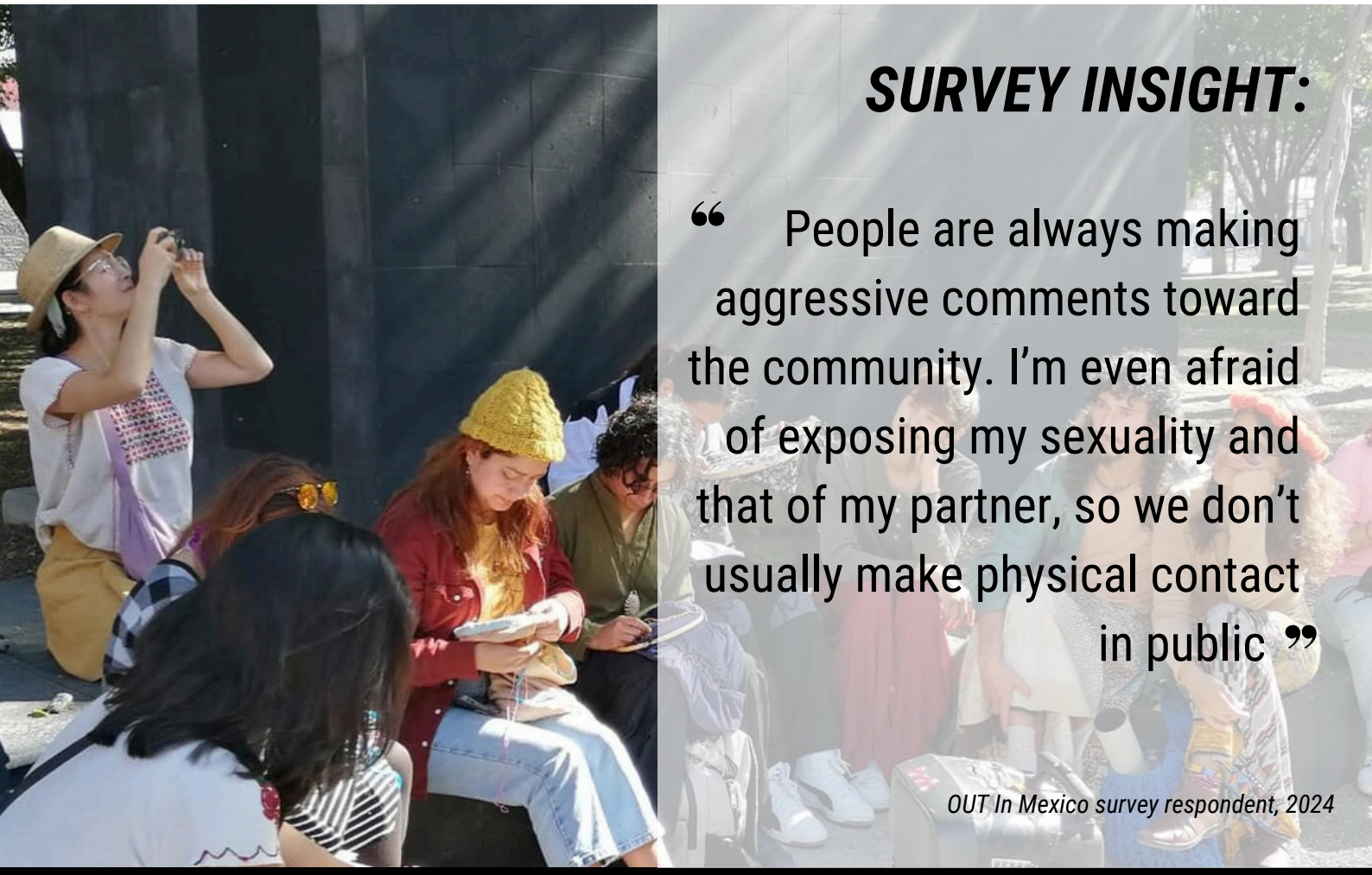
population is protected from hate crimes on the grounds of gender identity. Neither gender expression nor sex characteristics are protected grounds (ILGA, n.d.).

Concerning the regulation on so-called “conversion therapies”, on April 26th, 2024, the Mexican Senate approved a bill to nationally ban conversion therapy in the country (Lavers, 2024). Regarding asylum seekers, Mexican legislation protects people based on “gender-based persecution”; however, neither sexuality nor gender identity are protected grounds for asylum (ILGA, n.d.).

3. Social Attitudes toward LGBTTTIQA+ people in Mexico

Social and cultural discrimination against LGBTTTIQA+ people is rooted in an extensive system of values intertwined with patriarchy, machismo culture, and religious beliefs (Christel, L. 2022). Moreover, more negative attitudes are felt against gay men than against lesbian women (Lozano-Verduzco & Sánchez, 2015).

However, according to Chaux et al. (2021), social attitudes toward LGBTTTIQA+ communities in Mexico vary depending on various factors such as level of education and level of political involvement. For instance, according to Luhur, Lozano-Verduzco, and Shaw (2020), men, older people, citizens with less formal education and persons politically associated with conservative parties are less accepting of LGBTTTIQA+ people, especially trans-Mexicans. Women, younger people, Mexicans with higher levels of formal education and persons who are politically associated with more liberal political parties are most accepting.



Overall, according to Equaldex (2023), Mexico is a largely liberal and accepting society, with 63% of Mexicans supporting same-sex marriage and 60% supporting same-sex adoption. However, concerning trans communities, social attitudes are more divided. While only 57% of Mexicans support trans access to facilities matching their gender identity and 55% support a non-binary option on official documents, around 63% of Mexicans support teens' access to gender-affirming care, and 82% support the adoption of laws protecting trans people from discrimination (Equaldex, 2023). Moreover, regarding trans communities, there is a misrepresentation and misunderstanding in Mexican society of other non-normative identities, such as muxes (Peña, 2022).

4. The Role of Culture and Societal Institutions

In Mexican society, societal institutions, such as employment, education, healthcare, and the role of the family, are embedded in patriarchal power structures and the culture of machismo. This intertwining directly influences the social attitudes of Mexican people towards LGBTTTIQA+ persons in the country. Therefore, it is worth dedicating time to analysing these institutions.

4.1. Role of Culture

In Mexican culture, hegemonic masculinity, by legitimising a patriarchal system that relegates women and femininity to a subordinate status, establishes norms and stereotypes that ostracise LGBTTTIQA+ people (Lozano-Verduzco, 2016; Christel, 2022). Machismo is the core myth behind the (re)production of gendered identities in Mexico (Christel, L. 2022).

Machismo culture, which is deeply embedded in hegemonic and toxic masculinity, reinforces social norms and stereotypes about how people, especially men, should behave in society (Lozano-Verduzco, 2016; Lozano-Verduzco & Sánchez, 2015). This machista cultural context establishes which models of masculinity are acceptable and which ones are not, therefore guiding the identity construction and experiences of gay, bisexual, and trans men (Lozano-Verduzco, 2016). In this context, LGBTTTIQA+ identities are constructed as a threat against the sense of femininity, and especially hegemonic masculinity (Lozano-Verduzco, 2016).

Furthermore, the machismo culture perpetuates a binary understanding of gender, where men are expected to embody traditional masculine traits such as strength, aggression, and dominance, while women are expected to embody feminine traits like passivity, nurturing, and submissiveness. This binary understanding of gender reinforces the marginalisation of LGBTTTIQA+ individuals, particularly those who do not conform to these traditional gender roles (Lozano-Verduzco, 2016; Christel, L., 2022). The cultural emphasis on machismo also contributes to the normalisation of homophobia and transphobia, making it more challenging for LGBTTTIQA+ individuals to find acceptance and support within their families and communities (Lozano-Verduzco, 2016; Christel, L., 2022).

Additionally, the machismo culture can lead to internalised homophobia and transphobia among LGBTTTIQA+ individuals, causing them to feel ashamed or guilty about their identities (Lozano-Verduzco, 2016; Christel, L., 2022). This internalised oppression can result in mental health issues, such as depression and anxiety, as well as an increased risk of suicide. The machismo culture can also perpetuate a culture of silence and invisibility, where LGBTTTIQA+ individuals are discouraged from expressing their identities openly, further exacerbating their marginalisation (Lozano-Verduzco, 2016; Christel, L. 2022).

As observed, the machismo culture in Mexico plays a significant role in shaping societal norms and attitudes toward the LGBTTTIQA+ community. By reinforcing traditional gender roles and perpetuating a culture of homophobia and transphobia, machismo contributes to the marginalisation and oppression of LGBTTTIQA+ individuals.

4.2. The Role of Family

The role of the family in shaping societal norms and attitudes towards the LGBTTTIQA+ community in Mexico is multifaceted and has evolved. Historically, Mexican families have been influenced by cultural norms that promote traditional gender roles and family structures. The Mexican family has been characterised by a patriarchal system, where men hold positions of power and authority, and women are expected to fulfil domestic roles (Evason, 2018).

The duality of matriarchy within Mexican families adds another layer of complexity to the role of the family in shaping societal norms and attitudes toward the LGBTTTIQA+ community. While Mexican families are traditionally patriarchal, with men holding authority and formal recognition, many households operate under an implicit matriarchal structure (Rivas-Rodriguez, 2017). Women, particularly mothers, grandmothers, and elder sisters, often take on the primary responsibilities of caregiving, managing the household, and even contributing to the family's financial well-being. These matriarchal figures often have intimate knowledge of the family's dynamics, which helps them use influence behind the scenes (Rivas-Rodriguez, 2017).

However, this influence is frequently unacknowledged, as societal norms continue to uphold male authority as the public face of the family unit. This duality heightens the tension between patriarchy and the power held by matriarchal figures. In the context of the LGBTTTIQA+ community, matriarchal figures can play a pivotal role, both as potential sources of support and as enforcers of traditional norms (Rivas-Rodriguez, 2017). While some matriarchs challenge patriarchal and cisheteronormative expectations by fostering inclusive attitudes within their families, others reinforce cultural resistance to non-normative identities and expressions, often due to deeply rooted religious beliefs or

SURVEY INSIGHT:

"My daughter's father scolds her for playing with my niece's Barbies. He told her that was for girls and that boys don't play with dolls, he even slapped her when she wanted to continue playing. My husband doesn't understand that she is a girl"

OUT In Mexico survey respondent, 2024

fear of social stigma or rejection.

In recent decades, Mexico has experienced significant social changes, including shifts in family structure and cultural attitudes toward gender and sexuality. According to the Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía (2015), the percentage of households headed by women in Mexico had increased from 24.2% in 1990 to 34.3% in 2015. This shift in family structure has challenged traditional gender roles and created opportunities for more progressive attitudes towards the LGBTTTIQA+ community within Mexican families, as registered in the aforementioned social attitudes toward LGBTTTIQA+ people in Mexico. This shift in cultural attitudes towards the LGBTTTIQA+ community has influenced family dynamics and created opportunities for more inclusive and accepting family environments (Landale, Oropesa, & Bradatan, 2006).

However, despite these cultural shifts, Mexican families continue to grapple with the intersection of traditional cultural norms and the LGBTTTIQA+ community. According to a study by the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (2022), LGBTTTIQA+ individuals in Mexico often face discrimination and rejection from their families, particularly in rural areas. This discrimination and rejection can have severe consequences for LGBTTTIQA+ individuals, including mental health issues, social isolation, and violence.

Moreover, within the highly patriarchal and machista family context, LGBTTTIQA+ people try to conceal their non-normative identities. The religious beliefs of the family impact how LGBTTTIQA+ people, especially lesbian, bisexual, and trans women, express their gender identity and sexual orientation when being with their relatives, since they face a lot of resistance and dismissal. Lesbian, bisexual, and trans women report exceptionally high numbers of cases of psychological abuse and expulsions (Christel, L. 2022; Christel, B. 2022). In fact, in opposition to university spaces and spaces with friends, LGBTTTIQA+ people face more resistance and nonacceptance around their families (Christel, L. 2022; Christel, B. 2022).

Overall, the role of the family in shaping societal norms and attitudes towards the LGBTTTIQA+ community in Mexico is complex and has evolved from a family structure highly influenced by traditional cultural norms and the patriarchal system to a cultural shift in social attitudes towards gender and sexuality, which moved the attitudes within Mexican families from highly oppressive to more inclusive and accepting family environments. Nevertheless, discrimination persists in many areas due to patriarchy, cis heteronormativity, and the culture of machismo.

4.3. The Role of Media

The media in Mexico, both traditional and social media, have had a highly nuanced role in both portraying and defending LGBTTTIQA+ persons in the country.

There remains an issue of poor representation of LGBT identities in Spanish-speaking media (Brammer, 2018). In a recent study, 698 Spanish-speaking media characters were identified, with only 19 being LGBTTTIQA+ (13 of them were gay men) (Brammer, 2018). Even amongst these characters, a significant number were killed off, and it was viewed that plot lines that featured bisexual characters reflected stereotypical tropes that label bisexuality as hypersexualised.

Additionally, for many LGBTTTIQA+ Latin Americans, portraying these identities would offer vital representation and a tentative exposure to the lifestyles of the non-queer population. These representations would likely make it easier for people to understand and accept the lives of LGBTTTOQA+ Mexicans and Latin Americans (Brammer, 2018).

Review of the Literature

Regarding political campaigns in the Mexican media, during 2009, mass media were essential for discussion on same-sex marriage, where different opinions were present. While some people defended the legal change, others, such as the Catholic Church and the conservative Partido Acción Nacional, fought against the adoption of same-sex marriage (Díez, 2010). Besides, back in 2016, the media had a fundamental role in covering and debating the transfeminicide of Paola Buenrostro, a trans woman who was also a sex worker. This case was highly mediatised by giving voice not only to the trans friends and colleagues of Paola but also by giving airtime to the anti-LGBTTTIQA+ movement Frente Nacional por la Familia and the conservative Catholic Church (González, 2020).

Furthermore, the internet plays an incendiary role in LGBTTTIQA+ activism and sectors of Mexican society that wish to stop or reverse pro-LGBTTTIQA+ policies. When the internet was still in its early days, LGBTTTIQA+ activists utilised it extensively for initial activism and campaign work (Barnes, 2022). Whilst the advent of the internet has proven to be a boon for LGBTTTIQA+ activists, the same can also be said for right-wing groups that are increasingly using digital platforms to promulgate their causes (Barnes, 2022).

Upon analysing the digital efforts of so-called “pro-family” organisations across Mexico, it is clear they share common ideals and goals of promoting the heterosexual family unit, supporting the criminalisation of abortion and preservation of marriage as a heterosexual institution, and enabling parents to act against what they deem to be pernicious gender ideology in schools (Barnes, 2022).

Further analysis of the activities of so-called “pro-family” organisations in Mexico reveals that 100% of these organisations use their websites to promote and coordinate in-person political activities (e.g. attend demonstrations, sign legislative petitions, contact political representatives, etc.). This compares to 70% of LGBTTTIQA+ groups (Barnes, 2022). Although LGBTTTIQA+ organisations sustain more significant social media audiences across various platforms, trends indicate that conservative, pro-family organisations utilise social media more effectively (Barnes, 2022).

4.4. Education

In terms of education, Mexico has a legal framework that protects LGBTTTIQA+ persons, more specifically LGBTTTIQA+ youth, from discrimination and equal access to education (ILGA, n.d.). According to the Law General of the Rights of Girls, Boys, and Adolescents, girls, boys, and adolescents have the right to life, peace, survival, and development, as well as the right not to be subjected to any discrimination or limitation or restriction of their rights, based on, among other things, their gender and sexual orientation (Secretary of Government, 2017). Moreover, public authorities at must also ensure the achievement of quality education through the establishment of affirmative actions to guarantee the right to education for girls, boys, and adolescents who face "situations of vulnerability due to specific circumstances," which include those related to gender and sexual orientation (Secretary of Government, 2017).

Nevertheless, discrimination against LGBTTTIQA+ people is persistent in education. According to the *National Diagnosis on Discrimination against LGBTI People in Mexico* (Comisión Ejecutiva de Atención a Víctimas, 2018):

- Nearly half of the surveyed individuals expressed some degree of fear in their public education facilities
- 14% reported experiencing a lot of fear, 19% reported fear, and 16% reported some fear. Only 14% reported experiencing little or no fear (20%)

This indicates that the public expression of sexual orientation in Mexican society still requires courage, given the awareness of the risks involved.

According to the research, *Getting to know our diversity. Discrimination, sexuality, rights, health, family, and homophobia in the LGBTTTI community* (Lozano-Verduzco & Salinas-Quiroz, 2016), 30.1% of the surveyed individuals have been or were discriminated against in their place of study. Meanwhile, the 2nd National Survey on School Violence Based on Sexual Orientation, Gender Identity, and Expression toward LGBTTTIQA+ Students in Mexico (Fundación Arcoiris, 2017) states that:

- 55% of students felt unsafe at their school in the last year due to their sexual orientation;
- 41.7% felt unsafe due to how they expressed their gender;
- More than one-third (35.0%) were victims of physical harassment at some point in their place of study during the last year due to their sexual orientation or gender expression;
- Almost half (44.5%) were victims of sexual harassment in the place of study;
- 8.9% reported that violence in their study places occurred 'often' or 'regularly'

In addition to the discrimination and violence perceived and experienced in educational spaces, school curricula do not include information related to sexual orientation, gender identity, and expression. According to the Comisión Ejecutiva de Atención a Víctimas (2018), 78% of the respondents reported that they did not receive information about the rights of LGBTTTIQA+ people in school. This reflects that education is not oriented towards recognising the role of sexuality in people's lives by providing information that allows for an understanding of its complexity, diversity of expressions and experiences, and helps eliminate stereotypes, various forms of violence, homophobia, lesbophobia, biphobia, and transphobia, promoting better ways of relating to one another. Moreover, according to Chaux et al. (2021), there have been recent pushbacks against educational reforms to include a more comprehensive understanding of sexuality and gender in sexual education in Mexican schools.

