

POTENTIAL FOR HOMONATIONALISM IN CATALONIA: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF LGTBI ACTIVIST NARRATIVES

*Ahmed Ndlovu, Institute of Engineering, University of Johannesburg, South
Africa*

Abstract

Homonationalism is a conceptual framework that allows to understand how the struggle for LGTB rights is being assimilated by national exceptionalism in order to constitute a geopolitical colonial differentiation. It builds equivalences between homosexual and national subject positions that allows the differentiation of subject positions and populations within the country and between countries, justifying policies based on the differentiation of human rights development. This phenomenon has been applied to the US and its theoretical development is being spreading throughout the world. In light of recent developments both in terms of national identity and LGTB legal rights, Catalonia could be susceptible of an exceptionalism that could lead to homonationalist discourses. This paper explores the homonationalist discourse in Catalonia using narratives from LGTBI activists. Participants identify a homonationalist discourse and recognise the presence of homo-normativity questioned by the activist. Nevertheless, a homonationalist geopolitical hierarchy is not appreciated.

Keywords: homonationalism; postcolonial feminism; LGTBI groups; narrative productions



Subject Positions And Intersectional Political Action

Feminist movements, LGTBI^{1*} and ethnic groups (ie, indigenous movement) are part of what is called "new social movements" that give importance not only to recognition, but also to the improvement of material conditions. Being movements in which the constitution of the subject is a fundamental element, they are often considered, even partially, "identity movements." Gender, sexuality and ethnic belonging make up fundamental sources of identity constitution and social differentiation (Anthias, 1999), forms of "construction of the self" that have been strengthened along with the consolidation of knowledge societies (Castells, 1999). These are resistance movements that affect semiotic and symbolic aspects, Therefore, the development of a broader concept of capital has allowed its revaluation by post-Marxist perspectives (Bourdieu, 1986, 1996; Wacquant, 2006). The analysis of the unequal distribution of economic and symbolic capital between different social groups allows us to sustain an intersectional perspective (Crenshaw, 1991; Valentine, 2007) that takes into account both economic capital and symbolic capital.

The importance of the historical constitution of the subject as an agent of social transformation becomes a central element of capture by power (Adorno, 1990, 1991; Bourdieu, 2002). However, to what extent can a subject that is constituted by internalized social structures escape the reproduction of these same structures? Social transformation from a certain subject position cannot be thought of outside of the social relations that constitute that subject position (Durand Ponte & Cuéllar Vázquez, 1989). It is then necessary to think about a heterogeneous, multiple social space, with different intensities, temporalities and spatialities. A space with multiple relations of equivalence (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985) between the different positions, within and between the different

fields, where a field of conflict is formed in which new meanings and practices anchor (Gramsci, 1975; Gunn, 2006). Constituting oneself as a subject of resistance implies entering a field of relations of equivalence and/or conflict against other positions in the field. For a certain subject position to have social impact, it is necessary for it to be intersectionally involved with other positions of resistance. At the same time, power establishments develop strategies to capture these subject positions. Precisely, the concept of homonationalism (Puar, 2007) speaks of the capture of the LGTBI subject position by national structures,

Homonationalism and national reconfiguration of critical subject positions

Traditionally, feminist and LGTBI analyzes have characterized the State as inherently 'heteronormative' and LGTBI identities as constituted outside the nation State (Puar, 2013). Likewise, white feminism has ignored the articulation of racism in theory and practice, focusing practically exclusively on gender and sexuality (Lugones, 2007). However, the progressive inclusion of LGBT rights within the legal and regulatory apparatus of the so-called "developed" countries has allowed the establishment of a geopolitical hierarchy that marks the level of modernity and maturity of a country based on the acceptance of rights. LGTB (Puar, 2007), thus creating strong racist effects. The articulation of lesbian and gay identities, instead of addressing the questioning of heteronormative assumptions, would imply a reproduction of heteronormativity (Ammaturo, 2014), where a series of exclusive privileges would be accessed. Homonationalism is, therefore, a biopolitical movement that recovers certain homosexual bodies as part of the body of the nation (Haritaworn, 2013), and does so in opposition to geopolitically located subjects constructed in terms of inability to recognize the rights of sexual minorities (Lamble, 2014). Through



