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Homonationalism, LGBT *desaparecidos*, and the politics of queer memory in Argentina

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Abstract

Although homonationalism is a fundamental category in queer studies, it has never been used to understand the history of the Argentine lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender movement and the emergence of a hegemonic queer memory based on the self-representation of Argentina as a "European-like" and "white" nation that often claims to be different from "the rest" of Latin America. This article examines the history of the Argentine construction of whiteness to understand hegemonic queer memory today and analyze why the 1976–1983 dictatorship has been hyper-memorialized, while state violence against queer people in democratic times is downplayed. We also refer to homonationalism to understand the success of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender rights revolution and present a discussion of the relationship between lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender politics and the construction of queer memory. As homonationalism shaped the formation of a hegemonic queer memory in the twenty-first century, alternative memories of police harassment of travestis and homosexual men after and before the dictatorship have been hidden in plain sight through reframing, displacement, temporal transpositions, and other forms of scripting.

Keywords
Argentine dictatorships, clandestine detention centers, Cold War, *desaparecidos*, dirty war, homonationalism, homosexuality, human rights, LGBT history, police harassment, queer memory, state violence, transgender and *travesti* identity

This article traces the formation of hegemonic queer memory in twenty-first-century Argentina. Such hegemonic account of the past hyper-memorializes lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender (LGBT) *desaparecidos* during the last dictatorship (1976–1983) while actively forgetting decades

of police harassment of homosexual men and *travestis* conducted in the name of public decency or to collect bribes. Although some queer activists today remember this police harassment, the Argentine state and most of the LGBT movement rarely listen to memories about this topic in their own terms. Personal stories of police harassment since the 1940s are reframed as memories of state violence perpetrated by the military between 1976 and 1983. Like in a palimpsest (Quinan, 2020), the focus on the 1976–1983 military dictatorship is overwritten on testimonies referring to the years before and after that regime. This form of hegemonic queer memory, we argue, consolidated in the twenty-first century because Argentine public opinion, the LGBT movement, and the state embraced a homonationalist perspective, identifying the country as a nation closer to European mores and therefore allegedly more tolerant of sexual diversity than the neighboring countries. We claim that homonationalism emerged as a form of compensatory whiteness that associated Argentina with Europe via perceived cultural similarities, especially regarding the acceptance of gays and lesbians. These alleged cultural similarities would compensate for the economic downturn since the 1980s in a nation that historically represented itself as European, based partially on its prosperity. Although this form of homonationalism was only held by a small progressive urban middle class in the 1980s, it became mainstream after the LGBT movement successfully crafted an LGBT rights revolution in the twenty-first century. It is against this backdrop that public opinion has come to imagine hostility against LGBT people as alien to Argentine culture and circumscribed to an exceptional dictatorial period between 1976 and 1983. The representation of Argentina as a land of tolerance toward sexual diversity renders testimonies of state violence against LGBT people invisible, unless they are perceived as events that took place under a brief period of irrational military rule presented as alien to the course of national history.

While this view is rarely formulated in explicit terms, it operates as the framework for listening to testimonies of the queer past. For instance, according to the hegemonic trend in the LGBT movement and the Argentine state, the 1976–1983 military dictatorship did not just launch a systematic plan to assassinate thousands of political dissidents now known as *desaparecidos*. In addition, such a plan also allegedly deployed a purposeful mandate to exterminate those who did not conform to heteronormativity. Therefore, the military is accused of assassinating 400 LGBT *desaparecidos* in addition to the 30,000 *desaparecidos* previously claimed by the human rights movement and recognized officially by the Argentine state during the 1976–1983 period. In this context, alternative memories of homosexual men and travestis who claim that their fate was different from that of *desaparecidos* are frequently ignored. While most of these alternative memories emphasize police harassment during the dictatorship and compare it with the same harassment before and after the military regime, the hegemonic memory of the LGBT movement claims that queer people were systematically abducted in clandestine detention centers because the military treated them like political dissidents. In this framework, police harassment plays almost no role as a form of state violence against queer people. While the hegemonic homonationalist perspective admits that queer people were oppressed in the past, memories of state heteronormative violence throughout the decades face erasure in mainstream public accounts.

The analysis presented here is based on an examination of textual archival evidence, oral interviews, an exploration of twenty-first-century mass media representations, as well as findings discussed in previous publications (Ben and Insausti, 2021; Insausti and Ben, 2023). We were inspired by stories of travestis and elderly gay activists who challenge hegemonic memory and have been eager to share their alternative accounts with the public, but have often faced an audience unwilling to listen to their frame of reference. In their accounts of the past, these *travestis* and homosexual men provide testimonies of police harassment since the 1940s. In doing so, these counter-hegemonic memories present a historical interpretation that matches the findings of a growing body of recent historiography which claims that the 1976–1983 dictatorship was the culmination of

decades-long military encroachment on state institutions instead of constituting an inexplicable exception with no roots in the past (AA.VV., 2015; Águila et al., 2008, 2016; Casola, 2017; D'Antonio, 2016; Eidelman, 2012; Sarrabayrouse Oliveira, 2003; Tiscornia, 2004).

