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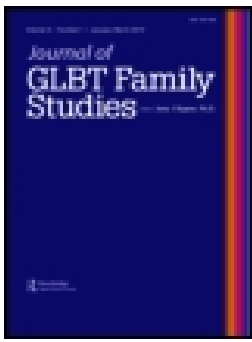
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Intersectional Microaggressions and Social Support for LGBTQ Persons of Color: A Systematic Review of the Canadian-Based Empirical Literature

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ABSTRACT

Researchers have documented that LGBTQ persons of Color in the United States of America experience intersectional microaggressions and social support from their family and community members. Given the manifestation of heteronormativity (i.e., normalizing heterosexuality and gender binary system) and homonormativity (i.e., constructing LGBTQ identities as “White”) in North America, researchers have not systematically reviewed the empirical literature on intersectional microaggressions, specifically within familial and community contexts in Canadian society. The current paper addresses this omission by elucidating the significance of intersectionality as a theoretical framework in LGBTQ scholarship. Findings indicated that LGBTQ persons of Color experienced microaggressions in their families and racial and ethnic communities due to their sexuality and gender identities, and in mainstream LGBTQ spaces due to their racial and ethnic identities. They also struggled to navigate their intersecting identities, and encountered negative health outcomes, which they coped with through resistance and social support. The strengths and limitations of this paper, and recommendations for future inquiry are outlined.

KEYWORDS

Community; family; intersectionality; LGBTQ persons of color; microaggressions; social support

There is abundant research documenting the discrimination experienced by LGBTQ Canadians. To illustrate, Statistics Canada revealed that, in the year 2017, ten percent of police-reported hate crimes were directed toward sexual minorities; 43% toward racial and ethnic minorities (e.g., Asian, African, Middle Eastern, etc.); 41% were directed toward religious minorities (e.g., Muslim, Jewish, etc.); and 6% were motivated by factors, such as language, disability, age, and sex. The proportion of hate crimes directed toward sexual minorities increased by 16% from 2016 to 2017, and 85% of these crimes specifically targeted the gay and lesbian communities. Further, from 2010 to 2017, thirty-one instances of hate crimes that were reported to police were directed toward transgender or asexual persons, of which 15 incidents occurred in 2017 (Armstrong, 2019).

The impact of this type of discrimination have been documented. Bell and Perry (2015), for example, conducted a focus group with 15 gay and lesbian individuals, and found that anti-LGB hate crimes negatively affected participants’ psychological and emotional health on a day-to-day basis, with participants reporting sequelae such as depression, anxiety, anger, feelings of inadequacy, and low self-worth (Bell & Perry, 2015). Similarly, Morrison (2011) conducted an online survey with 348 self-identified gay men and lesbian women, and discovered statistically significant correlations between perceived episodes of discrimination (e.g., verbal, physical, and sexual abuse in the past 12 months/over one’s lifetime) and depression in gay men. For lesbian

women, the correlates of discrimination were depression and psychological distress. The author also indicated that gay men and lesbian women who were more likely to experience discrimination also reported lower levels of life optimism and self-esteem (Morrison, 2011).

Regarding the health impacts of discrimination for gender minority Canadians, findings from the Trans PULSE project, a provincial-wide survey conducted with 433 self-identified trans Ontarians, indicated that 98% of trans participants reported at least one instance of transnegativity. As well, 35% of trans persons reported having suicidal thoughts, and 11% considered attempting suicide. Researchers affiliated with the PULSE project also found that suicidal ideation was widespread among trans-identified youth and those experiencing transnegativity due to a lack of social support (Bauer, Scheim, Pyne, Travers, & Hammond, 2015; Bauer, Travers, Scanlon, & Coleman, 2012; Marcellin, Bauer, & Scheim, 2013).

Microaggressions and intersectionality theory

Some researchers investigating LGBTQ individuals' experiences of discrimination have shifted their focus to *microaggressions*, defined as "the everyday verbal, nonverbal, and environmental slights, snubs, or insults, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative messages to target persons based solely upon their marginalized group membership" (Sue, 2010, p. 3). Three forms of microaggressions are perpetuated based on an individual's LGBTQ status: a) *Microassaults* (i.e., overt verbal or nonverbal insults targeting one's sexual and/or gender identity; e.g., using heterosexist slurs or telling homonegative jokes); (b) *Microinsults* (i.e., verbal or behavioral expressions which serve to demean a person's LGBTQ identity; e.g., a heterosexual individual who displays discomfort or disapproval with LGB public displays of affection); and (c) *Microinvalidations* (i.e., negations of the personal experiences of sexual and/or gender minority persons without an explicit intention to harm; e.g., minimizing LGB persons' perceptions of discrimination; Nadal et al., 2011).