this logic, the inclusion of homosexuality in the body of the nation consolidates a geopolitical division between gay-friendly civilization It would mean a reproduction of heteronormativity (Ammaturo, 2014), where a series of exclusive privileges would be accessed. Homonationalism is, therefore, a biopolitical movement that recovers certain homosexual bodies as part of the body of the nation (Haritaworn, 2013), and does so in opposition to geopolitically located subjects constructed in terms of inability to recognize the rights of sexual minorities (Lamble, 2014). Through this logic, the inclusion of homosexuality in the body of the nation consolidates a geopolitical division between gay-friendly civilization It would mean a reproduction of heteronormativity (Ammaturo, 2014), where a series of exclusive privileges would be accessed. Homonationalism is, therefore, a biopolitical movement that recovers certain homosexual bodies as part of the body of the nation (Haritaworn, 2013), and does so in opposition to geopolitically located subjects constructed in terms of inability to recognize the rights of sexual minorities (Lamble, 2014). Through this logic, the inclusion of homosexuality in the body of the nation consolidates a geopolitical division between gay-friendly civilization a biopolitical movement that recovers certain homosexual bodies as part of the body of the nation (Haritaworn, 2013), and does so in opposition to geopolitically located subjects constructed in terms of inability to recognize the rights of sexual minorities (Lamble, 2014) . Through this logic, the inclusion of homosexuality in the body of the nation consolidates a geopolitical division between gay-friendly civilization a biopolitical movement that recovers certain homosexual bodies as part of the body of the nation (Haritaworn, 2013), and does so in opposition to geopolitically located subjects constructed in terms of inability to recognize the rights of sexual minorities (Lamble, 2014) . Through

this logic, the inclusion of homosexuality in the body of the nation consolidates a geopolitical division between gay-friendly civilization² and barbarism (homophobic), which places communities thought of as "First World" in civilized territory, while others are located in the territory of homophobia and barbarism, especially Muslims (Puar, 2007). In this way, a colonial axis is reinforced, as the decolonial feminist Ochy Curiel points out: "Today otherness continues to be 'raw material' for Western colonialism, which continues to be patriarchal, in addition to racist" (Curiel, 2007, p. 100).

Although the phenomenon of homonationalism is exemplified in the American context, several authors have explored its presence in different parts of the world and take the concept to think about queer in other contexts that exceed those of large cities in the so-called "central countries" (Ferreira, 2014). For example, in different Latin American countries, the theoretical articulation of homonationalism with the debates of Latin American feminist and queer theory is being valued (Seguer, 2014) and is being applied to analyze aspects of certain LGBT demands (Andrade, 2014). However, it is in the United States, Canada and Europe where we currently find the bulk of the bibliography on homonationalism.

Homonationalism in Catalonia

Starting from this concept, we were interested in seeing what possible articulations there could be between the theoretical development of homonationalism by several authors³ (although mainly based on Jasbir Puar) and the situation in Catalonia, currently part of the Spanish State.

The well-known tourist slogan of the 60s, "Spain is different", points out Spanish exceptionalism (Townson, 2011) built around a certain inferiority complex with respect to Europe (Roig Tapia, 2009, p. 46). Catalan nationalism,

on the other hand, constructs its exceptionalism and singularity in contrast to Spain and in line with the rest of Europe (Gil Calvo, 2006). Although Catalonia is part of the Spanish State, we find a strong independence movement based on differentiation from it and in line with the first world imaginaries that inhabit the European Union, in a context where Catalonia aspires to be a nation. independent of Spain—a political Catalanism that defines Catalonia as a place of welcome and multiculturalism (Domingo, 2013) as well as a fundamental part of the European Union.

Exceptionalism supposes a positive self-distinction with respect to one or other constituents, and when it is national, it speaks of the excellence of the nation itself and the distinction and superiority of its population compared to other national entities (Puar, 2007). . As an extension of it, sexual exceptionalism refers to the social and legal distinction with respect to sexual rights and sexual dissidence in comparison to other territories. This form of exceptionalism functions as a regulator of the boundaries of what is acceptable in gender, race and class (Puar, 2007), by designating its form of acceptance of sexuality as the good, the exceptional. Although there are no important studies on this topic in Catalonia, the discourse about an independent nation is based on inclusion and identification with Europe,

To date, there is practically no work done on homonationalism in Catalonia, but in the case of a region that places itself in line with Europe, we can think a priori that it is possible that the part that identifies with Europe has great similarities with what could be found in Catalonia. In Europe, several clearly identify the presence of homonationalist discourses and practices, considering it a widespread phenomenon on the continent (El-Tayeb, 2012) and a territory



with progressive freedoms that must be protected, "a fortress of sexual freedom under seige" ⁴ (Colpani & Habed, 2014, p. 13).

