

POLITICAL TRANSEXCLUSION AND TRANSHATE IN SOCIAL NETWORKS¹

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ABSTRACT

Studies on social exclusion towards transgender individuals have used the term transphobia to refer to violent behaviors against trans people. The objective of this qualitative study is to critically analyze the use of the term transphobia, its suitability, and the possibility of replacing it with the term transhate, given its functionality in accurately identifying hate crimes and other practices of social exclusion towards trans individuals. From a methodological standpoint, the research was based on the grounded theory approach, considering its relevance in generating theories from the data obtained from social networks in the analyzed context. Among the most noteworthy results of the study, using this methodology, is the identification of codes related to political transexclusion and trans-hate, a situation that ultimately contributes to the preservation of a social system of trans vulnerabilization. It is thus established that trans-hate is a cause of political trans-

¹ This study, which utilized data from public social networks, protected the privacy of users by omitting personal identifiers and conducting the analysis under strict ethical principles of beneficence, non-maleficence, and the social value of research (Orduña-Malea, 2020). As the study used publicly accessible information, informed consent and approval from an Ethics Committee were not required, adhering to the ethical standards for studies that employ publicly available data or information from digital media such as social networks.

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exclusions and other vulnerabilizations towards trans identities in all social spheres, namely: family, education, and health, among others. In summary, this study highlights the urgent need to address transhate and political transexclusion as systemic forms of vulnerabilization against transgender individuals. In fact, the adoption of the term "transhate" in the legal and academic fields could mark a turning point in the fight against hate crimes and discrimination.

Keywords: transinclusion, transexclusion, transhate, transphobia, hate crimes, grounded theory.

Transexclusión política y transodio en redes sociales

RESUMEN

Los estudios sobre exclusión social hacia las personas transgénero han utilizado el término transfobia para referirse a los comportamientos violentos contra las personas trans. El objetivo de este estudio cualitativo es analizar críticamente el uso del término transfobia, su idoneidad y la posibilidad de reemplazarlo por el término transodio dada su funcionalidad para identificar con precisión los crímenes de odio y otras prácticas de exclusión social hacia las personas trans. Desde un punto de vista metodológico, la investigación se basó en el enfoque de la teoría fundamentada, considerando su relevancia para generar teorías a partir de los datos obtenidos de las redes sociales en el contexto analizado. Entre los resultados más destacados del estudio, utilizando esta metodología, se encuentra la identificación de códigos relacionados con la transexclusión política y el odio hacia las personas trans, situación que en última instancia contribuye a la preservación de un sistema social de vulnerabilización trans. Así, se establece que el transodio es una causa de las transexclusiones políticas y otras vulnerabilizaciones hacia las identidades trans en todos los ámbitos sociales, a saber: familia, educación y salud, entre otros. En resumen, este estudio destaca la urgente necesidad de abordar el transodio y la transexclusión política como formas sistémicas de vulnerabilización contra las personas transgénero. De hecho, la adopción del término "transodio" en los campos legal y académico podría marcar un punto de inflexión en la lucha contra los crímenes de odio y la discriminación.

Palabras clave: transinclusión, transexclusión, transodio, transfobia, crímenes de odio, teoría fundamentada.

Introduction

Political trans-exclusion and trans-hate in social networks

Transgender individuals face significant challenges and discrimination in various aspects of their lives, including access to healthcare, education, employment, and social support (Rood et al., 2016; Sherman et al., 2024). The marginalization and stigmatization experienced by the transgender community are often rooted in societal norms, cultural beliefs, and institutional policies that perpetuate gender binarism and cisnormativity (Kcomt, 2019; Arguello, 2020). These systemic barriers contribute to the vulnerabilization of transgender people, exposing them to higher risks of violence, poverty, and mental health issues (Yasami et al., 2023; Schulman & Erickson-Schroth, 2017). In recent years, social media platforms have emerged as critical spaces for transgender individuals to connect, share experiences and advocate for their rights (Buss et

al., 2022). However, these online environments have also become sites where transphobic attitudes and hate speech proliferate, further exacerbating the challenges faced by the transgender community (Sánchez-Sánchez et al., 2024). Understanding the complex interplay between political trans-exclusion, transhate (trans-hate), and the role of social networks in shaping the experiences of transgender individuals is crucial for developing effective strategies to combat discrimination and promote social inclusion.

Despite the growing body of research on the challenges faced by transgender individuals, there remains a need for a more nuanced understanding of the specific forms of exclusion and discrimination they experience. Some publications have studied specific social exclusions towards transgender (trans) people. For the most part, these investigations have used the term transphobia to refer to violent behaviors toward trans people (Worthen, 2016; Mizock et al., 2017; Morrison et al., 2017). In this qualitative study, a critical analysis of the use of the term transphobia is made and it is proposed to replace it with the term transhate (hate towards transgender people) given its functionality. In addition, the political trans-exclusion category is addressed to explain the way in which transhate enables laws and behaviors that support trans-exclusions in different social spheres.