Recognizing that cultural, ethnic, and racial differences exist within LGBTQ communities, Nadal and colleagues (2015) established the term *intersectional microaggressions*, based on the theory of intersectionality proposed by Crenshaw (1989). The term *intersectionality* was coined in Black feminism research to examine associations between multiple forms of discrimination based on age, race/ethnicity, social class, sexual orientation, and disability (Crenshaw, 1989). Nadal and colleagues (2015) define intersectional microaggressions as subtle forms of discrimination, occurring in everyday life due to the intersections of race, sexual identity, gender, social class, and other sociodemographic factors (e.g., age, disability, etc.; Nadal et al., 2015). According to intersectional microaggressions theory, social experiences of racial and ethnic minority LGBTQ persons differ from the experiences of White LGBTQ persons (Nadal et al., 2015). In a systematic review on microaggressions toward LGBTQ and genderqueer persons, Nadal, Whitman, Davis, Erazo, and Davidoff (2016) challenged the notion of discrimination caused by a singular marginalized identity (e.g., race or sexuality), and emphasized the intersectional nature of microaggressions that individuals experience when occupying multiple stigmatized identities. The authors also recognized that further research on intersectional microaggressions is warranted (Nadal et al., 2016).

Intersectional microaggressions and social support in familial and community contexts

Researchers in the United States of America have found that LGBTQ persons of Color (or racial and ethnic minority LGBTQ persons) experience intersectional microaggressions enacted by their family members and communities. For instance, Li and colleagues (2017) interviewed 21 young Latino gay men, who reported that their parents openly derogated gay men (i.e., *microassault*), used sexually prejudiced profanities (i.e., *microinsult*), and perceived their sexual orientation as

transitory and changeable (i.e., *microinvalidation*; Li, Thing, Galvan, Gonzalez, & Bluthenthal, 2017). Further, Weber and associates (2018) found that LGBTQ persons of Color condemned their own sexualities and gender identities because of strangers and acquaintances reacting to them with disgust, laughter, or discomfort. Participants also expressed that LGBTQ communities are assumed to be homogenous, with no acknowledgement of the existence of racial and ethnic minority persons within these groups. As well, LGBTQ persons of Color experienced traditional gender role stereotyping and social policing of sexual and gender norms, which normalize heterosexuality and the gender binary system, and exclude sexual and/or gender diverse bodies. Finally, they reported being exoticized and objectified because of their race, and were assumed to be “criminal” or inferior by others (Nadal, Skolnik, & Wong, 2012; Nadal et al., 2015; Weber, Collins, Robinson-Wood, Zeko-Underwood, & Poindexter, 2018).

Recently, in an American context, researchers have demonstrated the significance of social support in the lives of LGBTQ persons of Color. To elucidate: Hailey, Burton, and Arscott (in press) conducted a systematic review, and concluded that the African American LGBTQ youth received significant social support from their chosen and created families, who accepted their sexual and gender identities and were empathetic toward their discriminatory experiences. As well, they expressed that their chosen and created families safeguarded them from psychological distress related to intersectional discrimination, led them to have a sense of affirmation toward their racialized LGBTQ identities, and improved their agency over help- or advice-seeking behaviors (Hailey et al., in press). Additionally, Stone and colleagues (in press) conducted a secondary analysis of the interviews from the Strengthening Colors of Pride 2018 Interview Study, and discovered that Black and Latinx sexual and gender minority persons were more likely to gain resilience from maternal role models (i.e., mothers and othermothers [grandmothers, aunts, and sisters]) than from male relatives (i.e., fathers, grandfathers, uncles, and brothers) and parental couples. The interviewees considered the family members as role models, as the latter were able to overcome adversity (i.e., poverty, chronic illness, and childhood abuse) and traumatic pasts, fulfill the role of providers, and exhibit emotional toughness and resilience (Stone, Nimmons, Salcido, & Schnarrs, in press). Finally, in an American national sample of Black sexual minority college students, a majority of whom self-identified as gay or lesbian, Lefevor, Smack, and Giwa (in press) found that family and partner support were inversely correlated to distal stressors (i.e., lifetime frequency of sexual assault, harassment, and trauma). Further, participants who received social and religious support were less likely to experience psychological distress (i.e., depression, generalized anxiety, social anxiety, academic distress, eating concerns, alcohol use, and hostility; Lefevor et al., in press).