For this reason, we were interested in looking for elements from which it can be deduced that there are homonationalist practices and discourses in Catalonia and how it can be constructed as a place of sexual exceptionality. Furthermore, we wanted to explore the relationships between homonationalism and Catalan independence, as well as analyze their practices and the different alterities that occur in the discourse in Catalonia. Starting from the premise that LGTBI activists should have greater exposure to discourses connected to the concept of homonationalism, this work explores the link between those -on migration in LGTBI activists- and said concept with the aim of having a first impression of the extension of this speech in Catalonia.

The method used in this research has been narrative productions (Balasch & Montenegro, 2003). It is a technique based on the epistemology of situated knowledge (Haraway, 1991) that, recognizing the partiality of the gaze and the need to articulate with other subject positions, explores the position of the participant regarding a specific phenomenon, through from several conversations between researcher and participant. In the first phase, we recorded the conversation with the participants around various topics. We talk about sexual exceptionalism, queerness as regulator, white predominance, queer necropolitics and the relationship between LGBT struggles and heteronormative nationalism. After these conversations, we textualized the conversation and it was returned to the participants, opening new questions and observations on the part of both the participant and the researcher. After different meetings and adjustments of the text, we finally arrived at a final version that we call narrative production or simply narrative. The possibility of reading and

modifying it gives the participants an agency that is especially valued by people involved with LGTBI activism (Martínez-Guzmán & Montenegro, 2010). The final version was validated by each participant because in this methodology "instead of representing how the participants understand the phenomenon, it] seeks to express how they want a particular topic to be seen" (Pujol, Montenegro, & Balasch, 2003, p. 67). The narratives were not subsequently analyzed and treated as sources of information,

After creating the narratives, the theoretical and experiential aspects that ran through it were interwoven with the academic materials reviewed, allowing the concept of homonationalism to be put into dialogue with the experiences of the participants. This dialogue has allowed us to appreciate coincidences in relation to the forms of racial othering and differences in relation to the reproduction of hetero and homonormative patterns. The reflections below, of a local and situated nature, allow for reflection and lay the foundation for future, broader investigations.

The participants belonged to different groups with diverse positions regarding the independence of Catalonia and the experience of working with migration. The pseudonym and characterization of the participants was the following (the names used in this article are pseudonyms): (a) Ramón, from an LGT collective with a pro-independence, working-class orientation and with a wide presence in Catalonia, which works on migration issues and would be within from the category of "transformer"; (b) Eva, from an LGTI collective with an independence and queer orientation, founded at the end of the 2000s and which incorporates activists from other groups, widely established in Catalonia and among queer categories; (c) Laura, from an LGTB group with broad representation and experience in the Catalan university world,

Presence of homonationalist discourse

The rights of LGTBI groups have become part of the political agency in both the Spanish State and Catalonia, as reflected in the public policies developed and the legislative frameworks approved. Without detracting from their great importance in terms of social rights, they are susceptible to being appropriated within a homonationalist discourse that places Catalonia on the positive side of the colonial pole, where civilization and barbarism are contrasted. The participants recognize the presence of a homonationalist discourse that differentiates between natives and immigrants in terms of homophobic discrimination, a differentiation that applies mainly to Arab migrants:

"I have been hearing for many years the topic that immigrants are homophobic. But I can tell you that I have received more 'insults' about the LGTBI issue from native people than from people, for example, Islamic, which is the prejudice that I have heard more" (Alex).

We see how the fragment identifies an official discourse that presents some others, "Islamic", as homophobic compared to the native population. This discourse is opposed by a discourse of a local and experiential nature that is denying it. The official discourse would have a racist and exclusive nature while including the previously excluded homosexual community (Lamble, 2014). Alex also adds that this prejudice towards Arab people because they are part of a very different culture from the local one, since:

"society pays more attention to the strange, the most visible, ...] and since society is so ignorant, it equates everyone with Islam, everything that may be strange, 'these are Arabs', or Pakistanis, They seem strange to them."