Throughout this article, we have turned to unavoidably flawed categories like queer, LGBT, homosexual, travesti, and for the most part we have abstained from using the terms "gay" and "trans." The word choice can be partly justified by an effort to recuperate identity categories chosen by those to whom they refer. For instance, "gay" was not a common term in Argentina before the 1990s and, therefore, the term appears throughout the pages in the few cases where it surfaced as a self-identity reference. Similarly, the preference for using "travesti" instead of "trans" also follows the choice of the testimonies we examined, even though "trans and travesti identifications are constantly shifting and should not be understood as mutually exclusive" (Rizki, 2019). In fact, we shift to using "trans" when discussing an archive named after that category, the "Archivo de la Memoria Trans." The inconsistent use of terms in this article mirrors the inherent instability of identity categories as they have existed in recent history and until today. This inconsistency is especially patent when we use the term LGBT. Originally adopted in Argentina during the 1990s to include identities other than lesbian and gay, the acronym itself aged quickly when confronted by excluded non-binary identities demanding the addition of new letters, such as in the case of LGBTQI or LGBTQIA+. In this article we use LGBT instead of the other more inclusive acronyms for two reasons. First, the term is used in some cases to refer to forms of hegemonic identity that do not include others beyond the LGBT acronym. Second, in other cases LGBT was the preferred label used by those involved in the events under analysis. The instability of categories in this paper conspires against the "attempt to resolve the complex dynamics of representation by writing with and across forms of differences" (Rizki, 2019). Like Cole Rizki explained in the introduction to the foundational TSQ issue on *Trans Studies en las Américas*, this is a challenge affecting all scholars/activists working on the topic: "we all contend with the impossibility of fully accounting for alterity—whether our own or others'." Given this limitation, our article also introduces categories not fully related to self-identification whenever they offer new interpretative possibilities. This is the case with terms like "queer." Only a minority of people in Argentina can recognize the word "queer," even though activists and scholars in the country had begun to use the term as an analytic tool since the 1990s. The use of "queer" to "signify sexual and gender non-normativity" has been often denounced as an imposition from the Global North. However, it also has been appropriated by scholars and activists in countries of the Global South as disparate as Argentina, India, and Uganda. As Rahul Rao (2020) explains, because "queer" emerged as an umbrella term to criticize identity politics, "the open-ended nature of this definition" allows for "appropriation and resignification" while also enabling an understanding of the "co-constitution of gender and sexuality by other categories such as nation, religion, race, class, and caste." It is as part of this approach that we understand "travesti" not merely as a gender or sexual identity category but, instead, as a "critical mode" that "disavows coherence and is an always already racialized and classed geopolitical identification that gestures towards the inseparability of indigeneity, blackness, material precarity, sex work, HIV status, and uneven relationships to diverse state formations" (Rizki, 2019). In this article, we challenge hegemonic LGBT memory, taking advantage of such critical mode and highlighting the often silenced alternative memories of travestis and homosexual men.

Although the hegemonic memory focuses almost exclusively on the 1976–1983 dictatorship, the alternative memories of some homosexual men describe police detentions between the 1940s and the early 1990s.[1] They could face up to 30 days in prison, depending on the mood of officers who could beat them up and subject them to humiliation and abuse (Acha and Ben, 2005; Insausti, 2015). After being released, working-class homosexual men who failed to pay rent for their boarding rooms were often evicted by landlords who would throw away all their belongings and leave

them in the streets (Malva, 2011). Middle-class homosexual men could lose their professional standing and the social capital granted by family networks. By the 1990s police harassment declined for homosexual men while travesti memories describe how it continued for them (Berkins, 2004). Most *travestis* were originally from the poorer Northwestern provinces of Argentina. Many *travesti* life stories recall growing up as boys and being abandoned by their families at an early age when they began their gender transition journey (Berkins, 2015). Alone in the streets, young *travestis* were often adopted by adult *travestis* who became their new mothers and facilitated the gender transition (Fernandez, 2004). Since the 1980s, a migratory chain integrated to kinship networks constructed by *travestis* brought many of them to Buenos Aires and other large urban areas where their enhanced opportunities as prostitutes were challenged by police harassment (Aversa and Máximo 2021; Fernandez, 2004).[2]

As the number of travesti prostitutes grew, they began to experience the same police exploitation that cisgender female prostitutes had suffered for decades. Throughout the twentieth century, policemen had acted as pimps, exploiting prostitutes from whom they demanded bribes. This source of police income was so well established that the institutional jargon labeled it as "caja histórica," a term still used today among policemen and that roughly translates as "good-old cash register" (Acién Gonzalez and Checa y Olmos, 2020; Daich and Sirimarco, 2014; Ricardo Ragendorfer, 2020/07/22, personal communication).

In contrast with the imagined hiteness of the capital, most *travestis* were *morochas*, the term used in Argentina for people of darker skin complexion (Di Pietro, 2016). Prejudice against *travestis* was so pervasive that only a handful of them were able to find employment, for the rest of them, prostitution was the only alternative (Berkins, 2015). Over the years, *travestis* have challenged negative stereotypes (Álvarez, 2000; Berkins, 2004; Simoneto and Butierrez, 2022) and advanced effective political strategies (Cutuli, 2012), but in the last two decades of the twentieth century they were still more vulnerable to police exploitation and brutality because they had become one the most visible embodiments of abjection in Argentine mainstream popular culture. As *travestis* gradually began to organize to avoid paying bribes and resist police harassment, the police responded with an escalation of brutality to regain control and continue to exploit them (Cutuli and Insausti, 2022). In Buenos Aires, this escalation reached its height during the 1990s. In revenge for their resistance against the police, *travestis* were abducted, beaten up, and often assassinated with impunity. Police brutality was such that María Belen Correa, a *travesti* leader, left the country and obtained refugee status in the United States.[3]

Despite the 1940–1990 harassment of homosexual men and the intensity of police brutality against *travestis* in the 1990s (which continues to this day), hegemonic queer memory as imagined by the media, the dominant organizations within the LGBT movement, and the Argentine state, often projects an image of recent Argentine history (since 1983) as unaffected by state violence. However, such imagined absence of state violence against queer people after 1983 is implied and never stated explicitly. Instead, the harassment of homosexual men and *travestis* under democratic regimes is rendered invisible because a homonationalist ideology frames the understanding of Argentina's recent history as welcoming of sexual and gender diversity.

The rise of homonationalism in Argentina during the 1980s

Defined by Jasbir Puar (2017), the concept of homonationalism was originally developed to understand political trends in the Northern Hemisphere. As LGBT identities embraced respectability and became socially acceptable in Europe and the United States during the last decades, queer politics were increasingly associated with "ideas of life and productivity" (Puar, 2017). By contrast, after 9/11 fear of terrorism and non-white immigrants led to an opposite association of Islam and the

Middle East with "figures of death." According to Puar, homonationalism emerged in this intersection between Orientalist misrecognition of Islam and Middle Eastern/North African migration, on one hand, and the acknowledgment of Western queerness as an allegedly positive civilizational drive, on the other. Defined in these terms, homonationalism could not be observed in Argentina. Long-standing prejudice against darker-skin immigrants persisted in the country for more than a century, but for the most part immigration has been absent from the agenda of mainstream political parties. Moreover, most immigrants to Argentina since the 1930s have come from nearby Spanish-speaking countries and are not perceived as representing a different "civilization," even if they are often portrayed as lacking work ethic, education, or cultural sophistication. Anti-immigrant sentiment in Argentina is not driven by Islamophobia and is not informed by a civilizational understanding of the "other" as a "figure of death." While homonationalism in Europe and the United States implies the idea of an unassimilable group of outsiders who pose a violent threat to the very existence of civilization, such an idea is not even legible in Argentina.