In this article, we use the term "vulnerabilization" to emphasize the systematic and dynamic process of rendering transgender individuals vulnerable. Carel (2023) explains that vulnerabilization refers to the effects of interactions and actions that harm people, making them more susceptible to future adversities. Unlike the term vulnerability, which denotes a state or condition, vulnerabilization highlights the active and relational nature of these processes. By employing the term "vulnerabilization," we aim to capture the social, political, and economic forces that continuously and structurally generate and perpetuate the vulnerability of transgender people, rather than presenting vulnerability as an inherent or static characteristic.

Political Transexclusion

The constant social exclusions exercised towards the transgender (trans) population have been described and characterized in several investigations (Bertolini, 2020; Carpio et al., 2020). Heteronormative and gender binary systems of power have been identified as the cause of this social problem (Schilt and Westbrook, 2009; Wayar, 2018). Now, from these social exclusions, it is possible to study the way in which this violence against trans identities is administered and enabled by government policies.

In this article, political transexclusion is defined as a dynamic system of accumulation and combination of vulnerability factors that directly affect trans people through their laws and decrees. This trans-exclusion political device is responsible for limiting the access of the trans population to personal development services and social protection systems. In this sense, this research aims to explain how a political system of government, through action or omission, can contribute to the vulnerabilization of trans people through legal techniques and legislative processes.

To understand this particular exclusion dynamic, the term biopolitics (Foucault, 2016) can be mentioned to state that social exclusion practices do not aim to separate or discriminate against certain non-binary bodies, but to control them. In this way, transgender inclusion-exclusion processes can be understood as part of a government strategy (Foucault, 1999) whose purpose is the surveillance of trans bodies, that is, their places and their functions.

State policy is generally understood as the set of efforts by a government to manage and intervene in the solving of social problems. However, these government actions do not always include all social actors in their action plans. In this sense, this study considers the political exclusion of the transgender community.

In this sense, political trans-exclusion is a concept that refers to the use of political power to dictate the way in which trans people should live and die. This is how political trans-exclusion, in the manner of necropolitics (Mbembe, 2003), means the differential distribution of social vulnerability. This strategy is intended to expose trans identities to death. This is how, for decades, trans people have lacked social and economic support networks, leaving them, in comparison to cisgender people, more exposed to violence and death.

It can even be argued that political trans-exclusion has produced the normalization of trans death. In this sense, laws, statutes, constitutions, regulations, and educational curricula have become necropolitical devices of trans death (Sicot et al., 2011; Carpio and Sánchez, 2017; Bertolini, 2020). Because of the processes of political trans-exclusion, transgender women find themselves on the margins of a series of labor, educational and cultural rights. In other words, this population is part of a periphery that does not have access to a guaranteed quality of life through welfare states.

This trans-exclusion political system is sustained and justified by a binary hegemony of gender (Preciado, 2020) a biologicistic approach (Bertolini, 2020) that aims to preserve a status quo of an idealized performativity (Butler, 2002) of gender. This is how political trans-exclusion has established legal techniques and legislative processes that have allowed access or not to the rights of trans bodies. In this way, the concept of political trans-exclusion is functional to understand those situations in which trans identities experience discrimination, stigmatization and marginalization, whose causes go beyond mere government omission.

From transphobia to transhate

The term transphobia is typically defined as an irrational fear or hatred of people whose gender expression does not conform to the sex they were assigned at birth (Bandini & Maggi, 2014; Rudin et al., 2016; Worthen, 2016). However, the concept of transphobia is not functional when it comes to demanding rights or reporting hate crimes against the trans community, since phobia, being considered a mental disorder (American Psychiatric Association [DSM-5], 2013) has the effect to victimize the aggressor and justify their violent practices. Next, a theoretical tour of the term transphobia.

The DSM-5 (2013) defines specific phobia as “Marked fear or anxiety about a specific object or situation (e.g., flying, heights, animals, receiving an injection, seeing blood)” (p. 197). This psychiatric definition clarifies that the phobia is not towards a human being, but towards an animal or an object. Even, according to this psychiatric manual, phobia is characterized by a disproportionate fear of the threat posed in a sociocultural context. However, this manual clarifies that, in the case of phobia, to reduce the anguish produced by an object, the subject avoids or resists it, at no time this manual indicates that it is violated.

For Freud (1909), phobia in adults is always linked to childhood anxiety, the phobia being a current symptom that externalizes the unconscious complexes repressed in the subject's past. From this perspective, the revival of the repressed contents makes the characteristic symptoms of the phobia emerge in the subject. If we use this psychoanalytic definition to analyze

the concept of transphobia, one might think that transphobia would be the result of currently unleashed trans-exclusive processes, a latent state that is updated by the encounter with a trans person. But ¿what do trans people have to do with the childhood anxieties of the subjects? and ¿what latent content would the subject become aware of through a trans?