For Alex, then, difference is a key factor, and the fact that certain populations are seen as closer causes other types of prejudices, such as with the population

of Latin American origin: "I believe that Latin Americans are conceived as more close, but there are certain prejudices about us. Especially about Brazilians, who are dedicated to prostitution, or about Latin women, who are provocative. However, he does not identify in his narrative any specific prejudice towards people of Latin American origin that has to do with homophobic or homonationalist positions.

The us-them opposition based on the homophobic dimension allows the racist discourse to be camouflaged while constructing an other, necessarily homophobic, that can constitute an element of identity construction for both communities. The homonationalist discourse assumes "that in LGBT issues or feminisms the new communities] are a little behind, compared to the Spanish level in general" (Laura). To illustrate this, the activist explains the following:

I live in an apartment, and the family that lives across the street are Muslims, they are first generation immigrants: a man, his wife, brother and daughter. And when I went to live with my partner, many people told me: how do they take it? How do they treat you? How do I not know what? And more because we see each other no matter what because they are usually at the door, they have the table there, they talk, etc. And in this sense I have detected a lot of concern from the people around us about how they will treat us. (Laura)

At the same time, as illustrated in Álex's fragment, a resistance to using LGBT rights as a geopolitical hierarchy appears in activist discourses. Indeed, although in Catalonia there is an inclusion of LGBT rights in the state apparatus, the narratives do not support the application of a colonial logic of "salvation from the First World" towards people from other national territories. While this is true in activist discourses, the same does not seem to happen in other contexts. In this sense, one of the participants narrates how people are treated

differently in social establishments depending on their place of origin, although she does not specify the origins where this treatment is applied:

They are treated a bit as inferior, as manageable, or as if they were younger, less experienced and more ignorant, and then it is much easier to demand certain practices from them that others would have a harder time asking for, or to deny them the use of condoms. . (Laura)

In short, some activist positions critically recognize the presence of homonationalism while pointing out its expansion throughout the social fabric, resulting in an acceptance of homosexuality within the paradigm of Western modernity as the axis around which the world is built. center and the periphery.

From demobilizing exceptionalism to exceptionalist mobilization

Homonationalism is built from incorporating homosexuality as a characterizing element of the nation's exceptionality (Puar, 2007), in contrast to other geopolitical territories where LGBT rights are not respected, differentiating populations based on origin and /or ethnicity. These rights, however, are subsidiary to the existence and belonging to the nation that guarantees these rights and not to the entire population that inhabits a given national territory. The inclusion of LGBT rights covers the nation with a packaging of modernity and liberality (Currah, 2013), attractive to the homosexual population and in contrast to homophobic ethno-territorial demarcations. The establishment of this hierarchy allows the development of conservative imaginaries and policies and, often racist towards the homophobic population. From this perspective, the inclusion of the rights of LGBT groups would be secondary to national construction instead of constitutive of the nation, so these rights acquire a temporary nature (Puar, 2007), an aspect that is reflected in the narratives when It is about the independence of Catalonia: "with independence we would



win the LGTBI struggle] as long as they needed to have these votes. It is recruiting partners, it is advertising" (Eva). This makes sense with the little deployment that the Catalan law against LGT-Bphobia has; months after its approval it is still not being fully applied (Domenech, January 29, 2015). The inclusion of the rights of LGBT groups would be secondary to national construction instead of constitutive of the nation, so these rights acquire a temporary nature (Puar, 2007), an aspect that is reflected in the narratives when independence is discussed. of Catalonia: "with independence we would win the LGTBI struggle] as long as they needed to have these votes. It is recruiting partners, it is advertising" (Eva). This makes sense with the little deployment that the Catalan law against LGT-Bphobia has; months after its approval it is still not being fully applied (Domenech, January 29, 2015). The inclusion of the rights of LGBT groups would be secondary to national construction instead of constitutive of the nation, so these rights acquire a temporary nature (Puar, 2007), an aspect that is reflected in the narratives when independence is discussed. of Catalonia: "with independence we would win the LGTBI struggle] as long as they needed to have these votes. It is recruiting partners, it is advertising" (Eva). This makes sense with the little deployment that the Catalan law against LGT-Bphobia has; months after its approval it is still not being fully applied (Domenech, January 29, 2015). "With independence we would win the LGTBI struggle] as long as they needed to have these votes. It is recruiting partners, it is advertising" (Eva). This makes sense with the little deployment that the Catalan law against LGT-Bphobia has; months after its approval it is still not being fully applied (Domenech, January 29, 2015). "With independence we would win the LGTBI struggle] as long as they needed to have these votes. It is recruiting partners, it is advertising" (Eva). This makes sense with the little

deployment that the Catalan law against LGT-Bphobia has; months after its approval it is still not being fully applied (Domenech, January 29, 2015).