While in the Northern Atlantic homonationalism is part of a growing emphasis on the clash of civilizations that defines the West in opposition to Islam, in Argentina homonationalism is a strategy to cope with the crisis of white national identity as it began to emerge in the transition to democracy toward the 1980s (Alberto and Elena, 2016). A brief historical overview of national identity is necessary to understand this 1980s crisis and the role that homonationalism played in "restoring" national and racial identity through the incorporation of a new approach. During the twentieth century, the dominant understanding of Argentine national identity as embraced by the urban middle-classes consolidated what Laclau (2005) conceptualizes as a "chain of equivalences." This chain associated together disparate features, such as whiteness, economic prosperity, high levels of educational achievement, political stability, technological development, Europeanness, cultural sophistication, and other terms vaguely related with "progress" and "modernity." Each of these features has been perceived by the Argentine middle class as equivalent and inextricably dependent on one other. Any of these features constitutes a trope symbolically standing for the others. Therefore, whiteness and Europeanness in Argentina have not merely been understood as resulting from complexion. For instance, *negro de alma* or "black in the soul" is a term used contemptuously in Argentina to refer to those who lack middle class status and cultural capital "in spite of" being white (Aguiló, 2018; Bonvillani, 2019; Cordero, 2021). Despite the positive connotations of lighter skin, to reaffirm whiteness requires the simultaneous presence of the other features in the chain of equivalences. Many Argentines historically understood their country as white and European-like because socioeconomic indicators were imagined as substantiating such claim. As long as Argentina effectively exhibited an economic development that differentiated the country from the rest of Latin America, the representation of the nation as white endured. Yet, when decades of economic decline led to the erosion of the quality of life by the 1980s (Adair, 2020), the urban middle class understood its own social discontent in racial terms, through a crisis of the chain of equivalences that led many to ask themselves how a white European-like country could lose its edge over the rest of Latin America (Aguiló, 2018; Alberto and Elena, 2016). It is important to note that this overall description of Argentine nationalism only represents a dominant trend among the middle class and has been historically challenged by multiple alternative views (Aguiló, 2018). It is not the goal of this article to provide a multifaceted description of Argentine nationalism but, instead, to delve into some of the major ideological threads that constituted the context for the rise of Argentine homonationalism as it began to emerge amid a crisis of white identity since the 1980s.

In response to the crisis of whiteness and Europeanness toward the 1980s, the promotion of sexual diversity gradually emerged as a form of status/distinction that "compensated" for the lack of economic development and supposedly restored Argentina's Europeanness despite the economic downturn (Ben and Insausti, 2021; Insausti and Ben, 2023). This symbolical compensation now

widespread across the political spectrum did not consolidate overnight. In fact, in the 1980s many Argentines associated Europeanness with Christian values and thus rejected the idea that a culture of sexual freedom expressed whiteness. Yet, among some groups of progressive urban professionals, sexual/gender diversity increasingly came to stand for Europeanness (Adamovsky, 2009; Goldar, 1994). Therefore, the acceptance of such diversity cemented the otherwise severed chain of equivalences that had historically substantiated Argentine whiteness. This embracing of diversity by a small but influential minority in the 1980s offered a window of opportunity for gays and lesbians to gain acceptance (Ben, 2021; Ben and Insausti, 2021). For instance, a wave of new porn magazines like *Destape, Viva*, and *Shock*, mostly catering to the urban middle-classes began to praise the "tolerance" of European sexual mores, proposing to emulate them (Insausti and Ben, 2023). The emerging gay/lesbian movement also increasingly joined this trend and articulated its political demands as attempts to mirror developments in the "civilized" corners of the planet, supposedly represented by the United States and Europe. During the 1980s, however, the Argentine police systematically harassed homosexual men and the government never officially embraced the association between sexual/gender diversity, on one hand, and Europeanness/modernity/whiteness, on the other. Therefore, homonationalism as it would emerge later, remained in the margins during the 1980s.

In the early 1990s, the crisis of white/European identity among the middle classes was deepening and President Carlos Menem sought to achieve legitimacy by proposing to make Argentina part of the First World through the adoption of free-market neoliberal policies aimed at bringing an imagined modern globalization to the country (Aguiló, 2018; Rocha, 2012). Against this backdrop, the Argentine state took the first step into a path that would eventually end up incorporating what could now be termed homonationalism as an official ideology. For several years the Comunidad Homosexual Argentina (CHA), or Argentine Homosexual Community, had demanded legal recognition, but faced repeated rejections, ultimately sealed by a 1992 Supreme Court decision against it. As President Carlos Menem traveled to the United States to portray Argentina as a First World democratic country during the same year, he was challenged by a gay/lesbian demonstration denunciating the violation of human rights in Argentina (Meccia, 2011; Sebreli, 1997). Back in the country, Menem then granted legal recognition to the CHA. Moreover, as police harassment of homosexual men was casting a shadow on Argentina's international image regarding human rights, police persecution for gay men ended for the first time in decades, although *travestis* continued to be harassed by the police. Throughout the 1990s, the Argentine state would increasingly assert the association of progress with sexual tolerance, acceptance of homosexuality, and European cultural sophistication (Ben, 2021). Therefore, sexual diversity and homonationalism entered the chain of equivalences that substantiated Argentina's fragile self-perceived Europeanness. Intertwined with the ascent of the related homocapitalism (Rao, 2020) to be examined later, this trend further consolidated in the twenty-first century, enabling the LGBT rights revolution.

As Argentine homonationalism "proved" that Argentina continued to be a European-like society, the memory of the queer past in the country experienced a considerable resignification. As a wide array of political forces across the spectrum gradually embraced LGBT politics, they realigned their imagined past with a teleology moving national history toward increasing queer acceptance. Meanwhile a temporal displacement reimagined most instances of state violence against queer people as happening within a condensed and exceptional period of 8 years of military rule between 1976 and 1983. Police raids against homosexual men ordered by Perón during the 1950s were remembered by many until the 1980s (Somos, ca. 1974; Insausti, 2019), but references to these raids increasingly vanished in the twenty-first century, while Peron's first wife Evita was increasingly reimagined as a queer icon (Croizet, 2019). Not only did Peronism reimagine a queer-friendly past for itself, politicians from the center-right Radical party who had systematically

ignored LGBT pleas to stop police harassment throughout the 1980s when they were the official party refashioned themselves as queer friendly in the twenty first century. In the twenty-first century, the same politicians presented the 1980s as a welcoming era for LGBT people.