Freud (1909) establishes that phobia is a psychic mechanism whose functionality consists of preventing all situations of development of anxiety by means of a precaution, that is, an inhibition or a prohibition. At no time in his work, Freud establishes that a defense mechanism towards the object that produces phobia would be hatred or aggression.

Applying the Freudian logic of defense mechanisms, the symptom responds to a dynamic that consists in the fact that a part of the repressed representations enters the consciousness deformed and referred to another complex in the subject's consciousness. In this case, the trans-hate symptom would be caused by the anguish generated by facing something new. In this case, what is new is gender non-binarism and identity non-biologism. That being said, trans-exclusion and trans-hate are symptoms of a binary and biologist construction of the genre.

It is in this sense that, in other areas, such as the legal field, the term transphobia has not been functional in judging hate crimes against LGBTIQ+ identities. On the contrary, the term transphobia has been used in the field of law to justify violent attacks against trans people. Thus, the term transphobia has generated a lack of imputability for transhater criminals.

Furthermore, in the scientific and legal field, there is no terminology "phobic crimes". The term used to judge and investigate violent practices towards another person is defined as "hate crimes". In this way, one can think how functional it can be to use the term transhate to characterize hate crimes against the transgender community or other identities.

That said, hate crimes consist of crimes that comprise a broad spectrum of violent acts. According to De Grazia (2020), hate crimes are characterized by threats, harassment, defamation, insults, beatings, rape, lynching, murder, among other vulnerabilization acts to an identity. Likewise, Álvarez (2016) specifies that hate crimes are modalities of violence that aim to violate the right to life, physical or mental integrity, dignity, personal freedom, relationship with the community, honor and integrity.

As can be seen, the vulnerabilities described could hardly be covered by the term transphobia since, since it is not relevant, it does not comprehensively cover practices of hatred towards the transgender community. In conclusion, the term transphobia is not operational since it has no place in the analysis of hate crimes or practices. From this epistemological journey, we can ask ourselves why the term transphobia has become popular among groups of activists, lawyers, human rights organizations, academia, science, and health professionals. It is an ineffective term that is precisely used by people and organizations that denounce or study violent behavior against the transgender community.

A possible answer to the question about the validity in the scientific field of the use of the term transphobia, would be that another term to name and analyze hateful behaviors towards the trans community is unknown. For this reason, the concept of transhate is proposed as an appropriate term to study and investigate hateful behaviors towards trans people.

Method

This qualitative research used the grounded theory approach. A methodology that generates theory from the data obtained (Corbin and Strauss, 2008; Miles and Huberman, 1994). Grounded theory implies a simultaneous interaction between data collection and data analysis, in order to build conceptual categories that explain and interpret the reality of the study (Suddaby, 2006).

Social media analysis

Social networks are digital platforms where people share their opinions, interests or activities in common (Kadushin, 2011). X (Twitter) allows you to find information in real-time about what is happening in the world through texts that do not exceed 280 characters, called "tweets". Instagram also makes it possible to learn about publications and comments made by people on a particular topic or event. Likewise, Facebook through its search engine allows to find information about something specific. Therefore, it is determined that X, Instagram and Facebook together are digital platforms that allow the collection and analysis of comments made by users about trans-hate and political trans-exclusion.

However, extracting information from social networks can bring some difficulties. According to Hotho et al. (2005), three problems could be found when ordering and classifying data from the web: 1) Short publications make extraction complex as they do not provide sufficient or detailed information on the topic of interest. 2) The abundance of information, where the researcher must eliminate redundant data, which can require great effort depending on the data set size. 3) Classifying social media content is limited by the researcher's available time.

Data collection and processing

The data collected are posts from X, Instagram, and Facebook between 2018 and 2021 on vulnerabilization towards transgender people. Some of the original tweets were in other languages and were faithfully translated into English for this publication, respecting their original wording and meaning. The following hashtags were used to collect the data: #transodio, #transfobia, #transexclusión, #transfemicidios, #leytrans. Data collection continued until the saturation level was reached (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). There was a total of 250 posts that were then put through a process to remove duplicate and irrelevant comments. Finally, spelling errors were corrected, and strange words were omitted to facilitate textual readability without altering the original meaning of the cited material.

Data analysis

For data analysis, the constant comparative method (Glaser and Strauss 1967) was used, and it was composed of three coding phases: open, axial and selective. In open coding, coders independently analyzed comments posted by users on social media to generate code. After that, weekly meetings were established between coders to compare codes. Disagreements in coding were resolved by discussion and consensus (Hill et al., 2005). The qualitative data analysis software MAXQDA in its 2022 version was used to carry out the coding process. The result of this coding process was a book made up of 14 codes.