According to the National Diagnosis on Discrimination against LGBTI People in Mexico (Comisión Ejecutiva de Atención a Víctimas, 2018), when inquiring about the types of violence experienced in educational spaces, physical assaults, teasing, and insults stand out, accounting for 40% of the responses. It is important to note that 30% of LGBTTTIQA+

Review of the Literature

Individuals were rejected or excluded from activities, leaving them on the sidelines. Additionally, nearly 10% of them were ignored.

In cases where discrimination was experienced in educational spaces, the three main reactions were:

- ignoring what was happening (21.74%)
- feeling anger and frustration (16.43%)
- denying being LGBTTTIQA+ (7.46%)

Only a small segment of those who suffered discrimination sought support from competent authorities:

- 0.81% complained to CONAPRED, i.e. the National Council for the Prevention of Discrimination, or the CNDH, i.e. the Human Rights National Commission,
- 3% informed their parents,
- 4.82% reported to school authorities

This highlights the lack of knowledge or trust in these institutions, reaffirming that LGBTTTIQA+ individuals do not feel supported by these figures, not even by their families. This is further evidenced by the assertion that complaining is useless (11.49%), suggesting that the discrimination and violence they face are justified and shared by society. It's worth noting that as a result of these events, 5.67% skipped classes, and 3.89% considered ending their lives (Comisión Ejecutiva de Atención a Víctimas, 2018).

There is incontrovertible evidence that the victimisation and mistreatment of this population are often associated with isolation, low academic performance, anxiety, fear, social withdrawal, internalised homophobia, depression, and suicidal ideations and attempts (Castellanos & Solís, 2015; Mora & Alcántara, 2018 Lozano-Verduzco, 2019; Espinoza & Rodríguez, 2020; Ruiz & Evangelista, 2020), failing the State on fulfil its obligation to promote, respect, and guarantee the rights, dignity, security, and well-being of its students and to eradicate discrimination, ensuring the permanence and quality of education under equal circumstances for LGBTTTIQA+ students.

4.5. Healthcare

Regarding health, Articles 1 and 4 of the Political Constitution of the United Mexican States recognise the right to health protection, which is regulated in the General Health Law. Additionally, there are protocols for adequate access to health, such as the Protocol for Non-Discriminatory Access to Medical Services for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transsexual, Transvestite, Transgender, and Intersex People (ILGA, n.d.), which aims to contribute to ensuring effective and non-discriminatory access to health services for LGBTTTIQA+ people. Furthermore, the Federal Law to Prevent and Eliminate Discrimination states in its Article 9 that it is considered discrimination to "deny or condition medical care services, or impede participation in decisions about their medical or therapeutic treatment" (ILGA, n.d.).

However, access to health services for LGBTTTIQA+ people continues to contain multiple obstacles. In 2011, both the World Health Organisation and the Pan American Health Organisation highlighted the evident and subtle discrimination faced by LGBTTTIQA+ people, particularly emphasising the prevalence of widespread stigma against homosexuality, as well as ignorance and lack of knowledge about diverse gender identities, notably in the health systems (PAHO, 2013). More recently, the National Diagnosis on Discrimination Against LGBTI People in Mexico, in its chapter on health, identifies the main challenges as: inadequate understanding of the health problems of LGBTTTIQA+ people; denial of care; inadequate or substandard care, which involves disrespectful and insensitive treatment towards the needs of the population; restrictions on including important individuals in family treatment or support and decision-making roles; inadequate assumptions about the causes of illness or disorders related to behaviour; denial of treatment (Comisión Ejecutiva de Atención a Víctimas, 2018).

Research such as Rocha-Buelvas' (2015) in Colombia indicates that in the region, both social stigma, sexism, and homophobia have triggered gender-based violence, sexual violence, and self-inflicted violence, affecting physical, mental, and social health, as well as integrity, freedom, and equality. As their sexual and reproductive rights are affected, LGBTTTIQA+ people experience self-esteem issues, hopelessness, anxiety risk, victimisation, persecution, alcohol abuse, psychoactive substance use, high levels of depression, as well as tendencies towards suicidal ideation and suicide (Rocha-Buelvas, 2015).

Additionally, another factor affecting LGBTTTIQA+ people in the health sector is their invisibility, reflected in the lack of representation in authority positions related to health systems, which prevents their access to decision-making on issues that directly affect them (Comisión Ejecutiva de Atención a Víctimas, 2018).

4.6. Employment

There remain clear polarities between LGBTTTIQA+ and non-LGBTTTIQA+ populations in Mexico in terms of employment opportunities and success. Mistreatment and discrimination remain common across Mexican workplaces, and the effects of homophobia and transphobia against LGBTTTIQA+ youths in school often hamper their employment opportunities in later life. Whilst participation in the labour force remains relatively strong for LGBTTTIQA+ Mexicans aged 20-64 (71% are employed as opposed to 69% of heterosexuals), nearly 30% report some sort of discrimination. (Gutierrez, 2024; Baptista, 2022).

Moreover, one prominent barrier that restricts the professional success of many LGBTTTIQA+ Mexicans and LGBTTTIQA+ displaced asylum seekers in Mexico is a lack of access to official documents. Many lack access to updated documents that reflect their preferred names or gender identities, with many displaced LGBTTTIQA+ persons in Mexico seeking asylum in the USA not having these documents at all (Baptista, 2022). Fleeing for their lives from unsafe

places and have no official documents to back up their skills (Baptista, 2022). The peripatetic existence of many asylum seekers means they can't have secure and reliable documents needed for employment. A lack of documents that match their gender identity causes more obstacles in Mexico. As an added layer of bureaucratic exclusion, most displaced individuals cannot access formal tax codes in Mexico, excluding them from most employment opportunities (Baptista, 2022).

Data on the professional outcomes for LGBTTTIQA+, compared to heterosexual Mexicans, remains difficult to attain. This means it is largely difficult to ascertain to what extent being LGBTTTIQA+ in Mexico can affect success in professional careers.

5. Religious Institutions

Religious institutions play a significant role in perpetuating or challenging patriarchal systems concerning the LGBTTTIQA+ community in Mexico. According to a study by the Pew Research Center (2014), 81% of the population identifies as Catholic. This religious context influences societal norms and policies, impacting the LGBTTTIQA+ community and their rights.

Conservative Catholic organisations, like *Tradition Family and Property* (TFP), mobilise against gender equality and LGBTTTIQA+ rights globally (Altman, 2001). These organisations advocate for traditionalist views on marriage and gender roles, opposing same-sex relations and progressive social developments. TFP and similar groups have been active in Mexico, organising protests and lobbying against same-sex marriage and adoption rights for LGBTTTIQA+ individuals.

By 2015, Catholic, Protestant, and Evangelical churches had mobilised a large part of their constituencies to engage in a sustained countermobilisation to resist transformations and raise social fear about the “cost” of institutionalising LGBTTTIQA+ human rights (Díez, 2015). Eight days after the event, the Frente Nacional de la Familia was formed to "protect family citizenship", which they define as the public involvement in the defence of life, family, and freedom. Plus, they proceeded to coordinate mass demonstrations across

SURVEY INSIGHT:

“ I was working at a company. When my boss found out that I like men, one day out of the blue, he called me into his office and fired me for no reason. I am still taking the complaint to the secretary of labor ”

OUT In Mexico survey respondent, 2024

the country in June and September 2016 , and as a result, the proposed constitutional reforms did not pass (Lópes, 2018; Ortega, 2019).

Furthermore, the Roman Catholic Church in Mexico, as a dominant religious institution, also influences family policies and societal norms, impacting LGBTTTIQA+ rights advocacy. The Catholic Church has been a vocal opponent of same-sex marriage and LGBTTTIQA+ rights, often aligning itself with conservative political parties and groups (Human Rights Watch, 2022). This alignment has led to the Church's involvement in policy debates and the promotion of traditional gender roles, which reinforce patriarchal societal structures and hinder LGBTTTIQA+ rights.

However, there are also religious organisations and movements within Mexico that challenge patriarchy and support LGBTTTIQA+ rights. For instance, the Metropolitan Community Church (MCC), an international Christian denomination with a presence in Mexico, has been a vocal advocate for LGBTTTIQA+ rights and marriage equality (Metropolitan Community Churches, n.d.). The MCC and other progressive religious groups have sought to reinterpret religious texts and traditions to be more inclusive and accepting of LGBTTTIQA+ individuals.

In addition, some Catholic priests and nuns have also been involved in LGBTTTIQA+ rights advocacy, challenging the Church's traditional views on sexuality and gender roles. These progressive religious figures have used their platforms to promote acceptance and understanding of LGBTTTIQA+ individuals within the Catholic community, contributing to a more diverse and inclusive religious landscape in Mexico (Herrera, 2024).

Hence, religious institutions in Mexico play a significant role in shaping societal norms and policies regarding patriarchal systems and the LGBTTTIQA+ community. While conservative Catholic organisations and the Roman Catholic Church have been vocal opponents of LGBTTTIQA+ rights, progressive religious groups and individuals have challenged these traditional views and worked towards a more inclusive and accepting society. Understanding these dynamics is crucial in addressing the intersection of religion, patriarchy, and LGBTTTIQA+ issues in Mexico.

6. Economic and Social Class Factors

Social class has played a significant role in formulating the identities of LGBTTTIQA+ Mexicans. Disparities between wealthier and higher-class people from these groups are evident. While the middle-class and upper-class LGBTTTIQA+ Mexicans had the possibility of using their economic wealth to travel on vacation, especially to the US, where they could find an increasingly strong LGBTTTIQA+ movement, lower-class LGBTTTIQA+ people did not have that opportunity, which impacted their association with the “gay” identity (Lozano-Verduzco & Sánchez, 2015). Even being “gay” has been historically understood as an experience of middle-class and urban homoerotic men (Lozano-Verduzco, 2016). In more rural areas, other local terms are used, such as ‘mampo’, ‘choto’, or ‘chacal’. These words have an indigenous background that must be highlighted as they relate to indigenous understandings of homoeroticism preserved despite Spanish colonialism (Lozano-Verduzco & Sánchez, 2015). Evidently, to be LGBTTTIQA+ has a varied definition depending on the class background of the individual mentioned. In recent years, there has been a ‘ghettoisation’ of LGBTTTIQA+ people in Mexico City, where one needs a certain income to live. This has led to several lower-class LGBTTTIQA+ people not having either real or symbolic access to public spaces with LGBTTTIQA+ representation (Lozano-Verduzco & Sánchez, 2015).

Economically, LGBTTTIQA+ Mexicans face an inherent disadvantage, the more so than the perpetually at-risk transgender and gender non-conforming population in the country. Trans people face discrimination and isolation which

severely affects their outcomes in several measurements, including economic success and participation in the legal labour force. In a study of violence and discrimination against transgender women in the Mexican state of Colima, a majority of participants reported dropping out of high school or university, a major risk for these participants as the evidence demonstrates the serious impact of lack of education on long-term health and social inequalities (Grant et al., 2011, quoted in Martinez-Guzmán and Johnson, 2020). The study also demonstrated how transgender women's low levels of educational achievement augment the psychosocial impact of other forms of transphobic violence and discrimination, leaving them trapped by unemployment or limited employment options (Martínez-Guzmán & Johnson, 2021). Moreover, transgender Mexicans therefore face a precarious situation economically in a country where they are already harassed, attacked, and even murdered. Transgender women, facing exclusion from traditional employment and economic participation, often rely on sex work as a means of survival, thus increasing the risk of them being subjected to violence and murder further (Luhur, Lozano-Verduzco & Shaw, 2020).

Many transgender Mexicans and asylum seekers in the country face further aggravating factors due to their precarious situations. In a study specifically concerning transgender Mexicans seeking asylum in the US, the scale of their issues was revealed. Many were forced to relocate to different towns and cities across the country, away from support networks, to seek employment and safety. Applicants were limited in the types of jobs they were able to get and keep in Mexico. They recounted discriminatory hiring practices based on their gender identity. For those who were employed, many experienced daily harassment and threats of losing their jobs because they identified as women. Because of their past traumatic experiences, language and education barriers, and undocumented status, applicants found it hard to establish relationships that could facilitate employment, social inclusion in the United States, and access to US legal, social, and mental health services (Cheney, 2017).

Interestingly, economic disenfranchisement amongst LGBTTTIQA+ Mexicans is also evidenced in advertising. An analysis of the literature shows that in Mexico, LGBTTTIQA+ individuals are not proportionally represented. They are rarely addressed and even less so in the economic and advertising forms. It is suggested that marketing campaigns generally use lifestyle strategies or ideal images that focus on heterosexuals (Elliot & Elliot, 2005, quoted in Martinez, 2020). Seemingly, few brands in the country appear to have appealed towards the LGBTTTIQA+ market, suggesting that a possible reason for this to happen is that brands are afraid of the heterosexual market losing interest in if they see campaigns directed at that gay community, or do not wish to offend certain social or cultural values in those who are not LGBTTTIQA+ (Martínez, 2020).

7. Political Factors

It is necessary to understand that national and subnational politics in Mexico in terms of LGBTTTIQA+ rights are varied, with much greater heterogeneity in subnational politics, which has led LGBTTTIQA+ activist movements to turn to national demands and politics.

The challenges and resistance to the expansion of LGBTTTIQA+ rights in Mexico and the differentiated subnational advances reflect the differentiated Mexican political state apparatus, which interrelates with religious institutions and machista and patriarchal cultures. For example, in the regions of Nuevo León, Querétaro, Michoacán, and Aguascalientes, in which the conservative Catholic Church still plays a preponderant role in subnational politics, advances in LGBTTTIQA+ rights have been slow and scarce, contrary to regions such as Coahuila, Campeche, Colima, Quintana Roo and Durango (López, 2021).

Cooperation between conservative political groups and the Catholic Church in Mexico is not new, and even in the 19th century, semi-clandestine political alliances were established between them. However, the 21st century has been marked by increasing coordination between these political-religious forces against LGBTTTIQA+ activism and the promotion of sexual and reproductive rights, as evidenced in the campaign against the decriminalisation of abortion in Mexico in 2007 and the campaign against equal marriage in 2016. These two campaigns ultimately failed (López, 2021). Moreover, one of the main political opposing forces against LGBTTTIQA+ rights in Mexico is the Partido Acción Nacional (PAN), which, since the 1970s, has been actively opposing LGBTTTIQA+ rights, namely sex education in schools, and has incentivised the censorship of sexual content within the media and art. The PAN has a strong ally in the Catholic Church and its religious institutions, which it uses to create a conservative backlash movement against LGBTTTIQA+ rights and women's rights in the country, through a consistent and pervasive appeal to populations where conservative and catholic values are more preponderant (Barnes, 2022).

8. LGBTTTIQA+ Mobility in Mexico

In recent years, US border policies have proven to be potentially lethal for many of Mexico's LGBTTTIQA+ people and LGBTTTIQA+ migrants transiting through the country, particularly the transgender community. Border towns in Mexico suffer particularly bad levels of violence, and LGBTTTIQA+ people face discrimination whilst waiting for their asylum cases to be heard. In 2019, the adoption of the 'Remain in Mexico' policy exacerbated the individual crises of many LGBTTTIQA+ refugees. According to testimonies of transgender refugees transiting through Mexico, finding legal work is incredibly difficult due to disparities in individuals' appearances and their official documents. Many also suffer derogatory treatment and feel vulnerable in the country's border towns. For many, returning to the danger of their home countries is not an option; they join the thousands of asylum seekers wishing to find sanctuary in the USA, stuck in a backlog (Martin, 2020).

The asylum crisis has exploded in Central America over the past decade. The number of asylum seekers from Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras has reached 687,000 by mid-2023, with Mexico receiving nearly 75,000 asylum applications in the same year (UNHCR, 2023).

According to migration experts in the region, an estimated 10% of refugees transiting through Central America are LGBTTTIQA+, with many being terrified at the prospect of being trapped in Mexico for an indefinite period. No official figures exist on the number of LGBTTTIQA+ asylum seekers in Mexico's border region, but four shelters for LGBTTTIQA+ people report combined figures around 140 asylum seekers on their premises (Martin, 2020).

Review of the Literature

According to The Center for American Progress, the LGBTTTIQA+ community is 97 times more likely to experience sexual abuse at border detention centres. Even when refugees can escape their home countries, they face abuse in Mexico. Sometimes, transgender women may even be placed into solitary confinement, for their 'protection'. For many, their gender identity is simply ignored as they are placed in detention with single cisgender men (Martin, 2020).

Even when needing to access healthcare, transgender migrants face obstacles in Mexico. Transgender individuals report being turned away from hospitals due to a lack of legal documents, and discrepancies between their legal names and gender identities. These barriers, confounded by the discrimination they experience in the job market, push transgender migrants to engage in sex work for survival (Martin, 2020).

Organisations such as the UN and Amnesty International have warned of the untold pressures facing LGBTTTIQA+ migrants in the country, with ⅔ experiencing sexual or gender-based violence and discrimination from authorities. The coronavirus pandemic further exacerbated the dangers faced by these migrants in the Mexican border regions. Medical experts in the area reported an increase in HIV diagnoses due to complete shutdowns at the height of the pandemic (Martin, 2020).

Many LGBTTTIQA+ women also report multi-faceted issues to contend with when seeking asylum at the US-Mexico border also. They face heightened scrutiny by border guards due to previous heterosexual relationships or if they have children, and face limited reproductive care if they fall pregnant. Many queer migrants also do not have family members to act as sponsors once they arrive, further complicating the asylum process. Due to the intense difficulties many of these migrants face seeking asylum in the US, NGOs and charities have provided alternative asylum options and care on their journeys, such as HIV medication (Rainbow Railroad, 2024).