The state instrumentalization of LGBT rights can lead to a celebratory attitude towards their apparent inclusion in the body of the nation, leading to demobilization when the nation-state assumes the political objectives of said associations (Currah, 2013). In this case, however, the exceptional nature of the Catalan law is precisely used as proof of a mobilizing movement. Indeed, the different groups have participated energetically in activities related to the law to guarantee the rights of lesbians, gays, bisexuals, transgender and intersex and to eradicate homophobia, biphobia and transphobia, which was approved on October 2 of 2014 by the Parliament of Catalonia. In the narratives, The vision is clearly expressed that "the thought that certain legal advances, such as homosexual marriage, stagnate the movement is a mistake" (Ramón), and that "in Catalonia we are privileged, but even so there is a lot of work to do" (Laura). Although certain laws for LGBT rights may have necropolitical effects (Lamble, 2014), the truth is that it is still a form of mobilization.

At the same time, activist movements point out the demobilizing effects of the incorporation of LGTBI demands within the state apparatus (Petit, March 2006), an effect that is related to the institutionalizing process of the LGTBI movement (Aljama & Pujol, 2013). In the case of Barcelona, the Gay Pride demonstration on June 28, 2011 can serve as an indicator of the demobilizing effect of the institutionalization of LGBT rights, going from a single political demonstration to two demonstrations, one of a political nature and another of a commercial and recreational nature, and where the latter has an increasingly large influx of public to the detriment of the former. It is possible, in this sense,



The narratives, in this way, warn of the demobilizing risk of the institutionalization of demands for rights for LGTBI groups, while reflecting sexual exceptionalism, in this case, within the mobilization, that is, an exceptionalist mobilization, which would be quite different from the exceptionalism described by several authors. Instead of presenting a vision that, given the legal and social situation, seems good enough to stop mobilizing, what the narratives reflect is that in Catalonia there continues to be mobilization by activists, although the activists realize that, As described by different authors in other contexts, the view towards certain communities regarding LGBT issues continues to have a sense of exceptionality.

Challenging homonormativity

Homonationalism, as an institutionalization of the homosexual liberation discourse, participates in the nation's forms of bodily regulation, situating and hierarchizing bodily categories such as gender, class, race and sexuality. While the nation is built in a heteronormative background, based on the hierarchization of the male/female hetero/homo dichotomies, homonationalism establishes a new dichotomy in terms of tolerant/homophobic that establishes a homonormativity that maintains heterosexuality as a system. (Puar, 2007), which also permeates the coloniality of the genre (Lugones, 2007). If the heterosexual regime has defined what corporeality is tolerable, desirable, and valued in terms of, for example, race/ethnicity, social position, gender, family structure, sexual orientation, or functional diversity, Homonormativity constructs a compatible, as well as hierarchical, corporeality with respect to heteronormative corporeality. The institutionalization of dissidence allows rights to be transformed into privileges that can be enjoyed at certain points of the population hierarchy, allowing traditional forms of normativity to be

reproduced based on the presumed loss of privileges. The inclusion of homonormative corporeality in the body of the nation strengthens the complicity of homosexual groups in pointing out excluded and abject corporeality. In this sense, Puar (2007) points out that while the homosexual other is always white, the racial other is always heterosexual, considering that the construction of heteronormative alterity is based on the existence of a homosexual other, while homonormative alterity presumes a homophobic other. The expression of homonormative privilege in Catalonia is reflected in groups such as, for example, the Gay and Lesbian Sector of the National Assembly of Catalonia (ANC), which has used the benefit of the impact of tourism as an argument for the independence of Catalonia. gay and lesbian (ANC, 2012). This type of tourism, widely criticized by various sectors, reinforces heteronormative capitalism (Puar, 2007). In this sense, the activist Ramón shows us a firmly anti-capitalist position when defending the practice of cruising. which has used as an argument for the independence of Catalonia the benefit of the impact of gay and lesbian tourism (ANC, 2012). This type of tourism, widely criticized by various sectors, reinforces heteronormative capitalism (Puar, 2007). In this sense, the activist Ramón shows us a firmly anti-capitalist position when defending the practice of cruising. which has used as an argument for the independence of Catalonia the benefit of the impact of gay and lesbian tourism (ANC, 2012). This type of tourism, widely criticized by various sectors, reinforces heteronormative capitalism (Puar, 2007). In this sense, the activist Ramón shows us a firmly anti-capitalist position when defending the practice of cruising.⁵ before pink leisure⁶, when he says "I think cruising is a very free way of flirting with which I totally agree, because it is one of the few non-commercial possibilities."