In axial coding, the researchers organized the 14 codes into broader categories (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). This with the aim of regrouping and refining the results. That is, the coders evaluated the intersection that existed between the 14 codes that arose in open coding. This is

how, at the end of the process, six codes emerged, namely: political trans-exclusion, transhate, heteronormativity, educational trans-exclusion, family trans-exclusion, and health trans-exclusion.

In selective coding, researchers continued to refine and regroup codes to develop two core categories, around which the developed codes can be grouped and integrated (Flick, 1998). These categories are political trans-exclusion and transhate. In this phase, the coders focused on analyzing the ways in which political trans-exclusion and trans-hate produce violent practices of vulnerabilization. To achieve this goal, the researchers held weekly meetings for three months for review and theoretical discussion.

To visualize the analysis process described, the code-co-occurrence model was used (Kuckartz & Rädiker, 2020). In this way, figures 1 and 2 show the occurrences and intersections between the generated codes. These graphs made it easier to detect the interrelationships between the codes through the width of the connection lines, that is, the wider the connection lines between the codes, the higher the frequency of co-occurrence.

In this study, three strategies were used for the validity and reliability of the data (Ynoub, 2015). First, cross-checking to ensure data accuracy (Polkinghorne, 2007). This occurred when the researchers individually coded the comments made by users on social networks, to then compare and generate the codebook. Second, memos are used as a measure of validity to support the coding process that arose in qualitative data analysis (Newman & Clare, 2016). Third, the investigators' consensus was used when disagreements took place in the coding and wording of the data (Hill et al., 2005).

Results

The grounded theory analysis process led to the identification of 6 codes related to political trans-exclusion and trans-hate. The codes and their definitions are defined in Table 1 and shown in Figures 1 and 2.

Table 1

Code definitions.

Code		Definition
Political exclusion	Trans-	Political power that makes transgender people vulnerable through legal techniques and legislative processes.
Transhate		Transhate is a negative attitude towards trans people that manifests itself in violent practices or habits of vulnerabilization towards transgender identities.
Heteronormativity		Institutionalization of an idealized heterosexuality through normalization and social regulation.
Educational exclusion	Trans-	Vulnerabilization towards transgender people in the educational field.
Family exclusion	Trans-	Vulnerabilization towards transgender people in the family environment.
Trans-exclusion in Health	in	Vulnerabilization towards transgender people in the field of health.

Figure 1 shows that the heteronormative social system and political trans-exclusion produce transhate. In this way, the transhate produced is the basis of the transexclusionary behavior in the fields: family, education and health.

Figure 1
Code co-occurrence model (occurrence)

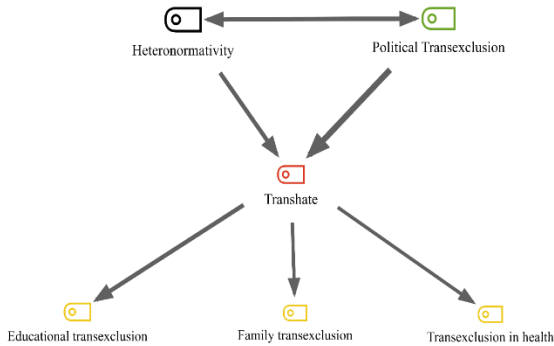


Figure 2
Code co-occurrence model (intersection).

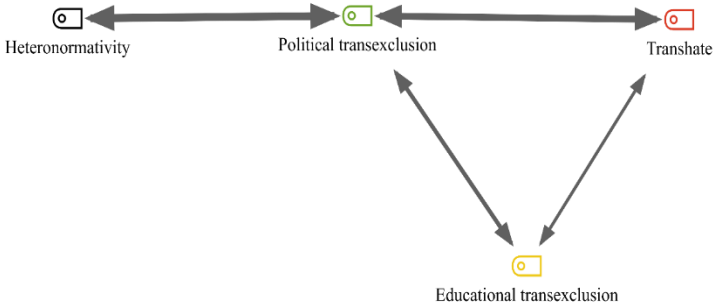


Figure 2 presents the interrelationship between heteronormativity, political trans-exclusion, transhate, and educational trans-exclusion. These devices come together to preserve a social system of trans vulnerabilization. Educational trans-exclusion, like political trans-exclusion, are elements within a mechanism that maintains the circuit of trans social vulnerabilization.

Figures 1 and 2 show the specific cycle of production and reproduction of vulnerabilization, marginalization and criminalization towards transgender people. In other words, these figures illustrate the cycle of transhate.

Political Trans-exclusion

Political trans-exclusion is a political power that renders transgender people vulnerable through legal techniques and legislative processes. Based on the results obtained, political trans-exclusion should not be understood as the simple exclusion of trans people in the political arena,

but rather as a practice that implies a systematic control of the life and death of trans bodies. In this way, political trans-exclusion enables violent practices of segregation towards trans identities in various social spheres.