US authorities appear to be aware of the distress that deporting migrants back to Mexico causes: 'Despite a recognition by the US Department of Homeland Security (DHS) that LGBTTTIQA+ people may face "increased risk of

harm in Mexico due to their sexual orientation or gender identity," Human Rights Watch cites cases in which border officials returned LGBTTTIQA+ asylum seekers, including those with HIV, to Mexico under both abusive anti-asylum policies. Human Rights Watch has called upon the Biden administration to halt deportations for vulnerable migrants, including LGBTTTIQA+ people and HIV+ asylum seekers (Human Rights Watch, 2022).

It is well documented that asylum seekers and other migrants sent to Mexico are often unable to support themselves or access basic services such as shelter, food, water, safe transportation, or health care, and suffer greatly from exploitation and abuse from criminal cartels or Mexican authorities. In the Mexican state of Tamaulipas, Human Rights Watch found that asylum seekers and other migrants are systematically targeted for kidnapping, extortion, rape, and other violence, by both government officials and criminals (Human Rights Watch, 2022). LGBTTTIQA+ migrants are in serious fear of being deported to Mexico - 'When Adolfo H. and Gerardo C., a gay couple fleeing Cuba and El Salvador, respectively, who like others interviewed are not identified by their real names for their protection, tried to seek asylum at the US border in February 2022, they were expelled by US Customs and Border Protection (CBP) agents to Mexico. They had previously experienced extortion several times by Mexican immigration agents, who stopped them at various points along their journey and demanded payment to continue' (Human Rights Watch, 2022).

Many Mexican border and government officials take advantage of the humanitarian situation, with HRW documenting 'serious abuse and discrimination against LGBTTTIQA+ asylum seekers in Mexico'. Several LGBTTTIQA+ asylum seekers said that 'Mexican immigration agents, police, and National Guard soldiers targeted them for extortion'. Other asylum seekers experienced 'kidnapping, sexual assault, robbery, and other physical violence by both Mexican government officials and criminals.' Even many LGBTTTIQA+ shelters in Mexican regions subjected asylum seekers to discriminatory treatment, with several reporting that some of the shelters in Ciudad Juárez that accepted them forced them to go to Christian religious services. With shelters in Ciudad Juárez being at capacity, these asylum seekers would be homeless if they did not agree to go to the service. It was reported by some migrant rights workers that several shelters 'would not accept LGBTTTIQA+ asylum seekers at all' (Human Rights Watch, 2022).

From this information, it is evident that being LGBTTTIQA+ in Mexico, whether as a migrant transiting through or a citizen attempting to claim asylum in the US, is a dangerous and fraught experience, with their identities compounding the danger. LGBTTTIQA+ migrants and asylum seekers face limited protections and are often exploited by officials at the Mexican border and the cartels which operate throughout the country.

9. Dangers faced by LGBTTTIQA+ people in Mexico

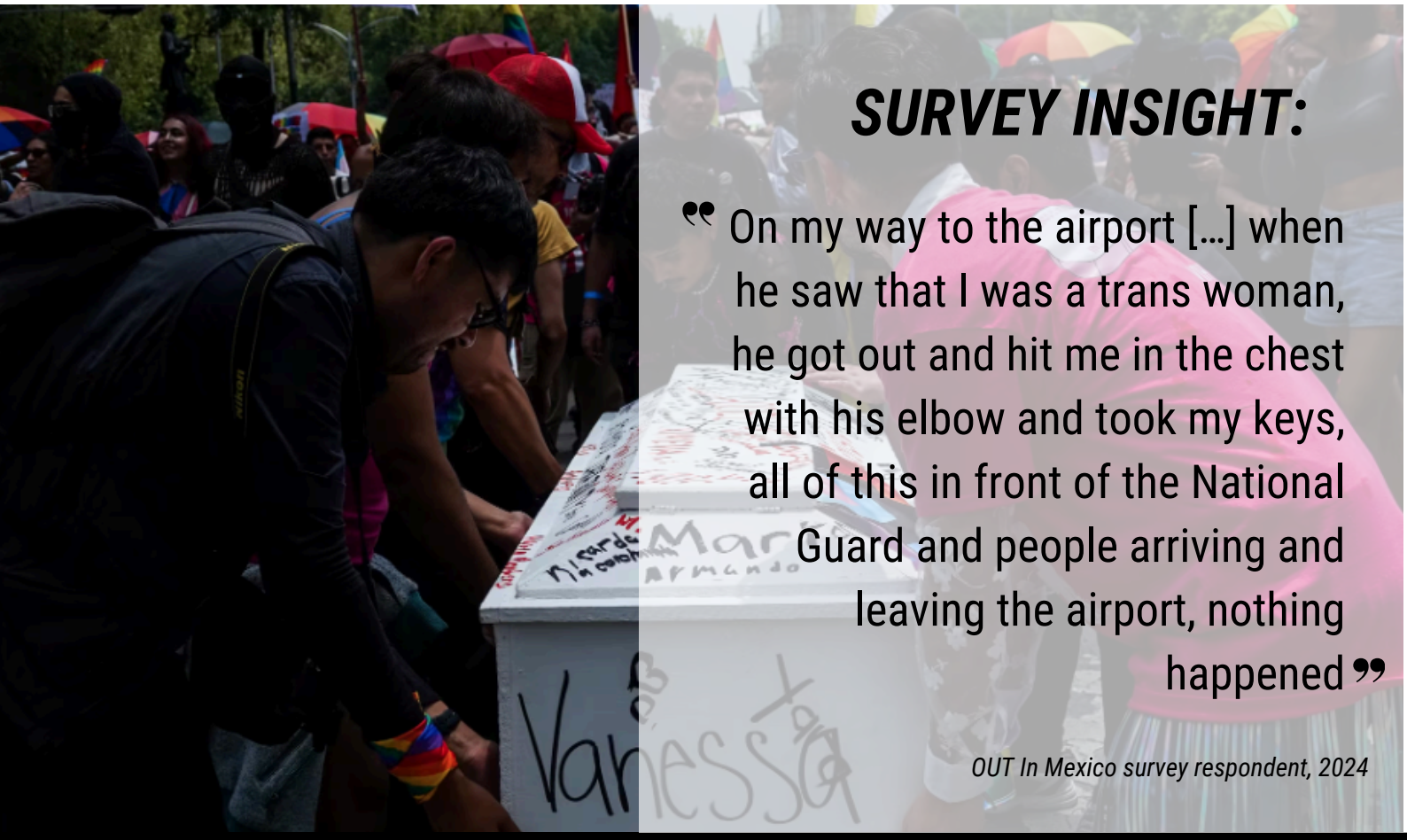
There are several dangers faced by LGBTTTIQA+ individuals in Mexico. It is worth analysing how these forms of violence are related to the patriarchal system, the culture of machismo, and religious beliefs.

Regarding the mental health dangers faced by LGBTTTIQA+ people, due to social stereotypes resulting from a patriarchal and machista culture, anxiety, depression, and substance use and abuse have been reported to be common among lesbian, gay, and bisexual groups in Mexico as well as gender-nonconforming Mexican citizens (Lozano-Verduzco, 2016). According to Granados and Delgado (2007), LGBTTTIQA+ people, especially gay men, report more intense feelings of shame and fear due to homoerotic desire, which might lead to unsafe sexual activities. Besides, there is some internalised homophobia, namely in Mexican queer men, who live their masculinities in a troubled way trying to deal with the gender and sexuality stereotypes reified by patriarchy and machismo culture (Lozano-Verduzco, 2016; Lozano-Verduzco & Sánchez, 2015).

Review of the Literature

Regarding hate crimes and homophobia, despite recent advances such as the legalisation of same-sex marriage and adoption in 2010, which supported increasing the visibility of LGBTTTIQA+ Mexican communities, homophobia and transphobia persist (Lozano-Verduzco, 2016; Lozano-Verduzco & Sánchez, 2015). Homophobia tends to be expressed in hate crimes against LGBTTTIQA+ people in Mexico (Lozano-Verduzco & Sánchez, 2015; Peña, 2022). Within the context of a society characterised by patriarchy and a culture of machismo, homophobia appears as a mechanism to preserve both of these sociological structures (Lozano-Verduzco & Sánchez, 2015). Moreover, LBT women tend to hide their sexual orientation and gender identity because they fear their queerness will add another burden on their vulnerability as women, which could result in increasing social intolerance, sexualisation, and verbal abuse and violence (Christel, L. 2022). Besides, transgender men are often forced to 'pass' as cisgender to maintain their security (Luhur, Lozano-Verduzco & Shaw, 2020).

In terms of physical and deadly hate crimes, according to the Transgender Murder Monitoring (2024), Mexico is the second most deadly place globally for trans and gender-diverse people to live. Besides, between 2008 and 2020, around 1068 LGBTTTIQA+ persons were victims of homicidal violence, with 2019 being the deadliest year (Barnes, 2022). One issue of concern is that violence against LGBTTTIQA+ people increased after the legalisation of gay marriage (Barnes, 2022). Exemplifying, back in 2016, the most violent year for trans women in Mexico, Paola Buenrostro, a trans woman, was murdered in Ciudad de México, and her case was highly mediatised and led to a rise of trans activism in the country (González, 2020). According to Letra S (2023), in more than half of the murders of Mexican LGBTTTIQA+ people, the victims are trans women. Besides, the type of violence most suffered by the LGBTTTIQA+ community in Mexico is verbal violence (50.6% of reported cases) in which Mexican men tend to call pejorative terms such as 'putos' or 'maricones' to queer men (Christel, L. 2022), followed by physical violence (20.3%), and then psychological violence (19.8%) (Letra S, 2023).



SURVEY INSIGHT:

> "On my way to the airport […] when he saw that I was a trans woman, he got out and hit me in the chest with his elbow and took my keys, all of this in front of the National Guard and people arriving and leaving the airport, nothing happened"

OUT In Mexico survey respondent, 2024

Furthermore, there is a clear gender bias characteristic of sexist and patriarchal violence that is present throughout public and private spaces. Violence against LGBTTTIQA+ people is widespread in different spheres of social life, with 42.7% of cases of verbal and physical aggression being recorded in public spaces, 41.5% in private spaces, and 15.8% on social networks (Letra S, 2023). This clear gender bias present in violence against Mexican LGBTTTIQA+ people, which manifests itself in the various spheres of social life, is, according to Kimelblatt (2016), due to machismo, which is the primary cause of excessive violence and violence used to prove masculinity, the so-called "violencia machista"/machista violence, against LGBTTTIQA+ people, especially LBT women. Moreover, the fact that the homicide rate for trans women is higher than the homicide rate for cis women and is almost double the homicide rate for gay and bisexual men is an example of this (Letra S, 2023).

Nevertheless, according to Letra S (2023), only 31% of homicide cases involving LGBTTTIQA+ people in Mexico progress to legal proceedings, which conveys the idea of impunity for the attackers that needs to be addressed to prevent and combat these forms of machista and patriarchal violence.

Additionally, it has also been evidenced that many Mexican LGBTTTIQA+ people are forced to migrate to the United States and other countries in search of protection from violence and to access health services, including mental health care (Martínez-Guzmán & Johnson, 2021).

It is worth noting that violence in Mexico is profoundly intersectional. Many groups within the LGBTTTIQAI+ population are not only affected by violence or aggression stemming from their social expression, gender identity, or sexual characteristics but are also impacted by other forms of violence, resulting from the intersections of SOGIESC characteristics with indigeneity, social class, and race and ethnicity (Stringer, 2023).

10. LGBTTTIQA+ Activism in Mexico

It was within a context of patriarchy, machismo, and cisheteronormative oppression that the LGBTTTIQA+ movement was born in Mexico. The history of LGBTTTIQA+ activism in Mexico is shaped not only by gender and sexuality but also by class and other subjectivity markers. The rise of the LGBTTTIQA+ movement was done in coalition and solidarity with other groups fighting for liberation, such as workers, immigrants, and oppressed racial groups under the slogan of "Nobody's free until we are all free!" (Lozano-Verduzco & Sánchez, 2015; Lozano-Verduzco, 2016; Campos, 2022).

As aforementioned, the social class and economic factors had, and still have, a profound impact on LGBTTTIQA+ communities and LGBTTTIQA+ activism. In the 20th century, while poor LGBTTTIQA+ Mexicans were forced to engage in sex work to survive and were persecuted by security forces, upper-class LGBTTTIQA+ Mexicans no longer happened because they could pay bail to avoid being arrested, they could emigrate, and they could have their own isolated and private spaces for gathering. Besides, middle and upper-class LGBTTTIQA+ Mexicans were capable of travelling across the world and meeting LGBTTTIQA+ activists in the US, during the Stonewall riots, and in France, during the action of the Front Homosexuel d'Action Révolutionnaire, on which they later based themselves to develop and organise Mexican LGBT activism (Lozano-Verduzco & Sánchez, 2015; Lozano-Verduzco, 2016; Campos, 2022).

In addition, to combat the lack of association of poor LGBTTTIQA+ people with the 'LGBTTTIQA+' identity, and profit from the fact that activists' queer identities in Mexico intersected with their social class, political, racial, and ethnic identities, the Mexican LGBTTTIQA+ movement was born intertwined with the activities of unionised labourers, student activists, party militants, and members of other political organisations (Lozano-Verduzco & Sánchez, 2015; Lozano-Verduzco, 2016; Campos, 2022). So, LGBTTTIQA+ activism combined with the struggles of feminism, anti-imperialism,

and civil rights activism. This led to the mobilisation and mobilisation in a standardised way of the LGBTTTIQA+ Mexican activism. For instance, it was by that time that the Frente Homosexual de Acción Revolucionaria (FHAR), Colectivo Sol, and Lamba were created as the first formal LGBTTTIQA+ organisations in Mexico (Lozano-Verduzco & Sánchez, 2015; McGee and Kampwirth, 2015; Barnes, 2022; Campos, 2022).

However, when the 1983 debt crisis crushed, simultaneously with the AIDS epidemic and the fallout of the U.S. interventionism in Central America, these economic and political crises, combined with the rising tensions within the LGBTTTIQA+ Mexican movement over whether to accept or not trans individuals into the broader movement and the means of activism (protest versus election, with the latter being perceives as an assimilationist approach), fractured the LGBTTTIQA+ community and LGBTTTIQA+ Mexican activism (Lozano-Verduzco & Sánchez, 2015; Lozano-Verduzco, 2016; Campos, 2022). Today, this division, especially regarding the response to the intersection of class with the LGBTTTIQA+ movement, the perception of assimilation, and the question of trans rights, remains and haunts LGBTTTIQA+ Mexican activism.

Nevertheless, much of the political and social advances achieved, and mentioned earlier in the report, were due to the success of LGBTTTIQA+ activists in combining several strategies to advance LGBTTTIQA+ rights and visibility in Mexican society (Barnes, 2022). Nevertheless, it is worth noticing that the incorporation of LGBTTTIQA+ activist demands by political parties and the Mexican state in the 21st century has been institutionalising the LGBTTTIQA+ movement in NGOs in a clientelistic logic, which has had a negative impact because there are other forms of civil society mobilisation in favour of LGBTTTIQA+ rights in Mexico that perceive this transformation as co-optation (McGee and Kampwirth, 2015).

Regarding trans activism, it is worth highlighting the role of Kenya Cuevas and her associations. Kenya was a friend of Paola Buenrostro, a trans woman and sex worker murdered in 2016. After the experience of watching her friend being killed, Kenya actively engaged in the defence of the rights of trans people, sex workers, and HIV-positive people in Mexico. Besides fighting for legal and judicial changes in terms of how the state and its institutions deal with trans communities and the murder of LGBTTTIQA+ people, especially trans-Mexicans, Kenya has also created several shelters for trans communities, such as Casa de las Muñecas Tiresias and Casa Hogar Paola Buenrostro (González, 2020).

Review of the Literature

Furthermore, it is necessary to understand that national and subnational politics in Mexico in terms of LGBTTTIQA+ rights are varied, with much greater heterogeneity in subnational politics, which has led LGBTTTIQA+ activist movements to turn to national demands and politics.

In fact, due to the Mexican political and state structure, LGBTTTIQA+ activist groups and movements have been forced to mobilise and streamline their agenda and demands from the subnational to the national, through a combination of strategies such as litigation, lobbying, protests, petitions, and most recently, social media (López, 2021; Barnes, 2022). This was because, at the subnational level, conservative political groups and the hierarchies of the Catholic Church repeatedly proved to be actors with veto power, making it impossible to adopt policies in defence of LGBTTTIQA+ people and their rights (López, 2021). Therefore, the Mexican LGBTTTIQA+ activist movement has been (re)learning and (re)adapting to trends against LGBTTTIQA+ rights on the part of conservative groups and movements and the Catholic Church, to continue defending LGBTTTIQA+ rights and people in Mexico, but this time focusing more on the national level and less on the subnational level, especially in regions where conservative and religious actors have veto-like power (López, 2021).

Moreover, both public opinion and public policies regarding trans communities are being inspired by LGBTTTIQA+ activism in the country. Namely, organisations such as Red de Juventudes Trans and Asociación por Infancias Transgénero have been focusing on and sensitising to the issues of trans youth and the rates of transfeminicides and trans assassinations, more generally. Moreover, trans-Mexican communities are becoming more visible and social attitudes towards trans people are changing due to LGBTTTIQA+ activism in the country (Luhur, Lozano-Verduzco & Shaw, 2020).

Overall, advances in terms of LGBTTTIQA+ rights in Mexico owe much to LGBTTTIQA+ activism in the country, which, by being increasingly associated with liberal and left-wing political parties, has been able to promote advances, mostly national, in this matter, such as laws against discrimination and the legalisation of same-sex marriage. However, some challenges must be considered. On the one hand, the increasingly strong conservative and religious backlash movements against LGBTTTIQA+ rights and women's rights. On the other hand, the critics of the alienation and depoliticisation trends in the Mexican LGBTTTIQA+ movement due to its co-optation through the “NGOisation” of the movement.