As state violence against queer people was condensed in the twenty-first century to fit the hyper-memorialized 8 years of military rule between 1976 and 1983, those years were increasingly imagined as an exception to an otherwise longer progressive history of increasing tolerance toward LGBT people that characterized Argentina as a nation. In fact, the 1976–1983 dictatorship was increasingly imagined as an "other" to the nation (Guglielmucci, 2013). In other words, those dark years of military rule illustrated the opposite of what Argentina was supposed to be and had attempted to achieve throughout the rest of its history. Therefore, this imagination of the past downplayed long-term state-sanctioned hostility as it appears in alternative memories, and in doing so, it facilitated the association of Argentina with tolerance toward LGBT people. In this context, documents and testimonies about the queer past only became legible if framed as proof of a military plan to carry on a genocide against LGBT people between 1976 and 1983. In the twenty-first century, claims about the oppression of LGBT people not fitting this chronology have become illegible, and they can only exist as a mere curiosity, raising little to no interest in public opinion.

Mainstream Argentine homonationalism as it emerged in the twenty-first century resulted from the intersection of goals pursued by a variety of social groups and institutions, coalescing into a trend larger than its constitutive parts. For the LGBT movement, homonationalism facilitated the crafting of an LGBT rights revolution, while for the Argentine middle-class it offered a unique opportunity to reclaim an otherwise challenged progressive Europeanness. Homonationalism also contributed to representing the Argentine state as a human rights advocate at home and abroad. References to homonationalism have also helped politicians lure their constituencies and garner votes. In other words, a nuanced analysis should not reduce it to a political move performed by a specific political actor. Instead, in this article we understand the unfolding of homonationalism as the emergence of a hegemonic approach to the relation between sexuality and politics that became effective because it was productive for a variety of agents.

Alternative homosexual memories and the 1976–1983 military dictatorship

The twenty-first-century reception of a 1979 report about the situation of homosexuals during the dictatorship provides an example of how homonationalism led to the erasure and reframing of alternative memories. Although the document was penned by Nestor Perlongher, a highly memorialized homosexual activist, his claims about the absence of a military plan to eradicate homosexual men have sparked no recent public debate. Titled "The Repression against Homosexuals in Argentina," the 1979 report written by Perlongher was discussed and agreed upon by activists from the *Comisión por los Derechos de la Gente Gay* or Commission for Gay People's Rights (Queiroz, 2021). The report concluded that "the persecution of homosexuals" did not result from a specific targeting due to their identity but, instead, it was "one more episode in the generalized violation of human rights that characterizes Argentina under the military regime" (Perlongher, 2021(1979) This claim openly defies the hegemonic queer memory of the LGBT movement and the Argentine state as it exists in the twenty-first century. According to the report, military task forces deployed car checkpoints, surveillance of passengers in trains and subways, stop-and-frisk searches in the streets, and raided bars, confectionery stores, restaurants, and cinemas. As much as these task forces curtailed civilian freedom; however, they were "not looking exclusively for homosexuals" who were arrested only if they were in the way. In fact, the report assures that "in spite of the panic,

Argentine homosexuals still dare to wander—very discreetly—by the streets," because "at the moment, the regime has not launched big anti-homosexual publicity campaigns." Under the military, the report insisted, the harassment of homosexuals had only intensified measures that already existed under democratic governments in the previous decades.

Despite massive efforts to retrieve documents of Argentine's queer past during the last two decades, this 1979 report only emerged in 2021. It is also important to consider that the report surfaced thanks to the private effort of Juan Pablo Queiroz, an individual curator who runs a queer history blog. Although academic studies of LGBT issues and funding for the creation of archives boomed in Argentina during the twenty-first century, this document was only recently retrieved, and its public presence has been quite timid. This is surprising because the persecution of homosexual men during the last dictatorship generates not only academic interest but is also a popular theme in public opinion. However, the memory of long-term state violence against queer people as described by the 1979 report fails to grasp the attention of a public opinion focused on identifying the 1976–1983 dictatorship as the only moment of repression.

Multiple testimonies of elderly homosexual activists are also actively ignored by mainstream memory. For instance, Alberto Nigro, an activist in the first Argentine homosexual movement founded in the late 1960s, the *Frente de Liberación Homosexual* or Homosexual Liberation Front (FLH), summarized the view of homosexual men like him who experienced the dictatorship in their own flesh. He declared that "homosexuals were not abducted by the military, it was the police," adding "I would say that it was a persecution different from that of the *desaparecidos* murdered in concentration camps" (Queiroz, 2021). Other FLH activists confirm this view. In 2006, Héctor Anabitarte claimed that the police found FLH materials during the dictatorship but dismissed them as irrelevant. In his view, whenever homosexual men would become *desaparecidos*, it was because of their activism in left-wing organizations.[4] Zelmar Acevedo (1985) argued that "the military was looking elsewhere." In fact, he believed that some effeminate homosexual men who were left-wing activists were probably saved by their appearance, as the prejudiced view of the military assumed that only masculine straight men could be interested in anti-capitalist politics.[5] Another activist, Marcelo Benitez, assures that "the persecution [against us] was systematic, cruel, and very violent" but "they did not think about applying to us the methodology of disappearing people and killing them later" (Queiroz, 2021).

The memory of these activists about the events was consistent during the dictatorship, in its 1980s aftermath, and until today in the case of those who are still alive (Acevedo, 1985; Anabitarte, 1979, 1982; Benítez, 1984; Jáuregui, 1987; Jockl, 1984; Sebreli, 1983). Yet, these testimonies have been ignored in the twenty-first century. While the activists themselves are remembered and memorialized, the tension between their claims and mainstream queer memory do not seem to merit an open public discussion. Instead, the Argentine state and the LGBT movement have launched highly publicized archival efforts focused on state violence during the last dictatorship. Through official acts and media representations these efforts inscribe the hyper-memorialization of the 1976–1983 period on top of ignored alternative memories claiming a longer history of state violence.