Regarding trans-exclusion in the legal field, a tweet about a trial for transfemicide describes how, in certain legal proceedings where the parties are made up of a transgender person and a cisgender person, judges and lawyers exalt personal characteristics in the cisgender person, the same that make trans people invisible.

"He is a street boy" says the defender about the accused of transfemicide. The victim's family threw the victim out on the street when she was 9 years old for being trans, since then she has practiced prostitution, and it was not for this reason that she tried to kill anyone. However, guess which street situation was taken into account by the court and which was not. (@lulilesbian)

The cited tweet refers to a legal process where both the transgender victim and the cisgender victimizer have been homeless at some point. However, at the hearing, the judge only points out the street situation of the accused of transfemicide, but not the street situation of the murdered trans. This mechanism of making the trans reality invisible has the effect of reducing the legal responsibility of the accused. At the same time, this trans-exclusion indirectly generates impunity for trans-hater behaviors. Consequently, this transexclusionary political-legal position causes conditions of inequality and disadvantage in trans people in the face of judicial processes.

Another tweet indicates the political trans-exclusion in the sphere of the nation's congress, where even congressmen become accomplices of flagrant vulnerabilization towards trans congressmen. In this case, Carla Antonelli, trans deputy of the Madrid Assembly for the Socialist Party, is addressed with the masculine suffix by the congressman of the VOX party Mariano Calabuig (elDiarioes, 2021). This trans-exclusion was made visible in the following tweet: "Absolute condemnation of the act of #transodio that she has suffered from Vox, the deputy @CarlaAntonelli and the shame of those complicit silences. #LeyTrans #LeyTransYA" (@AlekaIH).

As can be seen in the quote, cisgender legislators exercise trans-hate against a transgender legislator. In this case, a legislator refers to a trans legislator with the masculine suffix "He". It is striking that this act of trans vulnerabilization occurred in congress in front of parliamentary members, who with their silence and inaction were accomplices of this gender violence.

Several political parties even form legislative alliances to endorse transhater acts in the legal field, for example, preventing the approval of laws that reduce hate crimes against the transgender community. As can be seen in the following tweet: "It's that #TransHate unites: The feminist party and Vox unite against the Trans Law that they consider "dangerous" and unconstitutional" (@_Maria_Dantas_).

On the other hand, it is usually discussed which type of government, liberal or conservative, is more predisposed to manage laws to achieve equal LGBTIQ+ human rights. However, the following tweet states that the vulnerabilization towards trans people is carried out by various legislators, regardless of their political ideology. "This so-called left-wing government seizes the flag of a group for the photos, but when it comes to giving equal human rights, they are worse than the so-called right-wing ones. #TransHate in its purest form. #lawtransYA" (@AlekaIH).

Even social movements that claim to fight for equal rights, such as the Trans-exclusionary Radical Feminist (TERF), exclude transgender people from their protest speeches. That said, the following tweet shows how certain activists for equal rights promote transexclusionary political ideologies: "We claim that current radical feminism (radical feminists in the vast majority) do not agree with trans-exclusion, but it is difficult to be seen as those with the most projection (academy, journalists, influencers...) are trans-exclusionary" (@transinclusivas).

This is an example that transexclusionary political ideologies also circulate in other non-governmental public communication spaces. In this case, political trans-exclusion, as a suggestion, is transmitted by different communication channels, namely, influencers on social networks, television, radio, and podcasts, among others.

Transhate

Transhate is any negative attitude towards transgender identities. Transhate always manifests itself in violent practices or habits of vulnerabilization towards trans people. Even, as observed in the following tweets, transhaters practices are carried out by entities in charge of ensuring order and citizen security, such as police officers who, by action or omission, become accomplices in hate crimes. "A group of men attacked three trans women in Rosario with stones and sticks. It was in the pedestrian Córdoba. The police were there and did nothing. Are you still wondering why it is urgent to make #TransHate visible" (@cosecharoja).

The agency "Presentes de Latinoamérica" also tweeted: "#Salta #TransOdio Two men and three women attacked two trans women who were having lunch. They are sex workers who carry out this activity where they were assaulted, and they hold fear to retaliation. The police initially refused to take the report. As can be seen, in some cases the same police officers in charge of citizen safety are the ones who, by action or omission, commit transhating acts.

On the other hand, one of the little-studied transhaters practices are those that are characterized by allowing hatred towards the trans through omission, that is, silence and lack of action against transhaters behaviors. In this way, the police by not taking the complaint, the scientists by not investigating the trans issue and the politicians by not managing trans-inclusive laws; become accomplices in hate crimes, social exclusion and other violence against the transgender community.