Research Methodology

Research Methodology

Research aims

Our research project aimed to examine the intersection of experiences affected by institutionalised violence and discrimination faced by LGBTTTIQA+ individuals and communities in Mexico. Our research specifically focused on the prevalence and nature of violence perpetrated against LGBTTTIQA+ individuals by governmental entities in Mexico. These entities included public security forces, public education institutions, public health agencies, and the legal framework governing these institutions.

Survey objectives

- To quantify the frequency and severity of different types of violence faced by Mexican sexual and gender minorities
- To analyse patterns and trends of violence over time, identifying regional variations.
- To examine the specific contexts and vulnerabilities contributing to the disproportionate risk of institutionalised violence faced by sexual and gender minorities in Mexico.
- To investigate how gender, sexual orientation, age, nationality, and geographic location shape the experiences of violence of sexual and gender minorities in Mexico.
- To provide a digital space for LGBTTTIQA+ individuals and communities to tell their stories about institutionalised violence and how they resist it.

Literature review

The report draws from relevant publications on the issues of LGBTTTIQA+ people and communities in Mexico, including academic articles, books, Mexican laws, reports from both human rights organisations and Mexican state institutions, reputable news sites, and surveys. The literature review and insights from our partners in Mexico informed the scope and the angle of the survey approach.

Survey method

The survey questions were based on a detailed and careful proposal by Contramapeo, which was then complemented with insightful contributions from ReportOUT. The result was an attentive, comprehensive, and open-ended survey. You can request a copy of the survey questions by contacting contact@reportout.org or mapeocontra@gmail.com.

The survey went out via our partner Contramapeo on the ground to Mexican LGBTTTIQA+ communities and members, being open to responses between the 30th of May to the 19th of July 2024. The dissemination of the survey was also supported by an extensive group of Mexican LGBTTTIQA+ non-governmental organisations, collectivities, and individual activists, whom we would also like to thank for their support. We wanted to capture the lived experiences of violence of both LGBTTTIQA+ Mexicans and LGBTTTIQA+ migrants and asylum-seekers living in or transiting through Mexico.

Furthermore, the survey topics and specific questions were designed to consider what is relevant to Mexico and the lived experiences of Mexican sexual and gender minorities. The survey was designed to comprehend the experiences of violence and discrimination faced by LGBTTTIQA+ people in Mexico, seeking also to explore and inform how the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in terms of sexual and gender minorities are or are not being verified. We looked particularly at SDG 10 about the reduction of inequalities within and among countries, and SDG 16 on the promotion of peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, the provision of access to justice for all, and the building of effective, accountable, and inclusive institutions at all levels. A survey of 12 questions was developed to investigate the struggles of the Mexican LGBTTTIQA+ community regarding experiences of violence and discrimination faced by these communities, as well as places where they felt insecure.

Research Methodology

Although the principles of anonymity and confidentiality were safeguarded, the respondent demographic markers were considered to ensure that the various sexual and gender minorities are properly represented, that all Mexican states are covered, and that key findings are based on the specific struggles of those communities.

The survey started with demographic questions, followed by questions about previous experiences of discrimination. For those people who answered that they have never felt or been discriminated against, the survey continued to ask them where was the place where they felt the safest. Meanwhile, those who responded that they had previously been discriminated against had further questions on the type of violent aggression, the reporting process, and the state and context where it happened. Finally, all respondents were allowed to freely talk about their experience of being LGBTTTIQA+ in Mexico in an open question.

Data collection and analysis

This report is based on information collected from our partner organisation from the 30th of May to the 19th of July 2024. 20,011 respondents completed the survey via the website Survey Planet. After filtering the responses one by one to detect trolls and hate comments, the final survey responses to be analysed were 19,891. All responses were given in Spanish. All responses were anonymous.

ReportOUT's Human Rights Researcher Team analysed the survey findings, which were then shared and debated with our Mexican partner.

Research Methodology

Participants and survey ethics

In this research, all participants voluntarily got involved, and information on the survey and its goals was fully given to them. All respondents gave explicit consent to participate in the study and were not compensated for their participation. Participants were also given the right to withdraw from the survey at any time. Additionally, neither our partner Contramapeo nor other Mexican organisations and activists who publicised the survey have received material compensation for this research study. The principles of anonymity and confidentiality were respected throughout the process, and in some cases, information has been withheld to safeguard the privacy and safety of participants. The survey was conducted in line with the UK Data Protection Act (2018).

Limitations

As with all research, there are limitations. We recognise that such a large sample size will have allowed for some duplicate responses to slip through the net. We recognise that many of our respondents are urban-based and typically younger. A future study of both rural and older people would be recommended to provide a more complete picture. It would also be a worthwhile future study to consider differences in the lived experiences of respondents still living in Mexico with those in the Mexican diaspora overseas. Other research limitations included the lack of responses from the *Nguiu* Mexican Indigenous communities and the reduced number of responses from people belonging to the *Muxe* communities.

Furthermore, during the survey launch, we encountered two significant challenges. First, several private and public educational and cultural institutions were reluctant to disseminate our research, particularly from Mexico's more religious states and counties. This hesitation stemmed from concerns about potential reputational damage, even though many of these institutions have publicly declared non-discrimination policies in the past. The paradox was that despite their official stance on inclusivity, there remained a reluctance to be associated with research that directly addressed LGBTTTIQA+ issues, likely due to fears of backlash or negative perception. This type of behavior, where institutions prioritise preserving their public image over listening or protecting their students, exemplifies the harmful dynamic we examined in our research. The second issue arose during the promotion of our survey on Meta platforms (Facebook and Instagram). We ran a paid promotion during Pride Month, which was approved without issue. When we attempted to run the same ad in July, it was rejected under Meta's policy regarding ads related to social issues, elections, or politics. Notably, Meta does not allow edits to promoted posts once they are live, leaving us unable to modify or adjust the content. Our subsequent appeal was also rejected. The only discernible difference between the two periods was that the initial approval occurred during Pride Month, whereas the rejection followed shortly thereafter. It made the decision feel performative and time-sensitive, as though Meta's tolerance for LGBTTTIQA+ content was limited to specific periods. We wanted to highlight these constraints, even though we believe they have not limited the quantity and quality of the responses received.

With no funding behind this survey, we believe we have managed to attain a comprehensive picture of what life is like for Mexicans – and those living in Mexico - from sexual and gender minority communities and we are proud to present this comprehensive study, which combines quantitative results with real-life insights from survey respondents into their lived experience.

Respondent Demographics

98.2% of participants were 'first time' responses

When developing the survey, it was recognised that the same person might want to respond several times for multiple reasons, namely because they might have gone through another violent experience that they felt worth talking about. This was a form of preserving the openness of the survey. 98.2% of the registered and analysed responses were a 'first time' answer, while the other 1.8% were second or third time responders to the survey. Responses from people who answered twice were not discounted.

44.8% of participants were aged 26-38 years old

44.8% of our participants were aged 26-38 years old. The second most common age range was 18-25ting (36.0%). Then, 14.2% of responses of people aged between 39 and 51 years old, followed by people aged between 52 and 64, representing 4.5% of the participants.

The lowest range of responses was people over 64, making up 0.6% of the responses. The reduced number of elder people respondents represents a limitation of the survey, which cannot be taken as fully representative of the experiences of violence and discrimination faced by this age group. However, this could be understood as a consequence of the reduced ease of access to the survey faced by this age group.

88.9% of participants were Mexican

In terms of regions, 91.9% of the respondents were from North America, 4.8% were from South America, and 3.2% were from Central America. A wide variety of nationalities were registered among all these regions. Additionally, 5 responses were registered from Liberians.

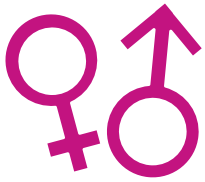
Respondent Demographics

From North America, the vast majority of responses were from Mexicans (88.9%). It is followed by Americans (2.4%), Canadians (0.4%), and Haitians (0.1%). From South America, the vast majority of respondents came from Venezuela (1.8%), followed by Colombians (1.3%), Argentinians (1.1%), Cubans (0.3%), and Brazilians (0,3%). Finally, most Central American respondents were Guatemalan (1.5%), followed by Honduran (1.1%), and Salvadoran (0.7%). This reflects the multinational character of Mexican society, which encompasses Mexican and non-Mexican citizens (e.g. asylum-seekers, refugees, tourists, and people crossing Mexico as a transition country).

Participants defined their sexuality in different ways

36.1% of the respondents identified as gay, 19.0% as bisexual, and 14.7% as lesbian. 10.2% identified as being queer and 7.8% as being pansexual. 4.1% of the respondents were heterosexual, 2.4% identified as demisexual, and 1.5% as asexual. Only 0.9% identified as polysexual.

In the survey, the 'other' option was available, representing 3.3% of the total responses. The analysis of the 'other' responses reveals that (1) there were people who identified their sexuality beyond the nine original options, with some identifying as 'saphic', 'finsexual', 'aromantic', or 'aroflux', and (2) 0.7% of the total respondents did not know what 'sexuality' or 'sexual orientation' meant, which could foster further discussions about the recognition of Anglo-Saxon terms in countries with different sociocultural contexts.



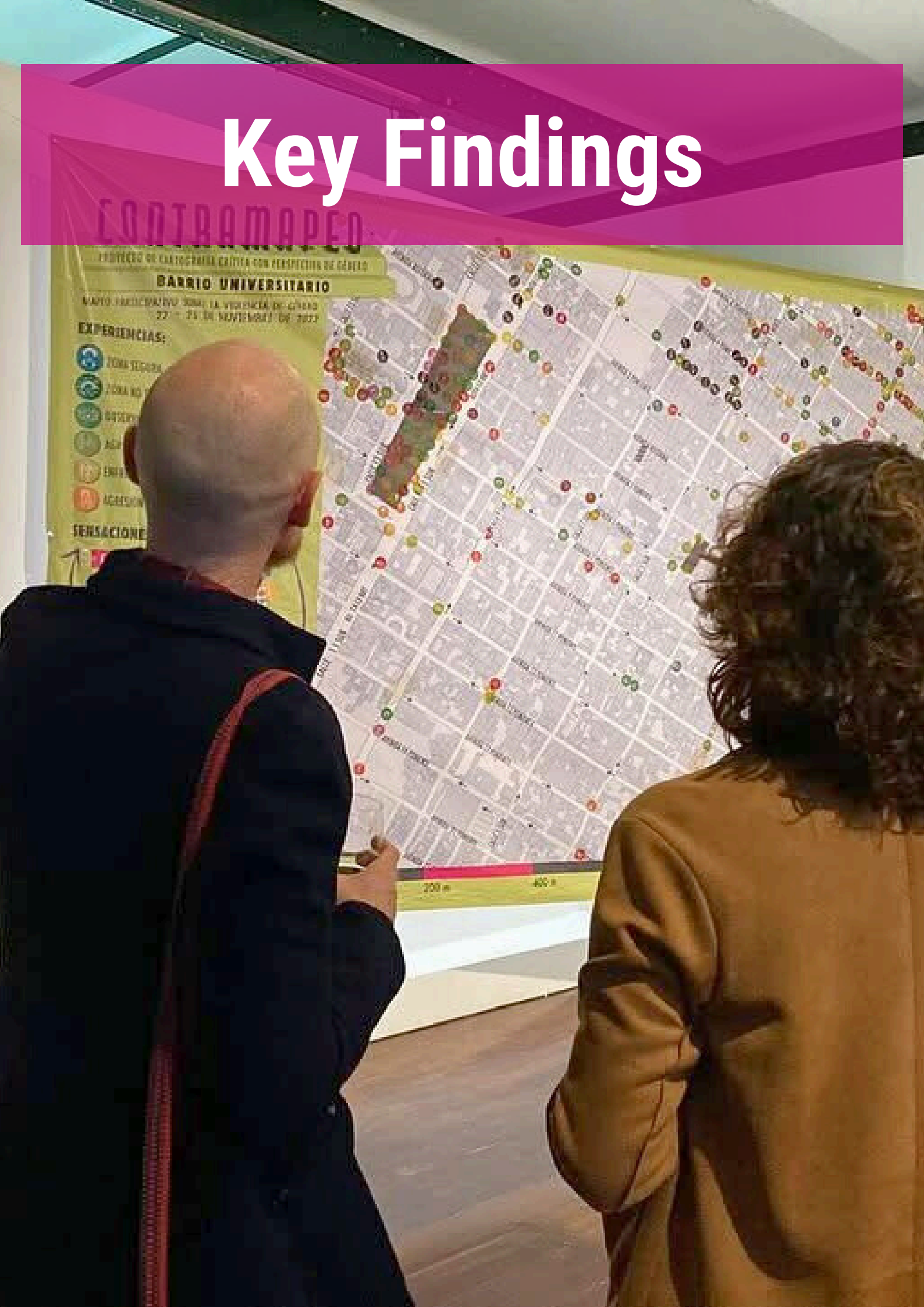
Participants defined their gender identity in different ways

53.2% of the respondents identified as cisgender, while 21.1% identified as transgender. 7.5% were genderfluid, 6.0% were genderqueer, 5.1% identified as non-binary, and 1.8% identified as gender non-conforming. 15 respondents were from the Mexican native community *Muxe,* which is a Zapotec indigenous identity of persons who view themselves neither as a man nor a woman,

A research limitation is immediately recognised, because despite the study's aim to reach native Mexican gender-diverse communities, only a small sample of the *Muxe* community was reached, and no one from the *Nguiu* community responded to the survey. However, it is already quite positive to have obtained responses from this specific Mexican native community.

Meanwhile, the 'other' option was also made available in this question, representing 5.1% of the total responses. Similarly to the analysis of the 'other' responses on sexuality, those who selected the 'other' alternative when describing their gender identity either identified themselves beyond the initial eight alternative, with some people recognising themselves as 'demigender', 'Tomfem', or 'transgender and non-binary', or did not know what 'gender identity' is (0.4%). The same discussion on the recognition of Anglo-Saxon terms in countries with different sociocultural contexts is worth considering, as well as a discussion on the variation of people's recognition of sexuality and gender identity.

Key Findings



Key Findings

1. Experiences of Violence

In the sixth question of the survey, respondents were asked about their experiences with discrimination based on their sexual orientation, gender identity, or gender expression.

From the total of 19,891 people who answered the question, 17,617 reported having experienced aggression based on their sexual orientation, gender identity, or gender expression, while 2,274 (11.5%) responded negatively to the question. This represents 88,5% of respondents and demonstrates the high degree of exposure to violence and the vulnerability in which the LGBTTTIQA+ population lives in Mexico, as well as how deeply rooted violent practices against sexual and gender minorities are.

Regarding specific sexual and gender minority subgroups, queer and pansexual people had the highest reports of violence, with around 90% each. LGBTTTIQA+ people from Indigenous communities are also especially vulnerable to violence, with 86.6% of the respondents reporting a previous experience of violence and discrimination, and revealing the intersections of gender, sexuality, and Indigeneity. Further, non-Mexican LGBTTTIQA+ communities in Mexico also experience violence and discrimination while in the Mexican territory, uncovering how homophobic and transphobic violence is entangled with ethnicity and nationality. From migrant communities, the Colombian, the Cuban, and the Honduran were the ones that reported the highest rates of violence and discrimination, with 92.4%, 91.9%, and 89.7%, respectively.

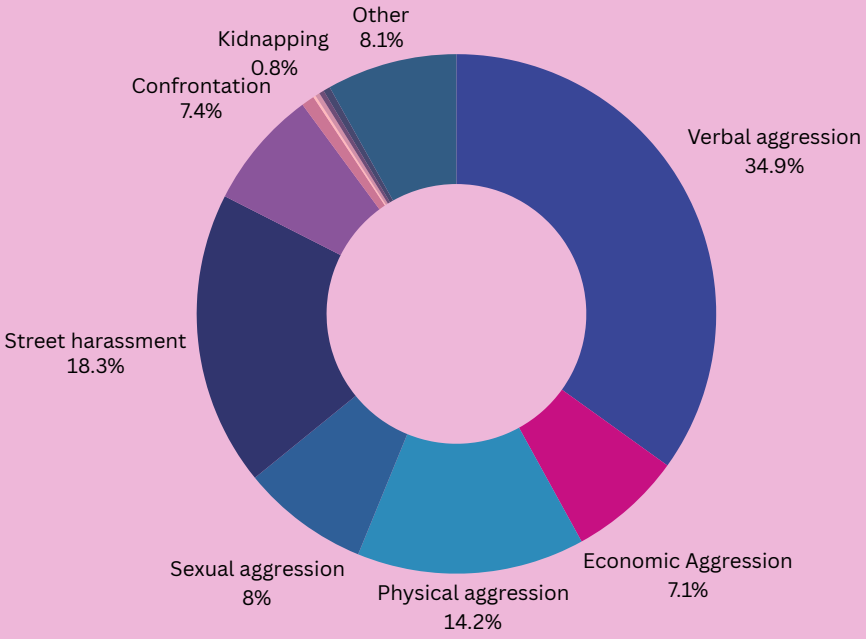
As presented from the outset in the literature review, violence and stigmatisation against the LGBTTTIQA+ population in Mexico often occur within a cultural value system based on machista culture, patriarchy, and the Catholic religious cosmogony, which tends to be binary. Therefore, it is likely to think that the use of violence, stigma, and social marginalisation of sexual and gender minorities has been present for several centuries and that its practice is widely legitimised.

2. Experiences with Different Types of Violence

It is important to point out that not all types of aggression and violence manifest in the same way, nor do they represent the same degree of impact or vulnerability as others. For this reason, we asked those who answered affirmatively in question six a follow-up question about the type of aggression and/or violence they have experienced.