Possibly, since they worked with an activist discourse, the narratives do not show a position in relation to an embodied hierarchy of the social and, on the contrary, they develop a critical vision regarding the construction of normative and commercial forms of homosexual identities. One of the participants commented, referring to homosexual integration policies: "I believe that there are two types of LGBT struggle: the one that seeks to integrate, and therefore be part of an unhealthy heteronormative system, and the struggle that seeks equity" (Eve). In other narratives, a position appears against homosexual marriage, a pillar of homonormativity: "We were in favor of marriage as a right, but not as an institution" (Ramón). They are discourses marked by a political criticism that avoids fitting into the body of the nation, questioning the difficulty of developing ways of having an LGTBI life outside the homonormative forms of lesbian and gay consumption and institutionality. This difficulty is also made explicit when talking about the speeches and actions developed against cruising: "in a society with a 'democracy' like ours we find many commercial...] interests against cruising" (Ramón) . The importance of intercultural dialogue as a fundamental element in some groups that work with LGTBI migration is also emphasized: "Perhaps our philosophical discourse is based on interculturality, which for us is not only the issue of immigration,

Activist discourse, perhaps due to its critical nature with forms of institutional power, questions the establishment of a homonormativity that bases the homonationalist discourse. It is possible, in this sense, that a distinction should be made between sexual exceptionalism from positions that reproduce state forms that exalt the nation itself in the face of other geopolitical territories and sexual exceptionalism from political activism aimed at the transformation of discrimination practices towards the collective. LGTBI. Although it is possible

that there are entities or groups that reinforce homonormativity, we also identify practices and discourses of resistance to homogenizing norms of heteronormative corporeality and ways of doing things.

Conclusion:

In this work we have explored the critical potential of the concept of homonationalism in relation to the Catalan context. In this first approach, we have shown the need to use this analytical tool to see how the withdrawal of certain LGBT subject positions is used instrumentally in Catalonia and some of the effects that this entails.

In the research carried out we have been able to see how some activists maintain that an exceptionalism position is present in Catalonia, which supposes a construction of otherness around the acceptance or not of homosexuality. In this sense, sexual exceptionalism in Catalonia takes place in addition to mobilization, and not in contrast to it, and we can speak of an exceptionalist mobilization. Mobilization in the Catalan territory is still active, an example of this is the recent creation of a law against LGTBphobia, although stereotypes and colonial visions regarding certain migrant subjectivities continue to be reproduced in the territory.

The participating activists also express a clear position of resistance to homonormalization, because they support anti-capitalist, anti-racist or anti-institutional discourses. This position, which conflicts with other developments of the concept of homonationalism, is a clear resistance to it that would be interesting to continue studying in future works. Although the narratives show how certain positions take part in pink capitalism and assimilation into a heteronormative system, there is clearly active mobilization against these positions.

On the other hand, the narratives show how some forms of configuration of the Catalan nation take on homonationalist logic. The perception of the temporary inclusion of LGTB rights, as well as the fact that the law against LGTBphobia has not yet been fully implemented, is a sign that under the apparent will of the Government to include speeches and struggles in the main policy there is no a political will for the real inclusion of dissident subjectivities.

In this first approach to the study of homonationalism in Catalonia, we can appreciate the need to continue investigating the articulations between homonationalist discourses and practices in the Catalan context. Although the narratives develop a critical approach towards the inclusion of the homosexual liberation discourse in Catalan politics and society, they are participants with a political tendency and it would be possible to expect positions closer to homonationalist institutionalization in other social groups.

Finally, it is necessary to highlight that the criticism of the institutional coaptation of the LGTBI discourse should be developed with the greatest possible care and ethical treatment. Homonationalist criticism is susceptible to distorting the work done by groups for decades. However, we should not stop the critical potential of the concept of homonationalism, in order to prevent the rights and freedoms of certain population groups from being built at the expense of the rights and marginalization of other groups.