There was another transfemicide in Tucumán and in the midst of all the anguish we have to stand, the media that is covering the event violates the gender identity law and name it masculine and even treat it literally as a man. (@NoEsLana)

Likewise, the X account "we are all iratxe", posted the following: "We are tired of being treated as second class citizens and not even after death we are respected for what we choose to be." The scientific and legal non-existence of concepts such as transhate, which defines an identity crime, has generated invisibility and impunity for transhaters crimes such as murder. This denotes that even transhate occurs postmortem.

Educational Trans-exclusion

A transhating social system circulates through different social areas of trans-exclusion, such as: education, family and health, among others. Regarding the conceptualization of educational trans-exclusion, it is understood as the vulnerabilization towards transgender people

in the academic field. The following post on Instagram shows that educational trans-exclusion towards trans people has also led to vulnerabilization in other academic fields. "They ask us for academic completion to be able to sit at a table with a validated speech from an academy that knows little about *través* (travesti) and trans. They ask us for academic credentials to talk about our own history" (@lara_de_themyscira).

The impossibility that some trans people have of obtaining a professional degree begins when they are excluded from the school environment (Directores AV, 2019; Carpio et al., 2020; L'Erario et al, 2024). Having said this, it is understood that, although a professional degree is a basic requirement to work in academic fields, this requirement, in the case of trans, becomes a device for the control and vulnerabilization of non-school trans bodies. In this way, this primary school expulsion has served to make university spaces impossible for transgender identities.

In other cases, when trans traverse the necessary paths to obtain a university degree, they must first have overcome trans-hazardous obstacles in their school life. An example of this situation can be seen in the following tweets: "At school the gender identity law was not complied with, and the authorities did not treat Martin with the correct pronouns, they did not call him by his name, they did not respect his identity and its existence" (@Kenobi_Graham).

Trans minors continue to endure harassment because of their gender identity, and we are not going to put up with #TransHate, neither in schools nor in any field. The institution must respect Directive 2048/2015 and listen to the political subject. #LeyTransEstatal or there will be #FuriaTrans. (@PlataformaTrans)

Even though the creation of trans-inclusive laws and regulations in the educational field has proliferated today (United Nations Children's Fund [UNICEF], 2018), transphobic practices continue to circulate with impunity in most educational institutions (Toomey et al., 2012; Devís-Devís et al., 2017).

Family Trans-exclusion

Family exclusion is conceptualized as the vulnerabilization towards transgender people in the family environment. In this sense, it is understood that although family transinclusion is essential for the survival of a trans person (Weinhardt et al., 2019; Carpio et al., 2020), family trans-exclusion is the main reason for mortality of these identities (Hatzenbuehler et al., 2014). This condition, well known by trans, can be observed in the following post: "Those trans who are lucky enough to finish and have the privilege of a family that accompanies them may live more than 35 years of age" (@lara_de_themyscira).

Family care can be the difference between life or death. So much so, that in Latin America the average life of travestis and transsexuals (Trans) is 35-40 years (Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, 2015; Zucker, 2017). In this sense, family trans-exclusion becomes a necropolitical device for the control and vulnerabilization of trans bodies.

Trans-exclusion in Health

Regarding the conceptualization of trans-exclusion in health, it is understood as the vulnerabilization to transgender people in the health field. In the following tweets it is understood that trans-exclusion in health adds to the social vulnerabilization described above. "Some

#Transgender people suffer socio-sanitary difficulties, facilitating their vulnerabilization to exclusion and affecting their state of health" (@gaispositius).

Likewise, Mariví Soriano tweeted the following: "Nurses are health agents and we are present in numerous areas in which transgender people suffer discrimination, harassment and exclusion, such as health institutions, schools, jobs, etc.". Issues such as being rejected in primary care, the difficulty in finding a welcoming doctor and the fear of discrimination in health centers; It has caused transgender people not to want to be treated in the prevention of health problems (Luvuno et al., 2019).

Heteronormativity

The institutionalization of an idealized heterosexuality (Warner, 1993) implies promoting a set of homophobias and transhaters practices that make it possible to establish and normalize practices that guarantee a heterosexual and cisgender hegemony. Below is a tweet that talks about heteronormativity and its consequences:

I am not redfem, but i think we have agreements: the need for unmixed spaces, dialectical materialism, ideology in desire. And I refuse to consider trans-exclusion. The female conception as the one capable of gestating and giving birth, follows the parameters of reproductive exploitation (@ValenFeminista).

The idea that only females born with vaginas are allowed to join women's platforms perpetuates the heteronormative notion that only these "biological women" are "real" women. Essentially, to perpetuate patriarchy and heteronormativity is to promote a structure that has been the cause of disenfranchisement, discrimination, abuse and violence toward cisgender women and the LGBTIQ+ community.

Discussion

Table 1 details a summary of codes that show the way in which institutionalized transhate generates trans-exclusions in various social settings. That is to say, the structural and systematic transhate underlies the practices of trans vulnerabilization, these are, trans-exclusion in the political, educational, family and health spheres, among others.