One question was designed as a multiple-choice option, where people could choose among different types of violence a person in Mexico may have experienced based on their sexual orientation, gender identity, or gender expression. This question allowed for more than one response, which explains that 34,645 cases of violence were denounced and registered. As the graph below shows, the most frequently reported type of violence was verbal aggression, with 12,096 people (34.9%). Street harassment ranked second, with 6,355 affirmative responses (18.3%), and physical aggression was third, with 4,913 reported cases (14.2%). In fourth and fifth place were sexual aggression with 2,757 reports (8.0%) and confrontations with 2,572 reports (7.4%). Another significant form of violence highlighted by the results was economic aggression, with a total of 2.454 affirmative cases (7.1%). Other notable types of violence include kidnapping with 282 cases (0.8%), witnessing femicide with 104 cases (0.3%), witnessing transfemicide with 96 cases (0.3%), and human trafficking with 55 cases (0.2%). In the final option listed as "other types of aggression," 2,812 survey participants (8.1%) reported experiencing another form of violence.

Key Findings



If you have experienced violence before, what type of violence?

(select all that you think may apply)

In an initial analysis of the results, the degree of exposure and vulnerability faced by individuals in Mexico due to their sexual orientation, gender identity, or gender expression is deeply concerning, as approximately 88.5% of respondents reported being subjected to one or more types of aggression. Among the 17,616 respondents who answered positively in question six, nearly 68% of them indicated that they have experienced verbal aggression, which reinforces the argument that verbal aggression is normalised in Mexican society. Plus, 36% reported being in a situation of street harassment, and 27% stated that they had suffered physical aggression at some point. This first record of the survey provides a detailed look at which forms of violence against the LGBTTTIQA+ population are still prevalent today, while also establishing a comparison with previous reports to observe the evolution of violence in the Mexican context. Due to the normalisation of violence against sexual and gender minorities in Mexican society, it is predictable that verbal aggression has a high incidence. Among the most common forms of verbal violence are public humiliation, non-consensual outings, caricaturing, misrepresentation, insults, threats, and denial.

On the other hand, 36% of respondents reported being specifically subjected to street harassment. These behaviours stem from the normalisation of violence and social stigmatisation against a particular population, which in some cases is accompanied by physical violence. In the survey, 27% of respondents reported having experienced physical violence. It is likely that in some cases, the degree of harm inflicted by the perpetrators escalated from verbal to physical violence in the same instance. Physical violence is more frequently directed at individuals who, while biologically perceived as male, present or express themselves with feminine traits. This affects not only transgender, transsexual, or cross-dressing individuals, but also any feminised male. From the literature review on the practices that make up the repertoire of violence in Mexico, there is consistently a greater degree of vulnerability recorded in the trans population, reflecting the situation of this group in Mexico. As aforementioned, violence is most commonly reported against trans people because of the perception that they violate the social and cultural codes of Mexican machismo and patriarchy. So, the results seem to confirm the results from previous studies. These numbers highlight the high level of vulnerability within the LGBTTTIQA++ population in Mexico and underscore the urgent need for a response to these forms of violence, which dominate the experiences and conditions of sexual and gender minorities.

Key Findings

Another alarming aspect is the survey's findings on sexual assault and confrontations with aggressors, each representing 15% of the respondents independently. The reports of kidnapping, femicides, transfemicides, and human trafficking are also distressing, especially in a global context where Mexico ranks as the second country in the world, after Brazil, with the most reported cases of these types of violence. The fact that extreme cases of physical violence are recorded with rates higher than 1% of the surveyed population is alarming and demands specialised care infrastructure. The fact that 2,454 people reported being victims of sexual assault also raises concern about the exposure to violence and the vulnerability of the LGBTTTIQA+ population. Sexual violence has been used as a mechanism from colonial times to the present, and it not only targets LGBTTTIQA+ bodies but also shows alarming records against women and femininity in general.

According to the **intersection of violence, gender, and Indigenous/Aboriginal populations**, in the survey, a total of 15 people identified themselves as Muxe. Of these, eight reported being victims of physical aggression, and three reported being victims of sexual aggression. The fact that 20% of the Muxe respondents said they had been victims of sexual abuse highlights the clear vulnerability to which Indigenous and non-binary gender individuals are exposed in Mexico. This reinforces the argument that the intersection of indigeneity, sexuality, gender, and violence remains a strong one in Mexican society.

Additionally, 1.6% of respondents said they had been victims of kidnapping; 0.5% reported witnessing or being secondary victims of femicide, and another 0.5% said they had witnessed or been secondary victims of transfemicide. Lastly, 0.3% of people reported being victims of human trafficking. These figures are alarming and highlight the urgent need for state strategies and policies to address the issues faced by this population.

Returning to the trans population surveyed, special attention must be given to those who represent 20% of the total sample, with 4,110 people. Of this population, 98% reported having been subjected to some form of violence or aggression, with the most common being street harassment, affecting 30% of the total trans population. Additionally, 15% reported being victims of physical aggression, 13.5% of sexual assault, and 13% of economic violence. These figures reflect the national situation for all sexual and gender minorities in Mexico. Notably, there were 19 reported cases of human trafficking, and 31 people identified themselves as secondary victims of femicides. Special justice is demanded in the cases of Aranza Aldanelly Castillo, Paola Buenrostro, and Teresa Vargas, who remain missing. An essential aspect of understanding the violence against the trans community lies in examining the existing public policies in the country. If there are gaps in trans-specific legislation, the state and public institutions may themselves commit different types of aggression and violence.

The manifestations of violence against the LGBTTTIQA+ population in Mexico are in a state of alarm, highlighting the urgent need for immediate care programs. The fact that extreme violence, such as sexual assault, affects 13% of respondents reveals the normalisation of sexual violence as a method of punishment, stigmatisation, and marginalisation of sexual and gender minorities. These groups urgently require a special infrastructure for physical and psychological security and care.

Furthermore, the recorded 0.5% rate of practices like kidnapping, as well as individuals identifying as witnesses or secondary victims of femicide and transfemicide, confirm that patriarchy, the false Catholic binary notion of gender inherited from colonial times, and the state's neglect of this issue creates the perfect conditions not only for impunity regarding past deaths but also for the continued operation of these practices of eradication and marginalisation in Mexico.

Key Findings

In addition, an important intersection to consider within the survey is the **variable of nationality** and how people with a different national background experience higher exposure to situations of violence and vulnerability while in Mexican territories. Violence against these migrant, refugee, as well as toutist LGBTTTIQA+ communities in Mexico is persistent:

Among Venezuelans

- 207 have been victims of verbal aggression (59.1%)
- 107 have suffered street harassment (30.6%)
- 92 have been subjected to physical violence (26.3%)
- only 47 Venezuelans (13.4%) did not report any case of violence in Mexico

Among Guatemalans

- 142 of them suffered verbal aggression (47.7%)
- 90 suffered from street harassment (30.2%)
- 88 suffered from physical aggression (29.5%)
- only 40 Guatemalans (13.4%) have no reported any case of violence while in Mexico

Among Argentinians

- 137 reported being victims of verbal aggression (60%)
- 58 denounced cases of physical aggression (25.4%)
- 57 have suffered a sexual aggression (25%)
- only 26 Argentinians (11.4%) have not suffered any type of violence in Mexico

Among Colombians

- 179 have reported suffering verbal aggression (67.5%)
- 109 have suffered street harassment (41.1%)
- 58 have been subjected to physical violence (21.8%)
- only 20 Venezuelans (7.5%) have not reported any case of violence while in Mexico.

Among US citizens

- 292 reported cases of verbal aggression (61.3%)
- 121 reported being victims of street harassment (25.4%)
- 109 suffered a sexual aggression (22.9%)
- only 58 Americans (12.2%) have not suffered any forms of violence in Mexican territories.

These results confirm that even LGBTTTIQA+ people transiting or living in Mexico experience multiple forms of violence, worsening their livelihoods, as explored in the literature review. Consequently, these indicators must be taken into account for the creation, monitoring, and subsequent evaluation of public policies aimed at protecting and ensuring the rights of sexual and gender migrant minorities.

Key Findings

Looking at the testimonies left by respondents at the end of the survey, they confirm the multiple forms of violence that LGBTTTIQA+ communities in Mexico experience. These reported lived experiences of violence go from verbal aggression and violence such as insults and the objectification of female bodies and sexualities, which are normalised as 'humor', to physical and sexual violence like sexual harassment, sexual aggression, rape, and murder. Plus, there are cases of negation of the provision of goods and services, the disclosure of private and personal information, theft, and attempted conversion practices based on religious beliefs. This violence is experienced in various locations, proving the widespread normalisation of cisheteronormative violence, and it has multiple impacts on the social realities of LGBTTTIQA+ people in Mexico

It is noteworthy that in our survey, we received some homophobic and transphobic responses. These respondents from homophobic and transphobic Mexicans highlight the very essence of cisheteronormative violence in Mexico that the present research sought to understand. Respondents with homophobic and transphobic opinions reported having violent attitudes toward LGBTTTIQA+ individuals in Mexico, including calling the police, expressing anger, calling for more repressive measures from the Mexican government, and calling LGBTQ+ rights an ideology of 'ill' people.

Additionally, some testimonies reveal a new dimension of cisheteronormative violence in Mexico, that has not yet been discussed in this report – intra-community violence. This intra-community violence is already explored in other contexts, but there is a lack of research focusing on the Mexican experience.

"Well, it was with one of my ex-partners, the truth is that he attacked me for having damaged his 'masculinity', he started yelling at me and trying to pull me, but that same day I broke up with him"

"I am a bisexual woman. But I have suffered discrimination from the same community - some lesbian and sapphic women say that I am really straight or that I am confused"

"I was in a steam room and a guy started masturbating. I just asked him if I could turn up the steam, and a few seconds later he lunged at me, hitting me and saying that I was harassing him"

Regarding the prolonged mental health impacts of violence against LGBTTTIQA+ communities in Mexico, multiple respondents reported being sad and frustrated and feeling powerless, insecure, and loveless. LGBTTTIQA+ individuals report hiding their identity because of the fear of coming out and the constant fear of being threatened or subjected to violence. The most dramatic situations go back to cases of self-doubt, anxiety, depression, self-mutilation, and suicidal thoughts.

Key Findings

"This has caused me depression and anxiety, because it was not only the written aggression, but also coming out to people who live in the same area as me. I feel singled out every time I go out on the street"

"The most feasible solution in these cases is to give up and repress yourself, but people like me who want to continue fighting and feel free have hell ahead of them, which sooner or later will end with our death. It has reached the point where, in order to try to ensure your well-being, it is best to hide as much as possible that you are part of the community, and adapt or die. "Guadalajara, the capital of inclusion and diversity" nobody ever said"

"I felt very scared not knowing what to do during that time of aggression"

"I felt vulnerable when I was subjected to violence"

"Well, one feels very sad, very frustrated, because they stop seeing us as people, they see us strange, they insult us and well, in my case, I am just and simple. I think that for being trans they think we are a sexual toy and we are just here. For that"

"At some point in my life I wanted to stop being who I am until I realized that there was nothing wrong with me and that I could behave however I wanted"

"[violence] had an impact on my life, on the way I relate emotionally and on society"

"I don't feel safe at work, I don't feel safe on the street, I don't feel like myself, I feel like no one sees me as a boy and I feel invalidated by everyone, this has led me to think that maybe I'm wrong and had led me to self-harm years ago since years ago I was made fun of for being pansexual and transgender, I didn't feel validated by anyone, they constantly tell me that because I don't have short hair I'm not a valid boy"

3. (Un)Safe Cities and States in Mexico for the LGBTTTIQA+ Community

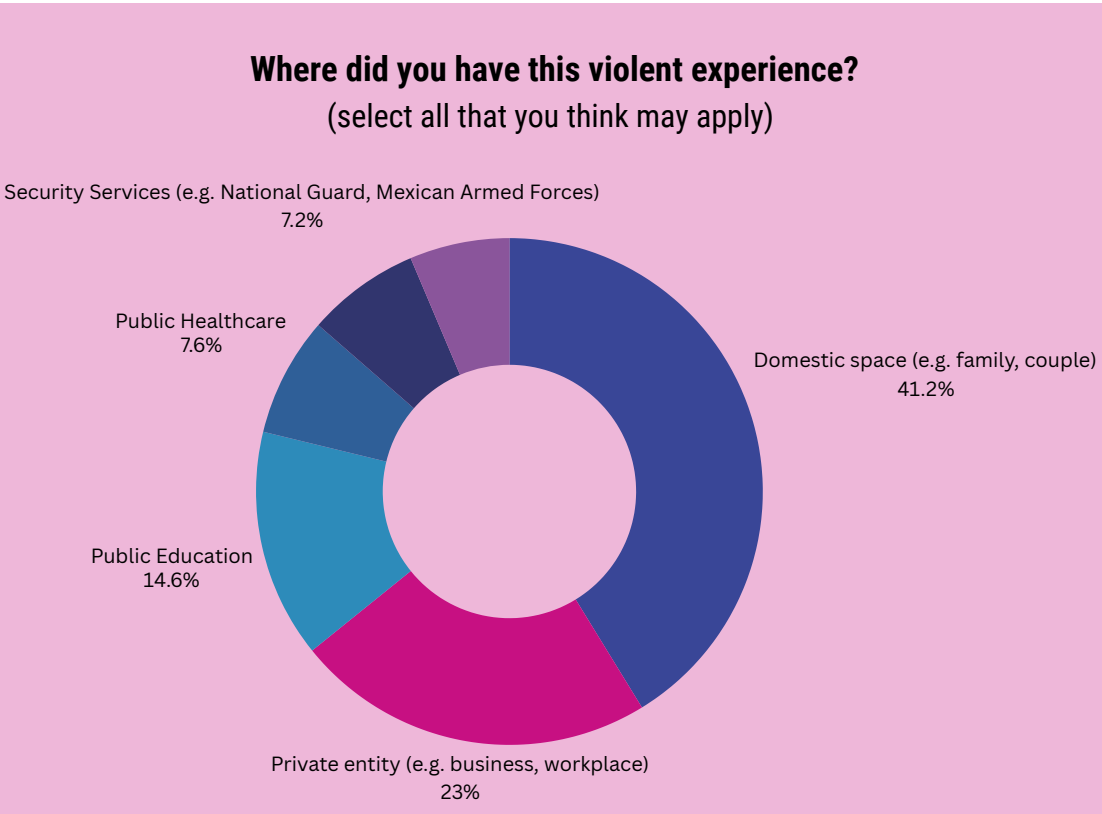
From those who said in the previous question that they have not suffered any type of aggression, the survey also assessed perceptions of safety across various Mexican states, highlighting where individuals within the LGBTTTIQA+ community fell safest. Ciudad de México emerged as the top choice, with 720 respondents identifying it as a safe place. This finding may reflect the more significant existence of community members in larger metropolitan areas offering more LGBTTTIQA+ resources and inclusive policies. Following Ciudad de México, Jalisco and Estado de México received 277 and 111 responses, indicating a similar sense of security likely influenced by urban factors and support networks.

A closer look at individual states reveals that Zacatecas had the fewest incidents, with only 110 reports. This could indicate either more effective local protections or lower reporting rates, trending to a sub-notification and implicating risk to people who are openly LGBTTTIQA+ in this region. Despite the lower numbers, these areas still require ongoing support to maintain safety and develop dignity for LGBTTTIQA+ people living there.

It is also important to note that, beyond capital cities, other municipalities show significant reporting flows that shed light on the violence faced by LGBTTTIQA+ individuals. Reports from non-capital areas are crucial for visibility, illustrating that LGBTTTIQA+ violence affects both urban and rural settings throughout Mexico. In this line, places like Oaxaca (having 1,472 reports of violence), Puebla (having 1,323 reports of violence) and Jalisco (having 1,185 reports of violence), shows that there is a need to have comprehensive, region-specific responses to ensure community protection and support not only on the central and capital area but along all of the country.

4. Locations of Violence against LGBTTTIQA+ Mexicans

Respondents to the survey were asked to select which physical setting their reported crime or discrimination took place in or which body perpetrated it. Options included security settings (including through the armed forces), health and medical bodies, public education settings, laws and government policies, individual/domestic settings (including actions committed by the respondent's family members/spouse), and private entities such as workplaces. The total number of responses to this question was 23,612. The graph below reveals that most participants (41.2%) were attacked at home by their family and/or partners. 23% of respondents have experienced violence in their workplace and/or while acquiring goods and services from Mexican businesses. Regarding public education and healthcare, respondents reported more cases of violence in the former (14.6%) than the latter (7.6%), but both must be analysed carefully. 7.2% of participants have been subjected to violence when interacting with Mexican Security Forces, like the Mexican National Guard and the Mexican Armed Forces. Additionally, 6.4% of respondents reported having experienced violence in other public settings and/or governmental bodies.

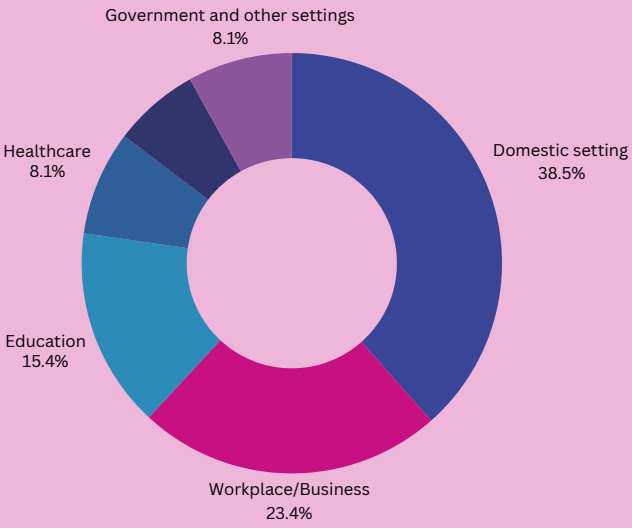


Key Findings

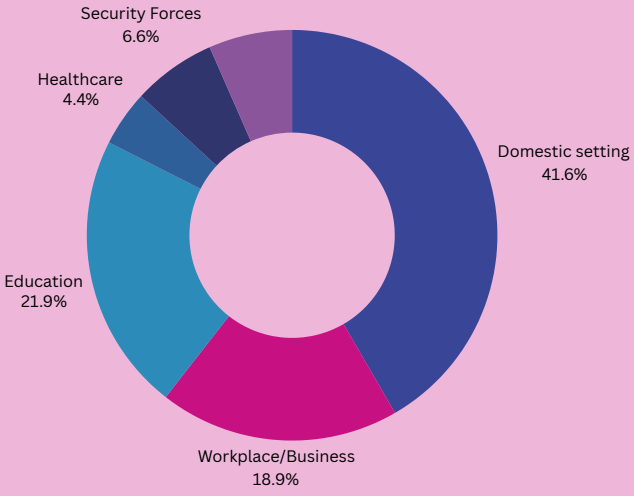
Looking specifically at **trans and gender-diverse communities in Mexico**, the spaces where they have experienced violence seem not to change radically from the average. Trans and gender-diverse communities have experienced the most violence in domestic settings (41.2%), employment settings (23.3%), and education settings (14.4%). In addition, they have suffered from violence and discrimination in healthcare facilities (7.9%), other governmental settings (6.0%), and when interacting with Mexican security forces (7.2%).