Archival efforts and performative hyper-memorialization of LGBT *desaparecidos*

A year after the congress passed same-sex marriage with the support of the executive in 2010, a performative archival inauguration launched by a gay activist with a strong media presence sealed the twenty-first-century queer hyper-memorialization of the dictatorship. Named *Archivo de la*

Memoria de la Diversidad Sexual (AMDS) or Memory Archive for Sexual Diversity, the new archive was created by Alex Freyre in December 2011 to document the experience of "those persecuted, assassinated, and disappeared for defending their [LGBT] identity" during the dictatorship.[6] Freyre was one of the gay activists who had convinced the government to support the passing of the same-sex marriage law in 2010. Together with his partner, he became famous for his media presence, and the scope of the archive he created was defined in homonationalist terms. Freyre's inauguration words were performed in front of an audience of famous politicians and legislators and broadcasted nationwide on the government-owned TV channel 7. Interviewed about the AMDS, Ana María Careaga, who coordinates Argentine state archives on *desaparecidos*, emphasized the existence of a plan to eradicate sexual diversity under the 1976–1983 dictatorship. She claimed that "the genocidal apparatus persecuted those who proposed a political alternative in the struggle for sexual liberation, but they also went after [others because of their] age, skin color, gender, and sexual orientation."[7]

Following the model of other archives documenting the abduction of *desaparecidos*, the purpose of the new sexual diversity archive directed by Freyre was to produce evidence about LGBT *desaparecidos* for public prosecutors to pursue trials against the military perpetrators. While LGBT *desaparecidos* were hyper-memorialized, efforts to redress their fate through the courts received almost no attention. Ten years after its creation, however, the AMDS has not provided evidence used in a single court case. Moreover, as is the standard procedure for truth commissions in Argentina, scholars and journalists are barred from accessing the archive to preserve the safety of the victims. Given that the data allegedly produced by the AMDS has not moved through the courts, the very existence of records proving a 1976–1983 military plan to eradicate LGBT people is, for practical purposes, a well-guarded secret.

Although hundreds of trials against the military have taken place since 2006, the first judicial sentence accounting for state violence against *travestis* during the last dictatorship happened in April 2022. This one trial, however, has been framed by the press as proving that LGBT people were targeted within a systematic extermination plan launched by the military.[8] This framing relies on conflating police harassment with the torturing and abducting of *desaparecidos* for political reasons. Such conflation has been possible, not due to the existence of previous trials but, instead, because the AMDS and many other political and media organizations consolidated the image of the LGBT *desaparecido* as a focus of public attention.

By contrast, the alternative memories deployed by Nigro, Acevedo, Anabitarte, and Benitez *lay outside this scope.* Their stories do not fit data collection about "those persecuted, assassinated, and disappeared for defending their [LGBT] identity" during the 1976–1983 dictatorship. In fact, this definition implicitly renders 1940–1990s police harassment unworthy of archival efforts. Testimonies claiming that the motivation behind police harassment was the maintenance of public decency demanded by civil society, or the acquisition of bribes, can only be heard if they are reframed to count as references to an evil moral plan launched by 1976–1983 military task forces aiming to commit genocide against LGBT people. This is not to say that the claims made by homosexual and travesti activists testifying about police harassment are explicitly challenged because they do not fit a period or definition. The work of memory (Jelin, 2002) enabling the hegemonic narrative takes place amid a competition of performative actions, not through a scholarly discussion or public debate.

It is the constant iteration of performative memory efforts like the AMDS inauguration or the media interpretation of the Etchecolatz trial that end up reframing alternative memories and creating the conditions to hear something other than what they say. No declaration by the Argentine state or the LGBT movement has ever openly claimed that police harassment between the 1940s and today must be ignored. Nobody ever said or wrote that the abduction of LGBT people by

military task forces is the only form of state-sanctioned hostility toward queer people that matters. In fact, the alternative memories of homosexual activists like those mentioned above have been preserved and curated by the very same people and institutions who hyper-memorialize LGBT *desaparecidos.*

Like the purloined letter of Edgar Allan Poe (1844), alternative queer memories are hidden in plain sight due to the palimpsestic overwriting of 1976–1983 LGBT *desaparecidos* on top of testimonies of police harassment. This overwriting renders police harassment throughout the decades illegible to a wider audience. Under the aegis of a homonationalist ideology that presents Argentine history as a teleological path toward the progressive acceptance of sexual diversity, the testimonies of *travestis* also face a silencing effect. While Argentine homonationalism values acceptance of homosexuality as a civilizational standard, such acceptance tends to be circumscribed to respectable cisgender individuals who demand inclusion and legal equality as citizens. Up until recently, *travestis* did not fit well within this framework. Only in the twenty-first century, they have achieved an ambivalent recognition. Male homosexual activists demanding inclusion during the 1980s presented themselves in the mainstream media as well-dressed articulate professionals with masculine mannerisms who cultivated a respectable image and avoided public scandal (Insausti, 2018). Such an image provoked an empathic response among some people in the audience. Travestis, however, failed to garner such empathy.

Expelled at an early age from their homes, most *travestis* lacked formal education (Berkins, 2015). Although many were highly articulate when presenting their grievances against the police, public opinion perceived their language, appearance, and misdemeanor in ways that worked against their claims (Butierrez, 2022). In addition to the disadvantage posed by their work as prostitutes and their racial background, most dressed provocatively to attract patrons. While respectable white middle-class homosexual men could seek acceptance in a nation self-identifying as European and progressive, *travestis* were associated with the very low-class and dark-skin look (Di Pietro, 2016; Filc, 2003) that the homonationalist response to the crisis of Argentine national identity sought to reject.

Homocapitalism and alternative *Travesti* memories

By the 1990s the gap between the acceptance of male homosexuality and the abjection of *travesti* identity widened even more.[9] The very rise of homonationalism became intertwined with another closely related trend, homocapitalism. According to Rao (2020), homocapitalism "offers a shift of argumentative register in which the language of the market is deployed to repress an unresolved moral argument about the acceptability or desirability of queerness in the nation" (Rao, 2020: 25). During neoliberal reforms of the 1990s, the language of the market acquired unprecedented importance in Argentina. The decade was characterized by an urban renewal depicted by literary critic Beatriz Sarlo (1994) as leading to the Los Angelization of Buenos Aires. Like many other Latin American cities, during the 1990s the capital of Argentina witnessed the expansion of restaurant and supermarket chains, suburbanization in gated communities, and the ascent of the consumer as a political actor superseding the citizen. Against this backdrop, respectable gay identity gained even more acceptance as a consumer niche associated to the neoliberal urban renewal (Filc, 2003). A wide array of gay and lesbian businesses emerged during the 1990s, including discos, bars, coffeehouses, karaoke spots, bookstores, cultural centers, private clubs, saunas, and so on. While consumption-driven social acceptance benefited gays and lesbians, it had the opposite effect for *travestis*. Gay/lesbian venues were in line with gentrification and raised neighborhood profiles and real estate value while conferring the city an imagined modern and Western façade (Cutuli and Insausti, 2022).