In this sense, the results of this study present a series of original contributions. First, it was evidenced that political trans-exclusion is a tool of government power that, through legal techniques and legislative processes, makes transgender citizens vulnerable. Secondly, this vulnerabilization or transhate towards trans identities produces trans-exclusion in other areas such as education. In this way, this trans-exclusion explains the constant vulnerabilization acts towards trans in formal education institutions and the lack of educational trans-inclusion. Obviously, the inclusion laws generated by various governments have not guaranteed effective trans-inclusion.

Thirdly, family trans-exclusion is caused by a hegemonic gender norm that, up to now, has not been able to be mediated by inclusive legislative projects. In this way, it is easy to understand how this lack of political trans-inclusion has also allowed constant vulnerabilization towards transgender people in other social spheres.

In this way, heteronormativity and transhate have normalized and regulated an idealized sexual orientation and binary gender, which are manifested in violent habits and practices towards trans identities. These findings reinforce and expand the literature on trans-

exclusion. For example, in relation to heteronormativity and hatred towards transgender people (Kearns et al., 2017; Muñoz-Laboy et al., 2017; Read et al., 2020) and regarding transphobic behaviors as producers of violent habits and behaviors of vulnerabilization towards trans (Walters et al., 2020; Colliver, 2021; Gyamerah et al., 2021).

Likewise, trans-exclusion in the field of health is evidenced in several ways. For example, several studies indicate that healthcare professionals are not empathetic when they must provide primary care to this group (Click et al., 2019). Despite this, healthcare professionals do not normally participate in training programs regarding adequate care for trans patients (Chapman et al., 2012; Zapata et al., 2019). This situation of negligence in health care professionals and the lack of training in this regard, respond to the lack of trans-inclusive policies and plans (Walker et al., 2016).

Due to the situation described, accessing the right to health care is a challenge for trans women (Sperber et al., 2005). This is how transgender women usually do not find understanding and respectful doctors (Luvuno et al., 2019). This means that transgender women do not go to primary health services.

In this way, the trans-hate has also normalized the vulnerabilization towards trans people in the family environment. This family rejection and expulsion have had dire effects on the emotional well-being of transgender people (Yadegarfarid et al., 2014; Weinhardt et al., 2019). Similarly, in the educational field, trans-exclusion has institutionalized physical, sexual, and psychological violence against trans students by their classmates and the educational community (Toomey et al., 2012; Devís-Devís et al., 2017).

It can be affirmed that political trans-exclusion has meant the legalization of transphobic behaviors. This phenomenon is not new, it has occurred historically in various political contexts in countries around the world (Hearn et al., 2022). For instance, in Argentina the police edicts in the 90s meant the legal persecution of transgender people. At that time, it was legal to imprison transgender people without any further proof of the crime than the prejudice of a police officer (Fernández, 2004; Farji, 2017). In this way, the *travesti* identity was stigmatized as a serious crime to be punished (Farji, 2013).

This proposed process serves to understand how in Latin America a social control is established in which the individual is more judged than the act (Villalba et al., 2018). That is, the punishment of identity was more legalized than the punishment of criminal conduct. In these social contexts, identity diversities were violated for the mere fact of being and not committing a crime (Vásquez, 2013).

A current example of political trans-exclusion can be what happens in Norway, in this country the population of *travesti* or trans without gender reassignment, do not have access to government health services (Van der Ros, 2017). As can be seen, transgender women who are qualified to receive government health services must fit into the gender binarism and biologicism. In this way, political trans-exclusion has been institutionalized as a regime that implies the systematic control of the life and death of trans identities.

Moreover, although in several countries there are transinclusion policies in the areas of health, labor and education, which oblige public and private employees to implement them, these officials are not trained to apply them effectively (Sellers, 2018). As it was before and now, the ineffective, and therefore inadequate, management of transinclusion policies is based on a

normative cisgenderism. In this way, political trans-exclusion has sustained violent practices of segregation towards trans identities in different social spheres.

Thus, governmentality is a system made up of state institutions, legal procedures, scientific analysis and political calculations that allow the exercise, in a transversal way, power and social control. In this sense, the main goal of political trans-exclusion has been to control trans bodies, their social places and their ways of existing.

In the manner of social learning (Bandura, 1977), transhating behaviors are the result of heteronormative ideologies built-in social institutions such as the family and the school. These social spaces have become biopolitical devices (Foucault, 2016) that build imaginaries that, internalized, generate processes of discrimination-stigmatization-exclusion towards transgender identities. In the same way, the political sphere is configured as a transexclusionary biopolitical device that, together with gender binarism and biologicism, potentiates and enables hateful behaviors towards the transgender community.

Precisely, with their existence, trans women have made visible that gender binarism is a social imaginary and that, in reality it has been a form of fiction that, as a technique of power, has educated bodies and conditioned their desires. In this sense, social resistance towards transgender people can be explained, since with the visibility and granting of trans human rights, the validity of cisnormative hegemony is put at risk.