Following an intersectional analysis, it is worth understanding how the spaces of violence vary depending on the intersections of violence, sexuality, and gender with other subjectivity markers such as indigeneity and nationality. **Regarding the Muxe community**, the spaces where they have experienced violence do not change radically from the average respondent, except in education and healthcare settings. While reports of violence suffered in domestic settings (41.2%) and employment settings (23.5%) registered almost no change, Muxe participants reported higher rates of violence in education facilities (17.6%) and healthcare settings (11.8%). This reveals how Mexican public healthcare and education spaces are not perceived as adequately prepared for this community, making them feel unsafe, perpetuating institutional violence, and harming the education and health of Indigenous queer communities. No Muxe participants reported having suffered violence when interacting with Mexican Security Forces, which is also a change from the average respondent.

Regarding LGBTTTIQA+ people with different national backgrounds, the spaces where they experience violence seem to suffer some changes when compared to average LGBTTTIQA+ Mexicans, but the general order from more violent to less violent spaces does not change. For instance, Guatemalans suffer more violence in education settings; Venezuelans report higher rates of violence in healthcare settings, and Colombians denounce having experienced more violence in domestic spaces than overall Mexicans. This demonstrates that institutional and domestic violence against LGBTTTIQA+ non-Mexican communities in Mexican territories hinders these particularly vulnerable communities, affecting all spheres of social life.

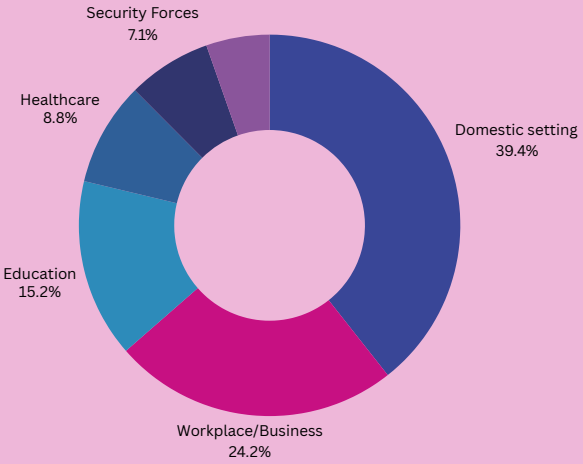


Spaces of Violence against LGBTTTIQA+ US citizens in Mexico

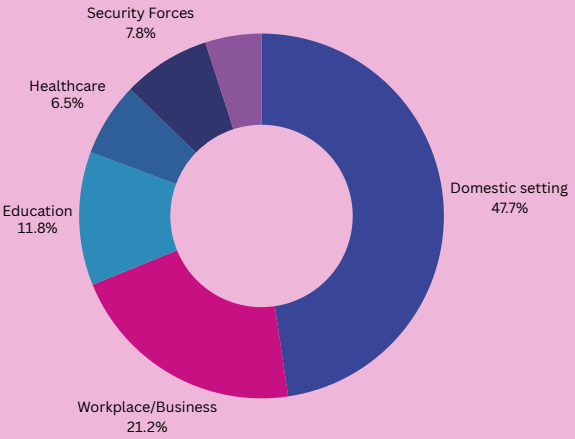


Spaces of Violence against LGBTTTIQA+ Guatemalans in Mexico

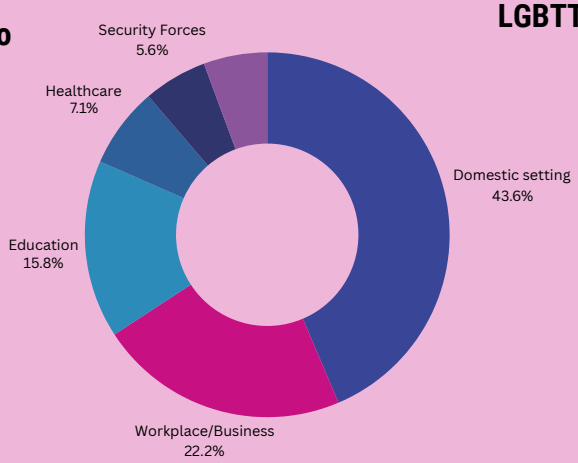
Key Findings



Spaces of Violence against LGBTTTIQA+ Venezuelans in Mexico



Spaces of Violence against LGBTTTIQA+ Colombians in Mexico



Spaces of Violence against LGBTTTIQA+ Argentinians in Mexico

4.1. Educational Settings

There appears to be consistent reporting regarding the negative experiences of LGBTTTIQA+ school pupils. Many cite discrimination they suffer caused by other pupils, and teachers, and which is often aggravated further by staff and teachers. Pupils report a range of micro-aggressions and discrimination, ranging from a deliberate misuse of pronouns, bullying, and derogatory comments. The vast majority of testimonies speak of discrimination and violence suffered in secondary school settings, with some focused on universities. The 18-25 age group appears to be most affected, as well as transgender and gay-identifying respondents. These findings largely match the results of the analysis carried out in the literature review, where it was found that over half of Mexican pupils with non-heterosexual identities had felt unsafe at school.

78% of respondents to a survey analysed in our literature review had not been taught about the rights of LGBTTTIQA+ people. In our survey, a total of 773 trans individuals reported being victims of violence at the hands of the Ministry of Public Education or public schools, which usually manifests as denial of access to education and rejection of school enrolment for trans people. This combined with the testimonies confirming that teaching staff, at best, tend to ignore their plight, offers an important insight into the discrimination of LGBTTTIQA+ Mexicans in educational settings. These testimonies go further in exploring the roles of staff and teachers in violence in these educational settings. Rather than simply being passive bystanders, teachers often appeared to be the aggressors or to aggravate situations where violence or discrimination was taking place actively. This adds another layer of information not explicitly discovered in our literature review.

Key Findings

Participants also shared more specific information about their experiences of violence through additional testimonies. Those speaking about the attacks they have suffered revealed the often daily intimidation they suffered, not just at the hands of students but also teachers and school staff who either ignored their plight or actively aggravated the situation.

"The teachers started criticizing me and saying that I am 'anti-natural'; they used arguments from the Bible and other things"

"At school, they did not respect my name and continued to use pronouns that did not correspond to mine when calling me. Similarly, teachers told a friend of mine that they would not call them by their name because it was not in their official registers"

"In primary school, my colleagues bullied me only because of my way of being, ad that left me feeling insecure while growing up"

"As a child, bullying at school was constant, so much so that it affected me emotionally to this day"

"My school colleages locked me in a bathroom and screamed that it was 'to make me more masculine' because I was a trans man"

"At my school, various teachers were constantly making discriminatory and homophobic statements about the community"

"A teacher forbade me from going to the school's bathrooms, both male and female bathrooms. Plus, she forbade me of speaking with younger students arguing that I could 'turn them gay'"

"I suffered physical violence from another university student simply because I am gay. I reported the situation to the university, and they did nothing"

"I went to a nun schools. They did not allow me and my 'best friend' to act in a more 'masculine' way. Besides, we could not spend time together alone because we were humiliated in front of the all group"

"At preparatory school, they cannot call me a 'lesbian'. However, they constantly judge me for my haircut and the way I dress. There is no meaning in denouncing them because for the teachers it is worthless"

"When I studied at preparatory school, I had a romance with a girl. My classmates noticed and started rumours […] one of them told me that I disgusted them and made an 'imitation' act of what a sexual intercourse between me and my girlfriend would look like. After that, I have never felt secure"

"Since I was a child, I have received insults, threats, physical attacks, and sexual harassment for being different"

4.2. Public Settings

Participants reported numerous incidences of harassment, assault, and violence from members of the public or strangers within public settings. This includes statements from couples visibly displaying affection, LGBTTTIQA+ individuals, and other people who were identified or suspected of being gender or sexual minorities. A large majority of these incidents were perpetrated by individuals or multiple individuals who were unknown to the victims. The locations of incidents appears to be diverse, with reports ranging from car parks, public streets, and outside of private businesses.

"I was simply walking with my partner and the attacks started, they didn't shout fucking faggots, they whistled at us, they pushed us"

"They harassed us and beat us outside a bar"

"I was walking hand in hand with my partner through the historic center of Guadalajara, and a man verbally assaulted us, he began to shout at us that 'the faggots now hang out everywhere'"

"I am frequently harassed on the street and verbally assaulted in Mexico City. I am shouted insults when I walk with my girlfriend"

"A tour guide in Guanajuato made homophobic comments"

"The most recent thing is only verbal harassment in the streets and that they caress me in the subway despite telling them no and they get upset and push me because according to them I provoke them, I have not reported the latter because it always happens when I am on my way to work and if I do not arrive they do not justify the delays even if they are due to this situation"

"I have had experiences, especially in public places, where most people judge, observe, criticize. A recent experience was in a shopping mall where I was about to be physically and sexually assaulted for the simple fact of expressing myself for who I am"

"A very Catholic lady began to shout at us and follow me and a boy for having kissed us in the street"

"I have suffered harassment on the street, more than I would like, by both men and women"

"The most serious aggression I have had was in a restaurant in the state of Mexico […], they refused me service just for wearing a top and they told me that in that establishment promiscuity was not promoted, I responded […] the manager of the place began to push me […], the police arrived and they only took me"

"Well, on the street we were harassed by passersby or they offered us so-called "help" to change and lead a "normal" life, on one occasion a guy followed me and forced me to kiss him"

"When we were dancing, a group of men started looking at us strangely. They started insulting us and shouting 'faggots' at us, […] when we left the bar they attacked us and beat us. They stole my phone and my wallet. We had to go to the hospital and we did file a report, but we haven't received any information"

"Walking hand in hand with my girlfriend downtown, a guy started insulting us saying that we disgusted him and little by little he got closer to us. We tried to lose him, but he cornered us in an alley and threw a rock at us. He hit us until he couldn't take it anymore. We were in the hospital for two weeks, and she died"

4.3. Healthcare Settings

Healthcare settings presented respondents with continuous experiences of discrimination, harassment, and prejudice. Many report active aggression on the part of doctors and medical staff, a refusal to respect their identities, and poor or inconsistent care as a result of their sexual or gender identities. Transgender respondents appear to have been particularly affected, with many reporting staff refusal to respect their identities, pronouns, and medical needs. All age groups appear to be affected. Additionally, 386 people reported being victims of institutional violence perpetrated by public health entities such as IMSS, ISSTE, or Pemex. This violence typically involves denial of access to specific treatments, refusal to recognise a person's self-identified gender, and even denial of regular consultations or emergency medical care.

These experiences of violence are not limited to specific hospitals, clinics, or organisations. Respondents cited negative experiences in a variety of settings across the country, reflecting those discovered in the literature review. The present research uncovered consistent issues experienced by LGBTTTIQA+ people in healthcare settings. These included barriers to access, discrimination, and substandard care aggravated by disrespect and insensitivity.

"When I went to a health institution for prophylactic treatment, both the medical staff treated me in a derogatory manner due to my way of dressing and my sexual orientation. They questioned me about my sexual life, insisting that having an active sexual life made me a promiscuous person and that I should monetize myself if I was going to get infected with an STI anyway"

"They never gave me follow-up and the doctor's treatment was always distant, aggressive, and with a lot of stigma. I tried to file a complaint at the same institution but they told me that it was not appropriate since they had no way of proving what happened. They told me that, no matter what, they would only give the doctor an 'observation'"

"I did not suffer discrimination because of my sexual orientation, but because of my HIV status. At 19 years old, I was excluded from my workplace"

"I remember when I went to the ISTE because I had a stomach ache and a fever. The doctor treated me in a very rude way and made me feel like my illness was due to being gay. He told me that homosexuals were prone to certain illnesses and that I shouldn't be surprised to be sick..."

"I went to Salud Digna […], I am a trans man, and from the beginning they had problems registering me in the system even though I told them that I was biologically female. I went for two ultrasounds, one breast and one pelvic. I couldn't have the pelvic because one of the people who was performing the ultrasounds called me with feminine pronouns and the other told me "it doesn't matter how you identify, you are a woman" […] at the entrance they didn't understand me and inside they misgendered me. I had to leave without the study because of the discomfort"

"A doctor denied me medical attention"

"One of them was at the IMSS where the doctor verbally discriminated against me and attributed my health problem to my sexual orientation, denying me the medication"

"The therapist (referring to my gender identity) also makes comments about my clothing and physique"

"I went to the IMSS with intense abdominal pain […] when the doctor treated me, she questioned my sexuality more, why I had an IUD if I had sexual-affective relationships with women. During my examination I received questions and moralistic judgments about what I was doing being wrong. In the end, she didn't give me a medical diagnosis and only prescribed me pain medication"

"At the regional hospital 110, one of the doctors did not give importance to my gender identity since he was told my correct name and pronouns and it was easy for him to attack me saying that he would not call me that because it was not written that way on his paper and that he did not care what I wanted if it was not written that way on the documents"

"There are health institutions that discriminate against same-sex couples even though we already have rights in laws and public policies"

4.4. Domestic Settings

Participants extensively reported their negative experiences in familial and domestic settings. They cited the abuse received from family members and the issues they have encountered with their identities in the private sphere. These negative experiences seem to be suffered heavily by young people, with the 18-25 category much more likely to be represented in this setting.

Respondents report familial disrespect for their identities (including a refusal to use correct pronouns, insults, a refusal to accept romantic partners, and general hostility). The most common source of this discrimination appears to be parents (with most respondents citing mothers and fathers as being the main source of their experiences), with other close family members also being responsible. Again, these findings match with the results of the literature review. Research indicates that LGBTTTIQA+ individuals still suffer within familial settings in Mexico, with family structures being centred around patriarchal and cisheteronormative structures.

"Since I came out of the closet, the thing that I have the most marked is when I wanted to cut my hair and I showed the idea to my family and my aunt yelled at me: You are a girl, girls don't have short hair. Why can't you understand? (I'm a trans guy) and whenever I cut my hair they make negative comments about my appearance to lower my self-esteem and try to get me to stop cutting it, they deny my name, they don't like others to call me by my pronouns and when I started going to the psychologist they usually asked me when I was going to 'fix my head'"

"When I came out of the closet, my family kicked me out of the house"

"I would like to have short hair but my parents don't want it and my dad had threatened me a while ago that if I cut my hair..."

"My dad doesn't accept my boyfriend and tries to manipulate me to leave him"

"In my family, the LGBT+ community is not respected and they are always homophobic and transphobic, making fun of my appearance and calling me unpleasant names, calling me my deadname instead of my name, something that makes me very uncomfortable"

"I have been discriminated against or verbally offended, the worst thing is that a family member insulted me for being homosexual, threatened me and tried to physically attack me, to which I just turned away since he is an older person and if I did something to him I could hurt him"

"When my ex-partner's family found out that we weren't friends, they changed their behaviour towards me, going from being friendly to being hostile and dehumanizing"

"I am not allowed to talk about my sexuality or my partners in my house. My family 'accepts' me but only if I follow their parameters of how it is acceptable to present myself"

"The attacks I experienced were digitally by my sister-in-law, who uploaded photos from my social media in a neighborhood WhatsApp group […] she and the people in the group referred to me as a butch, a lewd, fat, a faggot, etc."

"I was raped"

4.5. Employment Settings

Employment settings similarly present a plethora of issues for LGBTTTIQA+ individuals. These issues arise in job searches, onboarding, during employment, and professional settings. Participants report issues whilst employed, which range from disparaging comments, a refusal to accept non-heterosexual identities, sexual harassment, and exclusion. Many respondents expressed that their physical appearances often which did not match their sexual identity assigned at

birth, led to discrimination at their workplaces. This included employers and colleagues not respecting pronouns, insulting and derogatory comments, and unfair treatment in work settings. Bisexual respondents reported an immediate change in colleagues' treatment and view of them once their sexual orientations were revealed. Transgender respondents also reported a lack of action from employers when discrimination was reported. Apathy of managing staff and colleagues appears to be a consistent part of respondents' reports.

Respondents also specified changes in circumstances when their identities were made public. This included a loss of employment or changes in behaviour from colleagues who became more aggressive. One respondent, diagnosed with HIV, reported an unauthorised sharing of his status to third parties by the organisation that employed them. These findings match the results of our literature review. 30% of LGBTTTIQA+ Mexicans reported discrimination at work. The literature review mentioned the serious problems suffered by refugees or migrants in transit who could not find secure work in the country. This aggravated the situations of these people, with transgender people particularly affected by an inability to secure the correct documents or stable employment.