Taken together, the sexual and gender minority persons of Color experience intersectional microaggressions in familial and community contexts; however, the impact of their microaggressive experiences may be alleviated because of receiving social support in diverse ways (e.g., chosen and created families, maternal role models; Hailey et al., in press; Stone et al., in press). To further understand the experiences of LGBTQ persons of Color, which differ from those of individuals identifying as White LGBTQ persons or White cisgender heterosexual persons, researchers have conceptualized the phenomena of hetero- and homonormativity.

Heteronormativity and homonormativity

Heteronormativity is defined as an accumulation of cultural, legal, and systemic practices that normalize the gender binary system, and assumptions that gender is akin to biological sex, and that only members of the opposite-sex can be sexually attracted to each other (Schilt & Westbrook, 2009). Accordingly, heterosexuality is presumed to be natural and acceptable, while LGBQ identities are perceived to be abnormal. On the other hand, homonormativity constructs sexual minority identities as “White” (Donelle, 2017; Pardoe, 2011), and this concept has been used to exemplify the ways certain sexual minority identities have become conventional and normative by amalgamating into mainstream capitalist cultures (Bettani, 2015). These forms of sexual

minority identities exclude gay and lesbian persons who are older, racially minoritized, disabled, or working class (Bettani, 2015). Hence, LGBTQ persons of Color are exposed to double marginalization, as their LGBQ identities are considered unnatural, and/or their trans identities are excluded due to gender binary norms, and their racial and ethnic identities are invisible from mainstream (capitalist) LGBQ discourses.

Current study

To date, there are no systematic reviews of the research literature on intersectional microaggressions and social support pertinent to LGBTQ Canadians of Color within familial and community environments. This area of inquiry is critical, given that researchers have demonstrated the presence of heteronormativity and homonormativity in Canadian society. Therefore, in the current paper, we address this omission. We also articulate the importance of using intersectionality as a theoretical framework to examine the lived experiences of LGBTQ persons of Color.

Method

Search strategy

Academic databases (i.e., Google Scholar, PsycInfo, Academic Search Complete [ASC], Scopus, and MedLine) were reviewed to identify research studies that focus on microaggressive and/or discriminatory experiences and social support of LGBTQ persons of Color residing in Canada. A Boolean search strategy was employed by combining keywords such as “LGBTQ,” “Gay,” “Lesbian,” “Bisexual,” “Trans,” and “Queer” with “Microaggression,” “Discrimination,” “Racial,” “Of Colour,” and “Canada.” To maximize the relevance of our findings, we restricted the search results from the year 2000 to the present day. Although we focused on intersectional microaggressions, universal terms such as “discrimination” were included during our search because research on LGBTQ microaggressions remains novel in a Canadian context. The novelty of microaggressions scholarship in Canada was substantiated, as the results obtained from the initial search with the keyword “microaggression” was too narrow (i.e., only seven studies conducted with LGBTQ Canadians of Color unequivocally focused on their microaggressive experiences). Hence, in this review paper, we included Canadian-based empirical studies that did not explicitly examine microaggressions, but also subtle and everyday discrimination in general.

A simultaneous search of all five databases generated 1,907 results. The reference lists from the respective databases were exported to a series of Excel spreadsheets. Each paper’s title, location of publication and study, and abstract were screened. Relevant keywords (e.g. intersectionality, and LGBTQ persons of Color) were electronically searched in the full-text.

Inclusion criteria

Each paper had to meet five criteria to be included in this systematic review. First, the research had to be conducted in Canada and/or with Canadian participants. Second, each article had to be written in the English language. Third, each article had to be “academic” in nature; that is, the source needed to be a peer-reviewed journal article, graduate thesis/dissertation, community report appearing on an LGBTQ-based organization’s website, or a book chapter. Fourth, the articles had to summarize original qualitative, quantitative, or mixed-methods research (i.e., no review articles were included). Fifth, each article had to emphasize the intersectional microaggressions experienced by LGBTQ persons of Color in a Canadian context. We discarded 1751 records because they did not satisfy one or more of these criteria. The remaining 156 papers were then subjected to a more detailed assessment.