The findings of this study have significant practical implications for addressing the pervasive issue of violence and discrimination against transgender individuals. By proposing the concept of "transhate" as a more accurate and legally applicable term than "transphobia," this research provides a valuable tool for activists, lawmakers, and legal professionals seeking to combat hate crimes and promote trans-inclusive policies. Moreover, identifying political trans-exclusion as a systemic mechanism of vulnerabilization highlights the urgent need for government action and reform. The insights gained from analyzing trans-hate in social media can guide targeted interventions, such as educational campaigns and community support initiatives, to counteract the harmful effects of heteronormativity and gender binarism. Ultimately, by shedding light on the root causes and manifestations of trans-hate across various social spheres, this study paves the way for more effective advocacy, policy development, and social change efforts aimed at protecting the rights and well-being of transgender communities.

Conclusion

This study critically analyzed the use of the term "transphobia" and proposed replacing it with "transhate" to identify and describe the hate crimes and exclusionary practices faced by transgender individuals more accurately. The findings suggest that "transphobia" is an inadequate term as it fails to capture the full extent of the systematic vulnerabilization, and discrimination experienced by the trans community. By framing these experiences as a phobia, it unintentionally pathologizes the perpetrators and fails to hold them accountable for their actions. In contrast, "transhate" directly addresses the root cause of these exclusionary practices – the hatred towards trans individuals. The term "transhate" is more suitable for legal and academic contexts, as it clearly identifies the discriminatory nature of these acts and emphasizes the need for systemic change to protect the rights and well-being of transgender people.

A transexclusionary political system promotes vulnerabilization to transgender people through legislative processes. The cause of this political transexclusion is structural and

systematic transphobia whose etiology is a heteronormative and gender binary system of power. In other words, the heteronormative and gender binary hegemony produces a negative attitude towards the trans that is manifested in violent habits and practices of vulnerabilization towards transgender identities in all social spheres, including in the spaces of political and legislative decisions.

The negative attitude towards trans people has been called in this research as transphobia. This is how transphobia is the cause of political trans-exclusions and vulnerabilization towards trans identities in all social spheres, namely: family, education and health, among others.

Thus, it is established that the transphobia category is functional because it allows establishing new decentered questions of heteropatriarchal principles and accurately identifying the practices of social exclusion towards trans. Therefore, at present, the transphobia concept can be used so that scientists, activists, lawyers and health professionals can demonstrate techniques of control and vulnerabilization towards transgender people.

It is established that the use of the term transphobia is a linguistic control device whose function is to dismiss and justify violence against transgender people. This is how using the term transphobia prevents critical analysis of hate crimes against transgender people. What's more, using the term transphobia has made trans victimizers unimputable. In other words, the pathologization of hate crimes against transgender women, which results from the use of the concept of transphobia, places the trans women assaulted in a bad place and the perpetrator in a good place.

In short, an epistemic turn between transphobia and transphobia is proposed. This update allows institutions such as schools and academies, which do not implement comprehensive sexuality education in their curricular programs, not to be protected under the impunity that talking about transphobia represents. Organizations such as the OAS, the UN, and ILGALAC have even used the term transphobia to refer to transphobia. These institutions, unconsciously, have used a non-functional term, such as transphobia, to try to explain and reduce hate crimes.

In conclusion, using the term transphobia makes it possible to visualize social vulnerabilizations and identify personal and institutional responsibilities in enabling violent behavior and hate crimes against transgender women and other LGBTQ+ identities.

This study highlights the urgent need to address transphobia and political trans-exclusion as systemic forces that increase vulnerability in the transgender population. The adoption of the term "transphobia" in legal and academic spheres could mark a turning point in the fight against hate crimes and discrimination. Moreover, the findings underscore the importance of comprehensive government action and policy reforms to protect the rights of trans communities. Looking forward, additional research is needed to examine the effectiveness of targeted interventions, such as social media campaigns and educational programs, in reducing trans-exclusion and promoting inclusion. Longitudinal studies could shed light on how attitudes and policies evolve over time in response to these efforts. Ultimately, eradicating trans-hating behaviors will require a transformative change in the social norms and power structures that perpetuate heteronormativity and gender binarism. Future research could also explore the role of grassroots movements and collective action in driving this necessary social change. With sustained commitment and solidarity, we can work towards a future where all individuals, regardless of their gender identity, can live with dignity, safety, and equal rights.

Declaration of Conflicts of Interest

They do not declare conflicts of interest.

Authorship contribution

Autor	Concepto	Curación de datos	Análisis/ Software	Investigación / Metodología	Proyecto/ recursos / fondos	Supervisión/ validación	Escritura inicial	Redacción: revisión y edición final
1	X	X	X		X		X	X
2	X	X	X		X		X	X
3			X	X		X	X	
4			X	X		X	X	

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