"Being gay is often very restrictive in the financial field because the 'leaders' are older people and they limit you, […] it means that they cannot recommend you elsewhere or they treat you as exaggerated"

"Now that I look somewhat tomboyish or gender fluid, it has been more difficult for me to find work because when I go to interviews they look at me strangely when I know that I have more skills and abilities to do my job. Now I find myself unemployed waiting for someone to not care about that and care about my work abilities"

"My ex-boss […] used to harass me and want me to do sexual things with him because I had never been with a man, and he also made homophobic and derogatory comments about my girlfriend"

"To get to the position of store manager I had to go through many tests and fight against favoritism, well that's what I believed until I found out about the homophobia of the sales director, which is why I didn't get a faster promotion […] he said it gave a bad image for a manager like me to be putting myself like that and that it was frowned upon by customers. […] terrible work environment [..] unfortunately and because I was an idiot I signed a voluntary resignation"

"At work they didn't give me the salary that was due to the position, claiming that I was gay and didn't have children, likewise a coworker tried to forcefully kiss me because I was half drunk at a party for her birthday"

"I work in technology and when I started to express my gender identity and my bisexual orientation, my "friends" and colleagues started making horrible and biphobic comments. I reported the situation to Human Resources, but of course they did not take any action about it"

"My boss found out that I am pansexual and denied me promotions and assigned me less relevant tasks because of it"

"The company prides itself on being inclusive and protecting us. However, a colleague made transphobic and violent comments about me. The person was reported, but there were no consequences"

"I feel that at work, as soon as they find out about my sexual preferences, they lose respect for me. Before knowing it, they consult me, value my opinion, and I never received bad looks or scathing comments"

"When I entered work, my immediate boss mentioned without my presence which bathroom I was going to use, the men's or women's"

4.6. Security Service Settings

Participants reported various issues related to experiences with institutional and security services. This varied from an inability to report crimes and violence committed against them to active harassment by police and other security forces. Respondents paint a picture of an extremely hostile environment when trying to navigate support services for crime-related problems. Respondents are discouraged from reporting any crimes committed against them due to a lack of faith in the police and the criminal justice system, insinuating that the true level of crime against LGBTTTIQA+ in Mexico is likely far higher than reported ones. Many also mention active discrimination and abuse committed by the police, including the targeting of individuals for perceived homosexual acts, victim blaming of LGBTTTIQA+ individuals who had crimes committed against them, physical assaults at the hands of security services, and extortion.

343 cases were reported in which public security forces committed acts of violence against trans individuals, especially by the National Guard or the Mexican Armed Forces. These indicators show how violence against trans people is institutionalised and operates structurally. This underscores the demands of trans individuals in Mexico, which often centre on access to healthcare and education—basic rights recognised by the United Nations Human Rights Charter, to which Mexico is a signatory and a fundamental element of the Mexican Constitution. For many, the state becomes an entity that enacts violence against trans bodies and subjectivities, and by restricting access to education and healthcare, it also limits access to employment, dignified housing, balanced nutrition, and overall mental and physical well-being. The life expectancy for trans people in Mexico remains at a low of 35 years.

These findings largely match with the results of the literature review. Research uncovered an extensive amount of violence and discrimination suffered by migrants and refugees attempting to transit through Mexico or reach the USA. Testimonies of these individuals were not largely reflected in the testimonies, implying that our survey may not have accurately recorded the experiences of these people. Review findings also reflected the incredibly poor legal and judicial processes for crimes committed against LGBTTTIQA+ persons. The country sees fewer than 1% of crimes fully prosecuted, and the defeatist approach of many LGBTTTIQA+ Mexicans is adequately reflected in the survey responses.

Key Findings

"I went on vacation with my boyfriend to Villahermosa, Tabasco. When we sat in a public space, we talked while only holding hands. Minutes later, two police officers came to 'kindly ask us' not to do it or leave"

"[the police] told me that I looked very effeminate and that that was a reason for them to assault me and that I had to look more manly. This happened in the public ministry of Pino Suárez, clearly diversity was not a priority at that time"

"Some police officers asked my ex and I to stop kissing and leave that park because it was a "good neighborhood" and people did not like to see 'that'"

"At a demonstration of trans identities, the police insulted us with transphobic and homophobic words"

"I was beaten and robbed by security personnel from Bar Soberbia in September 2018. They did not follow protocols and aggressively beat me and other friends"

"When I was 20 years old, I was harassed and verbally assaulted by the local police in Chiapas. They detained me for no reason, insulted me for my appearance, and made me feel like I didn't belong anywhere"

"I suffered discrimination from the police once when I was hugging my partner in a park, they said that homosexuality was not allowed in Orizaba, Veracruz"

"There is no point in reporting assaults since the processes are very long, the victims are treated as if they were criminals, they suffer more discrimination and in any case nothing is resolved because there is no punishment for the guilty"

"When I reported it to the traffic policeman who was on the next block, he told me that he could not do anything and that what was I waiting for, if I was out of control"

"Even though I had photographic evidence, such as the medical evaluation of a doctor from the Red Cross and the answer they gave me, the police said that I was under the influence of alcohol, they verbally assaulted me and took my bag with cash, $5000 pesos, they wanted me to bring them proof of the money. Well, obviously I didn't have it because at that time I was dedicated to sex work, which is what I paid for my degree with. The only thing I asked them was that if they were going to arrest me it had to be a female police officer, that I didn't want them to be involved because I am a heterosexual woman (transgender), where they mocked me and insulted me even when I showed them my INE, which is an official document which contained my personal data"

4.7. Other Institutional and Governmental Settings

Testimonials sometimes mentioned other forms of institutional stigmatisation and violence. These include discrimination when accessing housing, delay or refusal to legally change the gender marker on trans' official documents, the refusal to provide social security services, the denial of parental rights, and the lack of support when organising marches and demonstrations.

"I can't change my name on my birth certificate, but it's supposed to be legal in Oaxaca. This causes me a ton of problems in my life […] I can't open a bank account, and I can't get a good job"

"They didn't want to help me at the IMSS and I was denied the right to study"

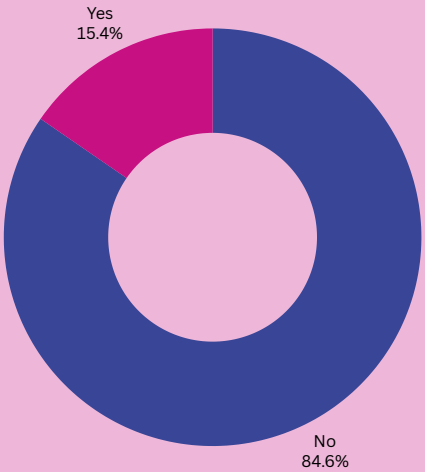
"As a collective, we don't have state support to organize events or marches. It's very difficult to bear the pressure of organizing, without protection and without support"

"My girlfriend and I want to adopt a child but there are a thousand obstacles to making it possible. The authorities have told us that we shouldn't adopt because we are lesbians, they tell us that we are not fit to raise a child and that we can't offer her a stable home"

"We had been looking for an apartment to rent for months. Finally we found one that I really liked and I went to see it with my partner. When the real estate agent saw that we were two men, she first asked us if we were siblings or related. When we told him we were a couple, he told us the apartment wasn't available and they didn't rent to couples 'like you'"

5. Reporting Violence to Authorities

Even though so many respondents have suffered from at least one form of violence, only 2,714 LGBTTTIQA+ people have reported the situation to official authorities, which represents 15.4% of the total number of respondents who have been victims of at least of form of violence. The rest (84.6% who have suffered any type of violence) did not denounce the situation, which reinforces the impunity culture of cisheteronormative, patriarchal, and machista violence in Mexico, which the literature review addressed. It is necessary to understand the reasons behind this (un)reporting of violence situations which allows cisheteronormative violence to prevail in Mexican society.



If you have been a victim of anti-LGBTTTIQA+ violence, did you report your aggression?

Among the reasons enumerated by the respondents in the final open question, which asked if they wanted to share their experience, it is worth highlighting the feeling of impunity, the violence suffered when denouncing cases of violence to the police, and fear of retaliation. Therefore, Mexican authorities must take these reasons into account to address and effectively combat the cisheteronormative and machista violence suffered by LGBTTTIQA+ communities in the country.

Looking into specific subgroups of analysis, further data on who feels more comfortable or not in reporting these situations is offered. For instance, **regarding the Muxe community**, only 3 out of the 13 respondents who have been victims of violence on the grounds of their sexuality, gender identity, or gender expression have reported the situation to the local authorities. This reinforces the marginalisation that these Mexican indigenous communities suffer and the culture of impunity from which perpetrators of violence benefit. It is necessary to take into consideration the intersection between indigeneity, queerness, and violence, not only in the development of policies and practices that seek to deal with the lack of reports of these cases of violence, but also in research. There is a lack of research on Muxe communities. Still, these results highlight the need for further research, especially regarding queer Muxe communities' reasons behind the decision not to report to authorities the experiences of violence that they have suffered from.

Moreover, all sub-groups of LGBTTTIQA+ Mexican communities who have experienced violence, from trans and gender-diverse people, to lesbian, gay, and bisexual people, all present a rate of non-reporting of cases of violence to authorities of 84%-85%. **The big exception is the Asexual community, where 87% do not report the cases of violence** they are victims of to authorities. Once again, Asexual communities tend to be marginalised in research, so there is no data to which the present report can compare its results. However, the fact that 87% of people from the Asexual communities, for several reasons, do not feel comfortable or do not feel that it is worth denouncing violence to official authorities is alarming. Thus, further research is required on Asexual Mexican communities and their (non)reporting of violence to authorities, patterns and reasons.

Furthermore, **regarding LGBTTTIQA+ individuals with non-Mexican nationalities (e.g. migrants, asylum seekers, refugees, and tourists) in Mexico**, the rate of reporting cases of violence is 83% among all these groups, except the Americans and Colombians. Around 86% of LGBTTTIQA+ Americans and 86.6% of LGBTTTIQA+ Colombians who have faced an experience of violence while in Mexico do not report the situation to the local official authorities. This analysis adds a new layer to the analysis of how LGBTTTIQA+ people in mobility in Mexico suffer and report experiences of violence, thus demanding further research and policies to address the situation to break the cycles of impunity that worsen the livelihoods of LGBTTTIQA+ people in Mexico, especially communities that come from different national backgrounds. It is noteworthy that the case of LGBTTTIQA+ US-directed tourism in the country, the cycle of impunity also harms the Mexican economy.

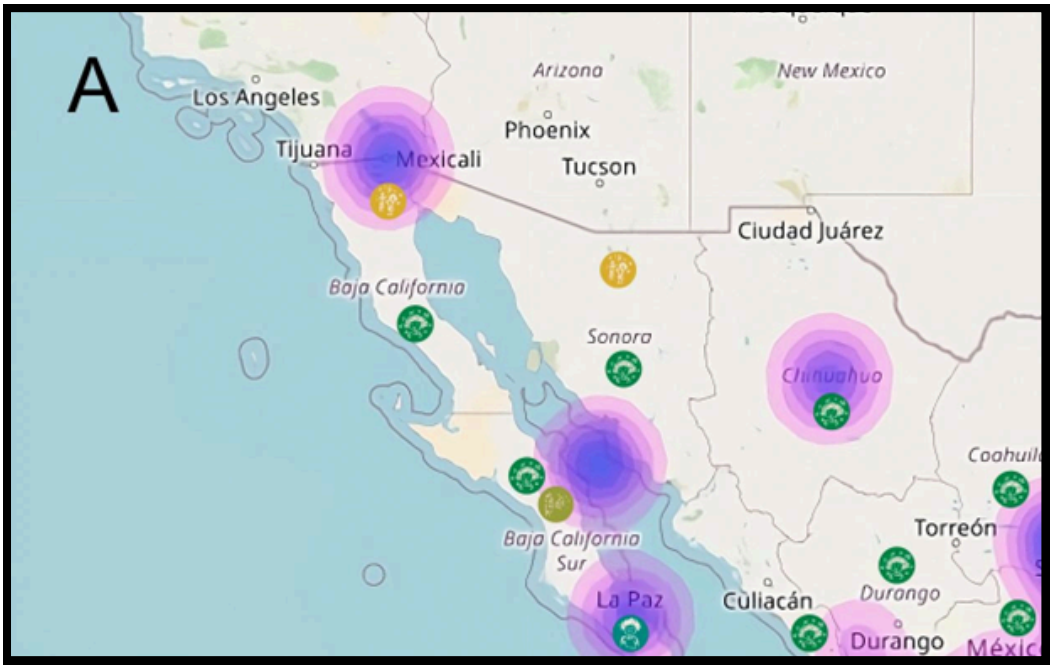
Henceforth, the culture of impunity of perpetrators of anti-LGBTTTIQA+ violence in Mexico is unconcealed by the results of the survey. LGBTTTIQA+ communities in Mexico, for different reasons, such as fear of retaliation or violent responses from the police when denouncing these situations, do not report the violence they suffer, leaving them to deal with the impacts of these traumatic experiences themselves. Particular attention must be given to the experiences of non-reporting of Muxe and Asexual people, as well as people in mobility in Mexico, due to their higher rates of silencing and the lack of research on their lived experiences of violence and denouncement.

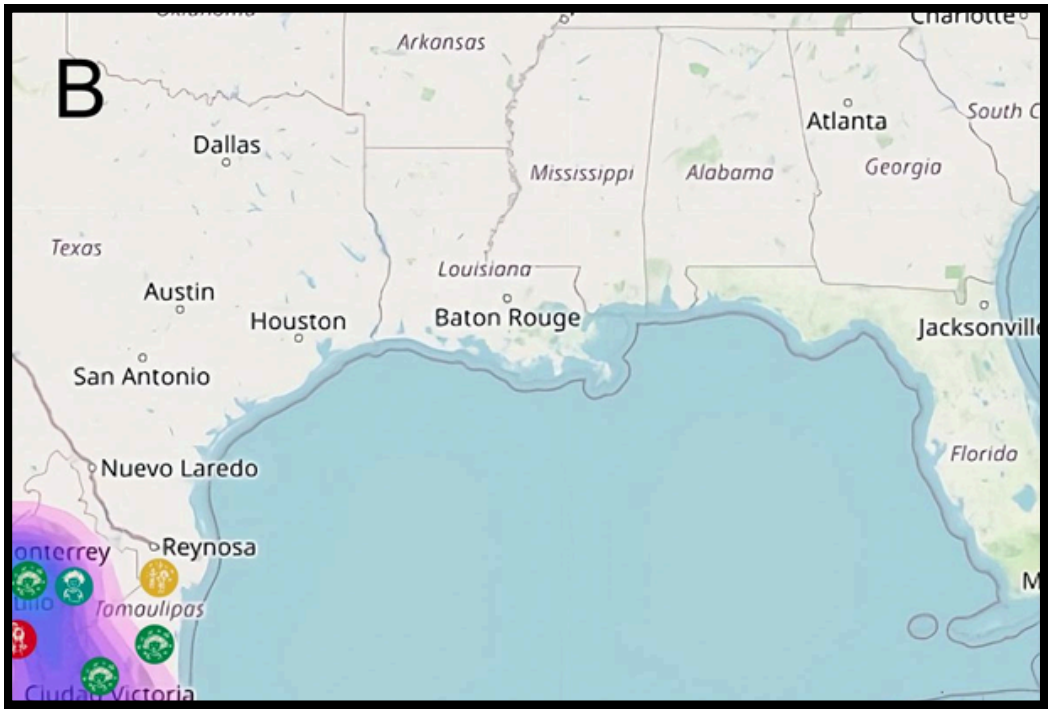
Mapping Violence in Mexico

Mapping Violence in Mexico

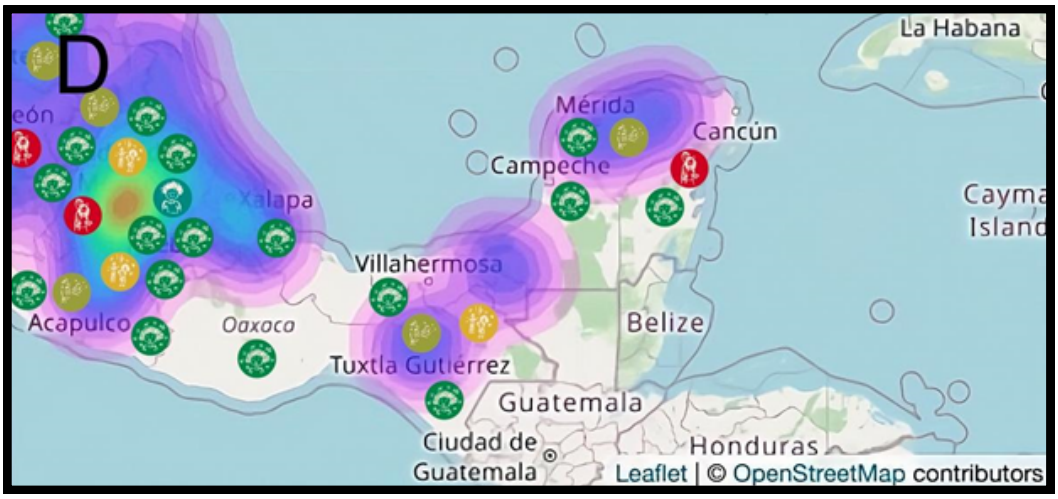
Mapping Violence Against LGBTTTIQA+ people in Mexico

The map serves as a visual representation of the data collected in a nationwide survey on LGBTTTIQA+ safety and violence. Each state is marked by coloured stickers that denote various categories of aggression and safety zones. The red stickers represent incidents of street harassment, while the green stickers identify unsafe territories. Pale green stickers indicate areas with the highest reports of verbal aggression, and yellow stickers highlight regions with significant levels of physical aggression. Blue stickers mark the states or regions that some respondents deemed safe zones. It is important to note that all states have green stickers because all states had reports of some type of aggression. However, a few areas, primarily metropolitan centers like Mexico City and Guadalajara, were also highlighted as relatively safe in some testimonies, reflecting a coexistence of danger and refuge. The full map is available in Annex 1.