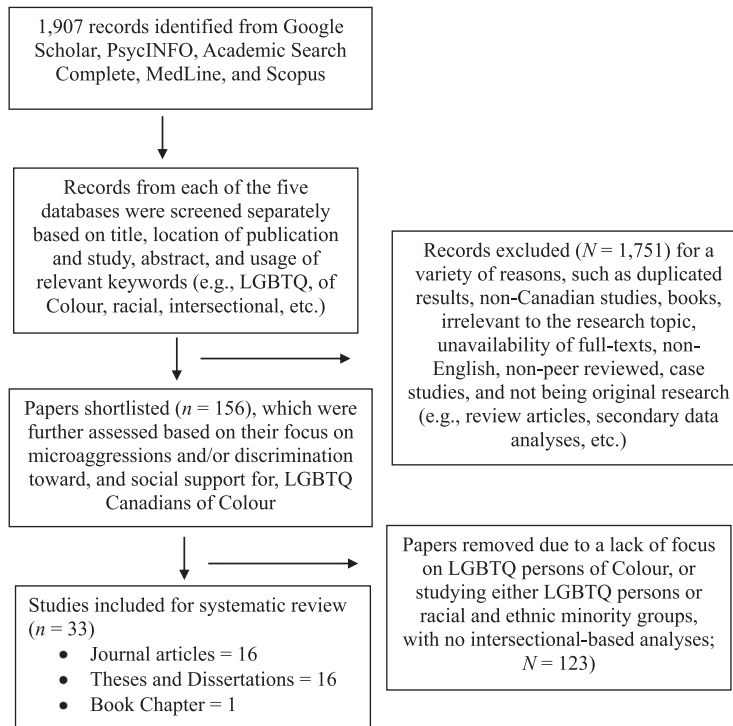


Figure 1. Flowchart of the search strategies.

Article selection

Out of these 156 papers, we removed 123 due to an absence of racial, ethnic, or intersectional analysis. Thirty-three empirical studies were included in the systematic review: 16 journal articles, 16 theses/dissertations, and one book chapter (see [Figure 1](#) for flowchart). The studies included in this review were appraised based on their rigor in describing their research objectives and methodologies, and centering their findings on intersectional microaggressions toward LGBTQ persons of Color.

Data collection and coding procedure

The senior author reviewed each of the papers included in this systematic review and extracted relevant information on an Excel spreadsheet. A literature review database was created, with the following data being recorded: (1) name of the author(s); (2) topic under investigation; (3) research design; and (4) purpose, theoretical frameworks, participants, methodology, results, strengths and limitations, implications, and future directions of the study.

Following the completion of the literature review database, the senior author utilized an inductive thematic approach (i.e., the process of coding data without trying to fit it into a preexisting coding structure; Braun & Clarke, 2006). Specifically, the senior author reread the results of the studies and highlighted salient findings relevant to the research topic, which were then exported to QSR International's NVivo 12 qualitative data analysis software. Next, the findings were organized into "nodes" representing the various themes emerging within two contexts where sexual and gender minority persons of Color experienced microaggressions: 1) families and racial and ethnic communities; and 2) mainstream LGBTQ spaces. The preceding contexts were considered as "parent nodes," under which evolving themes of microaggressive experiences were categorized as "child nodes." The patterns that arose outside of the contexts were also coded, and

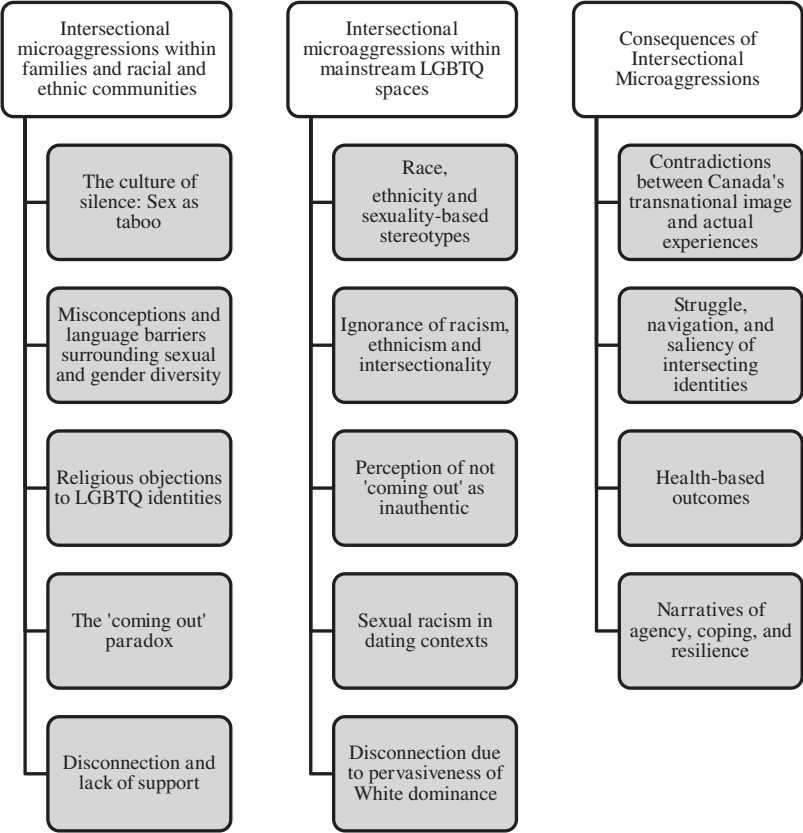


Figure 2. Visual representation of data synthesis.