Referenes

¹ LGTBI: lesbians, gays, transsexuals, bisexuals and intersex. In this text, different acronyms are used depending on the narrative context and what is included in the term. We use LGTBI when we refer to the movement in general and LGT/LGTB in reference to specific struggles, rights and/or identities.

² Gay-friendly is a loanword from English that is used to refer to attitudes, establishments or institutions that are friendly to LGBT people.

³ In order not to use the masculine in a generic way, and to avoid discrimination for reasons of gender, and in the absence of regulations in the Spanish language to use a generic form without a gender mark, in this article I will use the generic feminine as if I were always talking about the subject omitted "person".

⁴ "A fortress of sexual freedom under siege" own translation].

⁵ Types of anonymous sexual encounters practiced in public places, usually in parks, beaches and forests (among others), especially when these encounters are between men.

⁶ Pink leisure or pink capitalism refers to the set of businesses that are intended only for homosexual audiences (especially homonormative), aimed at a middle and upper class population group that was previously less instrumentalized by capitalism as there were no specific businesses. homosexuals. Examples of leisure and pink capitalism are nightclubs, clothing stores and tourist complexes specifically for gays and lesbians.

References

1. Adorno, T. W. (1990). *Negative dialectic*. Madrid: Taurus.
2. Adorno, T. W. (1991). *Current philosophy*. Barcelona: Paidós.
3. Aljama, P., & Pujol, J. (2013). Reflections on the institutionalization of the LGBT movement from the Catalan and Spanish context. *Interface*, 5(2), 159-177.
4. Ammaturo, F. R. (2014). The right to a privilege? Homo-normativity and the recognition of same-sex couples in Europe. *Social & Legal Studies*, 23(2), 175-194.

5. National Assembly of Catalonia. Sectorial of Gays and Lesbians for Independence. (2012). Constitutive Document. Barcelona:
6. Andrade, B. (2014). Homonationalism and LGBT citizenship in times of neoliberalism: dilemmas and impasses in the struggles for sexual rights in Brazil. In *Pauta*, 34(12), 155-178.
7. Anthias, F. (1999). Beyond unities of identity in high modernity. *Identities*, 6(1), 121-144.
8. Balasch , M. , & Montenegro , M. (2003). A methodological proposal from the epistemology of situated knowledges: narrative productions. *Encounters in Social Psychology*, 1(3), 44-48. _
9. Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education* (pp. 241-258). New York: Greenwood Press. _
10. Bourdieu, P. (1996). *The rules of art: Genesis and structure of the literary field*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
11. Bourdieu, P. (2002). *Practical reasons. On the theory of action*. Barcelona: Anagram.
12. Castells, M. (1999). *The information age: economy, society and culture*. Madrid: 21st century.
13. Colpani, G., & Habed, A. J. (2014). What is European about homonationalism? Thinking through the Italian Case. En K. Leurs & D. Olivieri (Eds.), *Everyday feminist research praxis: Doing gender in the Netherlands* (pp. 23-39). Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
14. Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review*, 43 (6), 1241-1299.



- 15.Curiel, O. (2007). Postcolonial criticism from the political practices of anti-racist feminism. *Nomads*, 26, 92-101.
- 16.Currah, P. (2013). Homonationalism, State rationalities, and sex contradictions. *Theory & Event*, 16(1). Recuperado de
- 17.Domènech, F. (January 29, 2015). 100 days after the approval of the law against LGTBphobia, the Generalitat has still not implemented it.
- 18.Domingo, A. (2013). Catalonia, land of immigration. En L. Castro (Ed.), *What's up with Catalonia?* Ashfield, MA.: Catalonia Press.
- 19.Durand Ponte, VM, & Cuéllar Vázquez, MA (1989). *Classes and social subjects: a critical-comparative approach*. Mexico: UNAM.
- 20.El-Tayeb, F. (2012). 'Gays who cannot properly be gay': Queer Muslims in the neoliberal European city. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 19(1), 79-95.
- 21.Ferreira, GB (2014). Activists, artists and queers in the global south: still on the margins of mujeres al borde. *Revista Gênero na Amazônia*, 6, 91-115.
- 22.Gil Calvo, E. (2006). *The Spanish ideology*. Oviedo: Nobel Editions.
- 23.Gramsci, A. (1975). *Letters from prison (Vol. 82)*. Madrid: Notebooks for Dialogue.
- 24.Gunn, S. (2006). From hegemony to governmentality: Changing conceptions of power in social history. *Journal of Social History*, 39(3), 705-720.