Mapping Violence in Mexico



The map also incorporates heat ranking, which identifies states with the highest concentration of unsafe responses. These "unsafe responses" reflect reports of violence or discrimination, including but not limited to economic aggression, sexual aggression, confrontation, kidnapping, human trafficking, transfemicide, femicide, homicide, and other forms of aggression. The heat map feature aims to provide a clear visualisation of regions with particularly heightened risks for LGBTTTIQA+ individuals.

Safe Zone

Unsafe Zone

Verbal agression

Physical agression

Street harassment

Mapping Violence in Mexico

The geographical data on LGBTTTIQA+ violence and discrimination across Mexico was also divided into quadrants, in order to provide better visual analysis. A copy of the full map is also available in the annexe section of this report. We uncovered a troubling and complex reality, with significant variations depending on regional contexts. Urban centers such as Mexico City and Guadalajara present a paradoxical landscape where visibility and acceptance coexist with persistent violence, particularly against transgender individuals. In these urban areas, factors such as increased public visibility of queer individuals, competition for limited social and economic resources, and the influence of organised crime contribute to the perpetuation of violence. Public spaces, healthcare systems, and justice institutions in these regions often reinforce physical and institutional violence, creating compounded risks for already marginalised groups.

In rural areas and border regions, including the southern states of Chiapas, Oaxaca, and Guerrero, and the northern states of Baja California, Sonora, and Chihuahua, additional vulnerabilities emerge. High levels of poverty, entrenched cultural conservatism, and the presence of organised crime exacerbate risks for LGBTTTIQA+ individuals. Southern states, characterised by economic deprivation and inadequate institutional capacity, experience violence rooted in cultural stigmas and limited access to justice. Northern border states, as critical transit points for migrants, particularly transgender individuals, witness alarming levels of targeting by human traffickers and organised crime groups. These vulnerabilities are further intensified by the absence of legal protections and safe spaces for migrants.

Intersectionality significantly influences the experiences of violence among LGBTTTIQA+ individuals across the country. Indigenous queer individuals in states such as Oaxaca, Chiapas, and Guerrero face compounded discrimination stemming from their sexual or gender identities and their indigenous heritage. These individuals encounter cultural stigmas within their communities and a lack of culturally sensitive institutional support, which further isolates them. Similarly, transgender migrants navigating northern border regions face heightened risks of violence and exploitation due to their visibility and marginalised status. Young LGBTTTIQA+ individuals, particularly those aged 18 to 25, also represent a vulnerable demographic. The youth often navigate their identities without adequate support systems, facing familial rejection, homelessness, and exposure to predatory behaviors, particularly in urban environments.

In Aguascalientes, verbal aggression accounts for 60% of reported violence, with incidents occurring predominantly in educational settings and public spaces. Psychological aggression follows at 25%, occurring within family and workplace environments. Physical aggression, though less frequent at 10%, persists in public and educational spaces, while sexual aggression is the least reported form of violence at 5%. Discrimination, particularly in healthcare settings, affects transgender individuals seeking gender-affirming care and represents 10% of reported cases. In Baja California, violence intensifies near border towns, with verbal aggression reaching 70% and physical aggression targeting transgender women and migrants at 20%. Sexual aggression (10%) and discrimination in employment and housing (20%) further illustrate systemic exclusion. Baja California Sur, by contrast, demonstrates somewhat reduced prevalence, with verbal aggression at 50% and psychological aggression at 25%, although discrimination in the healthcare and tourism sectors persists at 10%.

Chiapas and Guerrero exemplify the heightened vulnerabilities of indigenous LGBTTTIQA+ individuals, with verbal aggression reported at 75% in both states. Physical violence and discrimination, particularly across healthcare, education, and employment sectors, further reflect systemic challenges. Urban states such as Mexico City and Jalisco display distinct patterns of violence. In Mexico City, verbal aggression peaks at 70%, with physical aggression at 10% and discrimination spanning healthcare, education, and employment sectors at 15%. Jalisco reports similar challenges, with high verbal aggression at 65% and discrimination in housing and employment. Rural and conservative states such

as Guanajuato and Oaxaca present alarming levels of verbal aggression, with rates between 70% and 75%. Discrimination in education and employment adds to the challenges faced by LGBTTTIQA+ individuals in these regions.

Tourism-focused states, including Quintana Roo and Yucatán, report moderate levels of verbal aggression (50%-60%) but also reveal discrimination within tourism-related sectors. Border states like Sonora and Tamaulipas stand out for heightened aggression against transgender individuals and migrants, with verbal aggression reaching 70% and physical aggression at 20%. These regions also experience systemic exclusion in housing and employment at 20%.

Despite these significant challenges, networks of support and resistance are emerging across Mexico. Urban centers like Mexico City, Guadalajara, and Monterrey host a concentration of LGBTTTIQA+ organisations that provide legal aid, psychological support, and safe spaces. These organisations are instrumental in advocating for systemic change and amplifying marginalised voices. In rural areas, grassroots and informal networks play a crucial role in filling gaps left by under-resourced institutions by offering crisis intervention, safe shelters, and community-based awareness programs. Digital platforms have also become vital spaces for connection, visibility, and activism. However, these platforms are not without risks, as online harassment and doxxing are common. Additionally, the digital divide disproportionately affects individuals in rural and economically disadvantaged areas, limiting their access to these critical tools.

An analysis of institutional resources reveals systemic weaknesses in protecting LGBTTTIQA+ individuals. In southern states like Chiapas, Oaxaca, and Guerrero, under-resourced judicial systems and cultural biases within law enforcement contribute to high levels of impunity for crimes against queer individuals. Northern border states face challenges related to corruption and the influence of organised crime, which undermine the effectiveness of law enforcement and judicial institutions. While Mexico has implemented progressive anti-discrimination laws, enforcement remains inconsistent, and outreach efforts are insufficient, leaving many LGBTTTIQA+ individuals unaware of their rights. Weak accountability mechanisms further enable officials to neglect their responsibilities without facing consequences, perpetuating cycles of violence and exclusion.

It is important to note that this report reflects trends based on the available data, which may not fully represent the experiences of all states. Variations in response rates and reporting contexts should be considered when interpreting these findings. Nevertheless, the data highlights the urgent need for targeted interventions and systemic reforms to address the violence and exclusion faced by LGBTTTIQA+ individuals throughout the country.

Recommendations

Recommendations

Overall, the report presents the picture of an LGBTTTIQA+ community in Mexico that suffers from multiple and intersectional forms of violence. Violence and discrimination against LGBTTTIQA+ are the norm in Mexico, especially against multiple marginalised groups like trans communities, Indigenous groups, and individuals from different national backgrounds. Verbal violence is especially widespread in major Mexican cities, where these communities feel more insecure. Meanwhile, it is also in these same major Mexican cities that the higher proportions of LGBTTTIQA+ people feel more secure, revealing a quite ambivalent atmosphere of violence in Mexican society. Plus, a growing number of LGBTTTIQA+ individuals in Mexico report the private and educational spaces as the most violent towards people with non-normative sexualities and gender identities. It is noteworthy that LGBTTTIQA+ also denounce violence from police authorities, which reinforces a strong culture of impunity against anti-LGBTTTIQA+ violence, leading to many LGBTTTIQA+ victims feeling unsafe in publicly denouncing and reporting their lived experiences of violence.

This study demonstrates how anti-discrimination laws are not being embedded sufficiently to prosecute those who commit anti-LGBTTTIQA+ crimes. These laws do not adequately address the issues of stigmatisation and violence against LGBTTTIQA+ individuals and communities in Mexico, indicating the need for further societal change.

These results highlight the urgent need for a prompt response from Mexican authorities to address problems that have alarming figures and reveal the precarious state of human rights for LGBTTTIQA+ communities in Mexico. Hence, we would highly recommend the adoption of the following legislative proposal(s):

- **Anti-discrimination training must become a mandatory and institutionalised practice across all public and private sectors, particularly within education and healthcare systems**. These trainings should address the systemic erasure of LGBTTTIQA+ rights and identities, offering modules that educate participants on gender diversity, inclusive language, and the lived realities of queer individuals. By incorporating experiential learning, case studies, and updates on legal obligations, this training can dismantle the microaggressions and explicit biases that perpetuate institutional violence. Crucially, these sessions must be recurrent, reflecting evolving social norms and legislative landscapes, to maintain relevance and efficacy. **While some provisions already exist under the Federal Law to Prevent and Eliminate Discrimination and institutional frameworks like CONAPRED, the core issue lies in enforcing compliance, promoting awareness, and ensuring widespread adherence**. Legislative action should integrate anti-discrimination training into the General Law of Education (Ley General de Educación) and the General Health Law (Ley General de Salud). The Federal Labor Law could also include such measures. Beyond introducing new requirements, oversight bodies must actively monitor implementation and provide incentives to foster respect for these principles within all institutions.

Recommendations

- Addressing the invisibility of groups like Muxe communities, asexual individuals, and non-Mexican LGBTTTIQA+ individuals necessitates **a commitment to targeted, intersectional research.** Such studies should illuminate the unique socio-political barriers these populations face, particularly regarding justice and access to resources. Research findings should inform tailored interventions, ensuring that policy approaches are culturally and contextually specific. Disseminating findings through public forums and state institutions would foster accountability while addressing structural inequities. Although the National Council for Science and Technology (CONACYT) and the General Law for Equality between Women and Men include broad commitments to equity and inclusion, these provisions often lack the necessary visibility and enforcement to translate into meaningful action. By **establishing dedicated funding streams and collaboration with organisations** like INPI (National Institute of Indigenous Peoples), the government can **ensure intersectional research is conducted and used effectively**. Outreach efforts should also promote the value of such studies to policymakers and communities, ensuring tailored interventions are developed and implemented.

- **Accountability structures within public education, healthcare, and law enforcement institutions must be strengthened to monitor responses to LGBTTTIQA+ discrimination and violence systematically.** It is critical to establish independent oversight bodies capable of collecting data, processing complaints, and ensuring compliance with human rights frameworks. Such bodies must also recommend disciplinary action against those complicit in perpetuating discrimination, fostering institutional transparency. Frameworks like the Sistema Nacional Anticorrupción and CNDH's **existing protocols outline accountability measures, but these structures are often underutilised or poorly enforced.** Provisions already under the General Health Law and Federal Labor Law must be actively monitored, and **new incentives must be introduced to encourage adherence**. **Public awareness of reporting mechanisms and transparency in addressing complaints i equally vital** to rebuilding trust and ensuring institutional actors respect their obligations.

- To dismantle deep-seated cultural biases, **public awareness campaigns must highlight the systemic challenges faced by LGBTTTIQA+ individuals, particularly regarding domestic and familial violence**. These campaigns should amplify diverse testimonies, provide accessible legal information, and foster allyship. Utilising multimedia platforms, they can challenge heteronormative narratives, centering inclusivity as a collective responsibility. Given the disproportionate vulnerability of LGBTTTIQA+ youth to domestic violence, **policy must prioritise interventions that address familial abuse**. These programs should offer emergency shelters, legal aid, and psychosocial support, particularly for individuals aged 18-32. Additionally, strategies must center on empowering young people to navigate familial rejection and build resilience. While the General Law on Women's Access to a Life Free of Violence already offers a framework for addressing gender-based violence, its application to LGBTTTIQA+ individuals remains inconsistent. Programs addressing domestic violence often lack awareness of the unique challenges queer youth face. **Strengthening implementation mechanisms and ensuring shelters and support services explicitly include LGBTTTIQA+ individuals** can bridge this gap. Promoting these services through community organisations and digital campaigns will enhance accessibility and trust.

Recommendations

- **Structural reform in education is essential to address the widespread discrimination experienced by queer students**. Intersectional digital and physical anti-bullying measures, inclusive curricula, and educator capacity-building initiatives must be prioritised. **Institutions can foster safety and inclusion by equipping school environments with tools to challenge discrimination**. Existing guidelines within the General Law of Education mandate equity in educational settings, but their implementation varies significantly by state and institution. **Strengthening enforcement mechanisms and increasing funding for teacher training and curriculum development would promote uniform adherence**. Collaborative efforts with organisations specialising in queer-inclusive education could ensure educators respect these provisions and understand their importance in creating supportive learning environments.

- **Developing inclusive workplace environments requires clear anti-discrimination policies, reporting mechanisms, and a zero-tolerance stance toward prejudice**. Employers must create spaces where LGBTTTIQA+ individuals feel respected and safe to choose whether they want to disclose their identities without fear of retribution. Although the Federal Labor Law prohibits workplace discrimination, gaps in enforcement and low awareness of these protections undermine their effectiveness. **Government recognition programs should incentivise employers to comply with anti-discrimination measures, while PROFEDET must protect whistleblowers.** Publicising these protections through employee handbooks, workshops, and government campaigns can foster organisational compliance and cultural change.

- Healthcare systems must urgently address the systemic discrimination faced by transgender individuals. **Gender-affirming care and culturally sensitive medical practices should become standard, with healthcare workers trained to provide competent and respectful care.** Policies must eliminate barriers to accessing treatments essential to trans health. **Existing provisions within the General Health Law acknowledge equitable access to healthcare but lack specific mandates on transgender care**. Updating these regulations and incorporating gender-affirming care into public health insurance programs, such as those under INSABI and IMSS, would create tangible pathways for reform. **Healthcare institutions must promote these changes through staff training and patient education, ensuring transgender individuals are aware of their rights and can advocate for appropriate care.**

- The low rates of reporting violence among LGBTTTIQA+ individuals highlight the **urgent need to rebuild trust with law enforcement**. **Specialised reporting units, anonymous channels, and culturally competent officers must be introduced to ensure victims feel supported throughout the legal process**. Although the National Code of Criminal Procedures provides anonymous reporting mechanisms, implementation remains uneven. **Law enforcement agencies must prioritise sensitivity training and establish specialised LGBTTTIQA+ units**, modelled after existing protocols in other jurisdictions. **Public campaigns that highlight these channels can empower victims to report, while independent oversight bodies should ensure accountability for law enforcement agencies** failing to address violence against queer individuals effectively.

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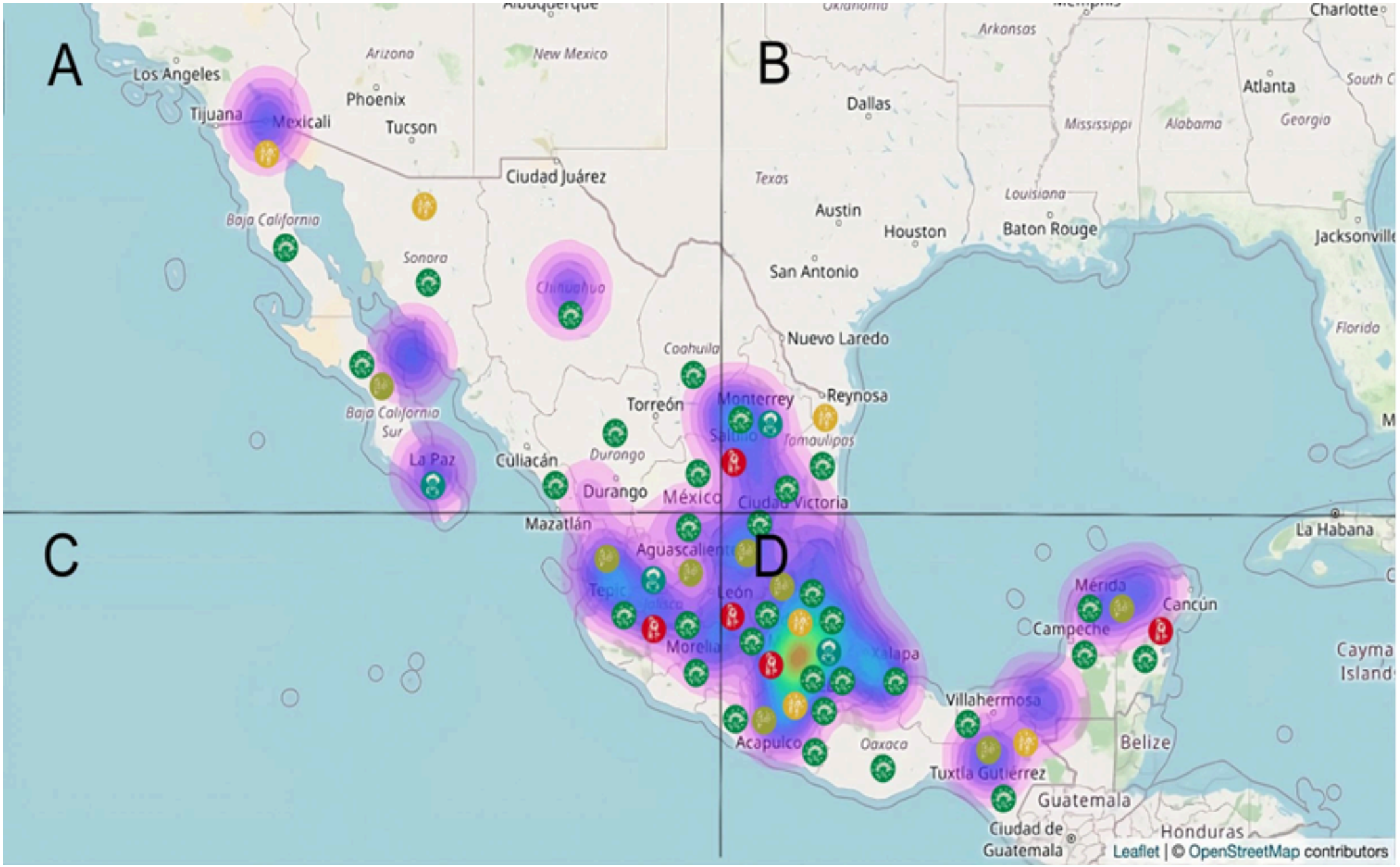
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