Meanwhile, *travesti* prostitutes did not enjoy the same opportunities within the rising specter of homocapitalism. *Travestis* were hard to integrate as a consumer niche. In fact, they became an obstacle for real estate development. For instance, in Buenos Aires *travestis* fled the Panamericana outer highway ring during the 1990s to escape unaccounted rampant police brutality. They began soliciting in the more centrally located Palermo neighborhood. In this new location they could stand on the sidewalks of abandoned warehouses to solicit passing cars while quickly running away to visible residential spots whenever the police showed up. Although neighbors were often hostile to *travestis*, the visibility of police brutality in the residential area ameliorated violence. However, Palermo was gentrifying at the time, and the presence of *travesti* prostitutes depreciated real estate value and challenged development projects (Di Pietro, 2016; Schwartzmann, 2009). Against this backdrop, the very same homocapitalist framework fostering the acceptance of lesbians and gays undermined the inclusion of *travestis*, exposing them to a coalition of neighbors and corrupt police officers who threatened their physical integrity to achieve their gentrification goals (Boy, 2015; Filc, 2003).

While presenting itself as welcoming toward queer people, homocapitalism also promoted the expulsion of *travestis* posing an obstacle for neighborhood gentrification. As a result, the twenty-first-century memory of *travesti* grievances since the 1990s remains hidden in plain view. *Travesti* activists who organized the resistance against police brutality at its height in the 1990s have now become integrated into the LGBT pantheon. The most salient cases are those of Lohana Berkins and Diana Sacayan, highly memorialized *travesti* leaders who fought against the police but are not always remembered for doing so. Their lives are remembered either vaguely as symbols of the struggle against prejudice, or more precisely in terms of their work toward the passing of the 2012 Gender Identity Law and other LGBT-rights legislation and policies. Their actions against the police have, however, failed to captivate the attention of those who remember them. This is particularly noticeable in their Wikipedia entries; while not an appropriate source for accurate biographies, they are extremely useful for exploring the construction of hegemonic memories because Wikipedia is subject to anonymous collective editing. In Berkins' Wikipedia entry, there is no mention of conflicts with the police, even if she was constantly detained by the police to the extent of having spent a total of approximately 7 years in prison (Fernandez, 2020: 91). The entry on Sacayan includes a passing reference to the police, diffused by presenting her as a victim of the code of misconduct in force at the time in the Province of Buenos Aires. Meanwhile, Sacayan's resistance against police abuse is absent. The forgetting of *travesti* anti-police activism in the case of Berkins and Sacayan reveal a *lack of accountability when it comes to state violence against queer people under democratic rule*. Within the hegemonic queer memory framework as it currently exists, the existence of such violence after 1983 is either omitted, not imagined as plausible, or mentioned in passing without drawing further conclusions. In contrast with mainstream idealized memories of Berkins, a recent biography by anthropologist Josefina Fernández (2020) provides ample evidence of police detentions. Fernández was a close friend of Berkins and interviewed numerous *travestis* who knew her, but this biographical account is often ignored.

Violence during dictatorial rule is imagined as always potentially related to a deep-seated trend involving the entire political regime, while state violence under democratic rule is compartmentalized as a qualitatively different phenomenon unimaginable as a symptom of the repressive nature of a regime or state. This becomes apparent when examining the *travesti* testimony of Valeria del Mar Ramírez. While the biographical representations of Berkins and Sacayan after 1983 drive the focus away from violence at the hand of the state, the testimony of Valeria del Mar Ramírez captured significant media attention precisely because the focus was on state violence committed under dictatorial rule. A closer examination of her story reveals the features that render a testimony memorable. She was illegally detained in 1977 in a clandestine detention center where she shared

a cell with political dissidents who were tortured and assassinated (Lewin, 2014). Ramírez survived and was convened at the 2011 AMDS inauguration to provide testimony of her experience during the dictatorship. Official institutions and the press placed this incident in the spotlight and repeated it throughout the years. Given how extensive police violence against *travestis* was after 1983, however, the absence of references to Ramírez's interactions with the police in this later period is noteworthy. Highlighting the abduction in 1977, the repetition of her testimony hid the intense police persecution of *travestis* after 1983. Although Ramírez was interviewed numerous times, her life after the abduction was never the focus of attention. The absence of interest about her interactions with the police after 1983 shows the extent of chronological compartmentalization operating within the hegemonic memory framework.

Even when state violence during democratic rule surfaces in memory efforts, it is often reframed as evidence standing for what happened during the military regime. This temporal displacement is apparent in the media reception of the documentary *Los Maricones* by Daniel Tortosa. The director engaged in a tangible effort to avoid imposing his narrative over the testimonies of *travestis*. All interviewed *travestis* experienced the same arbitrary and violent police detentions under both dictatorial and democratic rule and they effectively mention numerous examples after 1983. Moreover, Tortosa openly stated that such violence did not vanish with the transition to democracy. Despite this explicit statement, when the media reviewed the documentary, it was reclassified as dealing exclusively with the dictatorship. This symbolic transposition of post-1983 testimonies into evidence of brutality under dictatorial rule stands out as emblematic of a wider unintentional tendency to overlook human rights violations under democratic rule while scrutinizing the same events when happening during a military regime (Oliva, 2018; Sgarella, 2020).

Multiple forms of symbolic displacement and condensation serve to downplay police violence against *travestis* during the democratic period: hyper-memorialization of violence between 1976 and 1983, sanitation of *travesti* activists whose incorporation in the LGBT pantheon relies on forgetting their anti-police struggles, reframing of testimonies by making post-1983 stories count as events that took place under military rule, and, as we will see in the biographical account of Ivana Tintilay, scripting *travesti* life stories into narratives of self-improvement. Tintilay's testimony was featured by the famous online news service Infobae to tell a story of personal growth. While she recalled being detained by the police 96 times between 1992 and 1995, the online article mentions this issue briefly and devotes most of the attention to praising Tintilay for her current respectable life as a scholar conducting research at the National Library. Tintilay recalled one detention in a police station when she was only given stale bread and water for 30 days and had to sleep on a cold floor with no mattress and insufficient clothing. Yet, the sordid nature of this example is not used to draw conclusions about the repressive character of the police in democratic times. On the contrary, police brutality stands in the online article as a form of abjection that Tintilay successfully overcame through hard work, self-improvement, and upward mobility.

References to police harassment of *travestis* during the 1990s are available in the mainstream media but hidden in plain sight, as examples framed by narratives drawing attention elsewhere. Even publicly available evidence of police brutality against *travestis* deserves close to no consideration, as is the case with a 1998 report by Gays DC, an influential group of activists. This report denounced that beating up *travestis* in the police stations had become customary.[10] Sheriff Blanco, for instance, was famous for hitting *travestis* with a baseball bat. Blanco hit one of them so hard that he pulverized her knee bones. Policemen frequently used high water pressure hoses aimed at *travestis* to "calm their nerves." In the 1990s many were tortured with electric prods that had been used earlier in clandestine detention centers during the 1976–1983 dictatorship. The evidence of 1990s state violence in this report was provided by *travestis* eager to tell their experiences of harassment, abduction, torture, and brutality, but the conditions for a wider audience to listen to their

accounts did not exist in the 1990s and continues to be absent today. Because these examples of police brutality do not point to a plan by an evil military dictatorship, they are difficult to frame within the dominant human rights narrative.

Although less likely in the city of Buenos Aires today, where the strength of queer, feminist, and human rights organizations and nongovernmental organizations limits police brutality, violence against *travestis* continues to exist in the provinces and is often ignored (Malacalza, 2019; Wayar and Revista Iuris Dictio, 2019). Such violence is considered implausible by a national representation of Argentina as tolerant, opened to sexual diversity, and respectful of human rights. Like Marce Butierrez (2022) explored in a recent paper, the deaths of *travestis* at the hands of civilians or police is often ignored because they constitute "malas victimas" or "bad victims." *Travestis* are often dismissed as victims when perceived as not being "innocent" because they trafficked drugs or were addicted to them (Cutuli, 2017; López Perea, 2018), engaged in illegal activities, solicited men in the streets, and, most important, because of their dark complexion. If perceived as darker, unsophisticated, lacking social status, and associated with the urban underground and prostitution, *travestis* are implicitly deemed responsible for their fate (Galligo Wetzel and Fernández, 2021). At times, the violence they suffer is tacitly narrated as inevitable and even necessary or deserved

The implicit blaming of *travesti* victims, however, coexists with attempts to make amends for violence against them. Reparation, however, has only been offered for cases that took place during the dictatorship. As recently argued by (Theumer et al., 2020) even after a protracted legal battle, redress has been granted to only a few *travestis* as monetary settlement to rectify treatment under dictatorial rule. According to the Amicus Curiae for a trial in Santa Fé, having lived as *travestis* under dictatorial rule sufficed as evidence to qualify for settlements. By contrast, cases of *travestis* suing the state for police violence committed against them during the democratic period are rare. In 2018 the judicial power in the city of Buenos Aires commissioned a report accounting for the systematic persecution of *travestis* by the police (Radi and Pecheny, 2018). The report lists numerous recommendations to avoid future police harassment but fails to demand an end to impunity. This is particularly noteworthy because the report's subtitle claims to focus on "Hacer justicia" or "doing justice." In other words, police agents break the law when they violate the human rights of *travestis*, the judicial power openly admits such violations in an official report, and the recommendations cannot imagine the possibility of prosecuting policemen who break the law. Meanwhile, trials against perpetrators of violence against *travestis* during the dictatorships draw media attention and become the focus of queer memory efforts. This is the case for instance with the above-mentioned sentencing of Miguel Osvaldo Etchecolatz, convicted in April 2022 for brutality against *travestis*.

In the last decades, the Argentine state has atoned for the treatment of *travestis* by providing money for the creation of cooperatives to offer alternatives to prostitution, introducing hiring quotas for government jobs, and subsidizing cultural efforts and political organizations (Cutuli, 2022). Sometimes these efforts have helped the memory of state violence under democracy surface. One of the most important memorial enterprises created is the *Archivo de la Memoria Trans*, the first archive organized and curated by *travesti* and trans people who present the past in their own terms. The archive introduces an innovative approach by emphasizing agency and joy, directing attention away from victimhood, especially through the collection of thousands of images showing evidence of mutual support within *travesti* networks. Funded by the Argentine government and international agencies, this online memory archive shows that the Argentine state does not actively silence or repress *travesti* memories of victimhood after 1983 (Simoneto and Butierrez, 2022). Yet, when these memories surface, both the state and civil society ignore them. The presence of testimonies of police abuse under democracy in the *Archivo de la Memoria Trans* has not enabled demands like those emerging when military rule was involved. State violence under dictatorial rule led civil society to raise demands for truth commissions, trials, and reparations, but the same violence in

democratic times has failed to produce the same results. The fictionalization of *travesti* life presented in the biographically inspired novel *Las Malas* by Camila Villalba Sosa (2022) presents an approach like the *AMT* where *travestis* suffer brutal physical violence at the hands of the police but also experience a life of adventure and fun. Both the imagination of *travesti* life in "Las Malas" and the *AMT* challenge to hegemonic queer memories exist in the margins when compared with the mass production of LGBT memory.

Twenty-first-century LGBT politics and hegemonic queer memory

Hegemonic queer memory in Argentina during the twenty-first century has emerged as an outcome of the successful LGBT rights revolution (Diez, 2016). The production of memory happened as a powerful cadre of LGBT professionals and politicians crafted a powerful movement taking advantage of the growing importance of human rights under the presidencies of Nestor Kirchner and Cristina Fernández (2003–2015). Political scientists (Corrales, 2015; Diez, 2016; Encarnación, 2016; Pecheny and De La Dehesa, 2010) examining this form of "crafting" emphasize the agency of skillful activists deploying effective political maneuvers in a moment propitious for the advancement of LGBT rights. When Kirchner became president in 2003, he sought to address the undermined legitimacy of the Argentine state caused by the 2001 economic crisis that had pushed half the population below the poverty line (Pucciarelli and Castellani, 2019). President Kirchner considerably improved his image in 2005 after he successfully pressured the congress to annul the 1980s legislation granting impunity to military perpetrators of state violence during the 1976–1983 dictatorship. Against this backdrop the Kirchner presidency reshaped Argentine national identity by associating the country, his (Peronist) party, and the government with respect for human rights (Barros and Morales, 2017). Taking advantage of this shift, LGBT activists crafted a rights revolution by integrating homonationalism as symbolic compensation for Argentina's economic decline over the decades. These activists claimed that the passing of legislation demanded by the LGBT movement was necessary for any holistic approach to human rights, a view eventually embraced by the Argentine state as part of its official self-representation. While identifying Argentina as an LGBT-friendly country cemented an alliance with center-left politicians, gay and lesbian businessmen sought an alliance with center-right politicians deploying a homocapitalist agenda. They created a Lesbian and Gay chamber of commerce, promoted queer tourism to Buenos Aires, and launched efforts aligned with the gentrification of several neighborhoods.

This multifaceted approach to a variety of parties across the political spectrum through homonationalism and homocapitalism would eventually lead mainstream political parties to perceive LGBT issues as an opportunity to lure disparate constituencies (Bimbi, 2010). This political context offered a great opportunity for the LGBT movement to successfully lobby the state (Ben and Insausti, 2021). As the trials against perpetrators of state violence between 1976 and 1983 resumed after 2005, the narratives about the existence of 400 LGBT *desaparecidos* began to circulate widely.[11] This was not the only approach within the Argentine LGBT movement in the twenty-first century, as some activists continued to remember the repressive role of the Argentine state throughout the twentieth century while rejecting an agenda exclusively focused on pursuing rights.

Final words

Images of "bad victims" were rejected by activists responsible for crafting the rights revolution, who were concerned with respectability and for whom prostitution, promiscuity, and public

scandal constituted a harmful stereotyping supposedly not representative of the lives of LGBT people. The slogan deployed for the 2010 same-sex marriage law stated that "el mismo amor, los mismos derechos." In other words: LGBT people deserved "the same rights" because they engaged "in the same [kind of] love." Paying attention to "bad victims" under democratic rule would have undermined the efforts to present gays and lesbians as respectable citizens. In fact, the most visible lesbians and gay activists fabricated long-term partnerships with others they pretended to love for the sake of publicity to promote the same-sex marriage law, a strategy revealed to the public after the passing of the law in 2010 (Bimbi, 2010). In this context, it became difficult to remember that the police in Argentina had systematically harassed LGBT people because they were associated with public scandal. The images of respectable gay and lesbian couples occluded the memory of homosexual men who had been detained for having sex in public bathrooms or *travestis* who had suffered police violence because they were prostitutes.

The crafting of an LGBT rights revolution based on respectability took place as homonationalism consolidated. LGBT people were redefined as worthy citizens, but only if they fit a sanitation of their identity and if they claimed victimhood exclusively under dictatorial rule. Denouncing long-term state violence against LGBT people would have undermined the very idea of Argentina as a society evolving toward increasing tolerance of sexual diversity. As a result, alternative memories that remembered violence at the hands of the police were buried in plain sight. State violence can now be memorable when identified as part of an evil military plan, but it has been erased when referring to police harassment of homosexual men and *travestis* who challenged heteronormativity and were exploited by corrupt police trying to make money from pimping prostitutes. By writing this article, we hope to render existing police violence against *travestis* visible and encourage a reframing of memory leading to demands for the prosecution of perpetrators since 1983 as is the case with state violence committed during the last dictatorship. This reframing could help strengthen and reinvigorate the long-overdue demand for a *travesti* reparation law.

Notes

1. As can be found in testimonies from the Archivo de Memoria Oral de SIGLA (Alberto, Octavio, Oscar, Rafael, Tino, Luis) or in interviews conducted by Santiago Joaquín Insausti (Chicho, June 2009; Héctor Anabitarte, May 2006; Zelmar Acevedo, 2008. Sergio Pérez Álvarez, May 2006; Malva, March 2012).
2. A similar phenomenon can be observed in Brazil, see Don Kulick (1998).
3. "Hubo un genocidio de la población trans en la Argentina y buscamos Memoria, Verdad y Justicia," *TN*, 20 November 2021.
4. "Interview with Héctor Anabitarte" 9 May 2006.
5. "Interview with Zelmar Acevedo" 30 January 2010.
6. "No hubo rostro peor de la discriminación," *Pagina/12*, Buenos Aires, 18 May 2014.
7. "Presentaron el archivo de la memoria de la diversidad sexual," *channel 7*, 13 December 2011. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hIXQ2o3b7uk

8. This sentence has been widely publicized by state media. TELAM, the official news agency of the Argentine state, points out that "It is the first time that the systematic attack against the *transvestis* and trans collective is taken into account within the actions of State terrorism." The same was stated by the official news channel of the Chamber of Deputies of the Province of Buenos Aires. See, https://diputadosbsas.com.ar/etchecolatz-recibio-la-primera-condena-en-la-historia-por-torturar-al-colectivo-travesti-trans/ and https://www.telam.com.ar/notas/202204/589981-travestis-trans-secuestros-torturas-dictadura-militar-miguel-etchecolatz.html
9. Ivana Tintilay, November 2021; Sandy González, May 2021; Perica Burrometo, November 2021. See also: Tintilay, Ivana. *Ángela Vanni. La guardiana de las travestis*. Moléculas Malucas, July 2020; Tintilay, Ivana. *"Yo nací, soy y moriré orgullosamente puta." Ivana Tintilay entrevista a Marcela la Rompecoche.* Moléculas Malucas—December 2021.
10. "Detenciones y accionar represivo de la policía federal argentina y las policías provinciales a causa de la identidad sexual", Gays y Lesbianas por los Derechos Civiles (GaysDC), 1998.
11. See, for example: "Memorias de la Mesa Panel 'Diversidad Sexual y Dictadura en Salta'" INADI 2010 (Salta); "Compañeros putos, tortas y travestis detenidos, asesinados y desaparecidos, presentes!" *Putos Peronistas* 2009 (Buenos Aires); "No hubo rostro peor de la discriminación" en *Pagina/12* 2014 (Buenos Aires) 18 de mayo; "Investigan violación a los derechos de homosexuales en la última dictadura" en *Diario24* 2012 (Buenos Aires) 26 de agosto; "Rearmando la memoria de la diversidad sexual perseguida" en *Telám* 2012 (Buenos Aires) 23 de marzo; "En la dictadura también hubo desaparecidos en clave LGTB" en *La Viborera*.(Radio Estacion Sur 91.7) 2014 (Buenos Aires) 25 de marzo; "Diversidad en la dictadura" en *Salida de emergencia*. Canal Encuentro 2010 (Buenos Aires) Cap.7; "Se demora el reconocimiento a las víctimas gays, lesbianas y trans de la dictadura" en *AGmagazine.info* 2009 (Buenos Aires) 31 de marzo.

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