an additional theme emerged, which is, consequences of intersectional microaggressions. Finally, all the themes were exported to a word document, which served as an outline for the results section of this paper.

Figure 2 offers a visual representation of how findings from the reviewed studies were synthesized into themes.

Results

A majority of the studies included in this systematic review were published between 2010 and 2019 ($n=30$; 91%), whereas only three studies (9%) were conducted prior to 2010. In terms of methodology, most studies were qualitative ($n=27$, 82%), followed by quantitative ($n=5$, 15%), and mixed-methods ($n=1$, 3%; see Tables 1–5). The number of participants varied from two (i.e., qualitative interview studies) to 433 (i.e., provincial surveys).

Diversity of sexual, gender, racial, and ethnic identities

Sexual orientations

Of the 33 studies included in this review, 16 (48%) studies emphasized the lived experiences of individuals self-identifying with a range of sexual orientations (e.g., LGBTQ, questioning, and “same-gender loving”). The remaining studies included gay men ($n=4$, 12%), men who have sex with men (MSM; $n=4$, 12%), queer persons ($n=3$, 9%), and bisexual persons ($n=2$, 6%). Four

Table 1. Published Qualitative Studies

Author(s)	Sample	Research Questions	Key Findings
Nakamura, Chan, & Fischer (2013)	N = 49; SO: Men who had sex with men (MSM); Gender: Men; Ethnicity: Asian; Age: 19-50+; Setting: Greater Vancouver	What is the experience of Asian MSM in their ethnic communities? Are there generational difference and, if so, why are these experiences different?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sex as taboo and discomfort around these topic • Negative stereotypes about being gay (e.g., HIV stigma, sexual diversity a western concept) • Enforcement of traditional ideologies by religious affiliations (e.g., prohibitions against gay marriage) • Lack of support toward, and connection with, ethnic communities • Ambivalent feelings toward mainstream gay community • Social and/or community involvement
Ghabrial (2017)	N = 11; SO: LGBQ and heterosexual; Gender: cisgender and trans women and men, and trans/genderqueer; Ethnicity: South Asian, Black/Afro-Caribbean/African Canadian, East Asian, Latino-Hispanic, East Asian/White, Indo-Caribbean/Latina, Mixed race, East Asian/West Indian, and Aboriginal; Age: 18-42; Setting: Eastern Canada (Toronto)	How do racialized LGBTQ persons describe the relationships between their identities and communities, intersectional microaggressive experiences, and impact on stress and health?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Disconnect from racial or ethnic communities • Navigating relationships between multiple identities (i.e., sexual and racial) • Pressure to “come out” by the mainstream LGBTQ community, and its inability to consider the racial and ethnic experience • Psychological outcomes of stress and anxiety
Flanders, Dobinson, & Logie (2015)*	N = 35, SO: bisexual; Gender: cisgender women, genderqueer, trans women, femme, ambiguous, and bigendered; Ethnicity: White, Black African, Black Caribbean, Chinese, Filipino, Jewish, South and West Asian, and West Indian; Age: 16-29; Setting: Greater Toronto Area	How is the sexual and reproductive health of young bisexual women? What are bisexual participants’ perceptions of their mental health? (Relevant findings about persons of Colour were extracted only.)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Negative impact of racial or ethnic identities on engagement with bisexuality • Heterosexism in cultural community • Inability to express one’s full self due to the intersections of bisexuality and racial or ethnic identities
Huang & Fang (2019)	N: 18; SO: Gay; Gender: Men; Ethnicity: Chinese (i.e., Hong Kong, Mainland China, and Taiwan); Age: 18-28; Setting: Toronto (Immigrants)	How do Chinese immigrant young gay men define their intersectional minority identities? What is the experience of Chinese immigrant young gay men residing in a major city (i.e., Toronto) of Canada?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Negotiation between sexual orientation versus Chinese cultural background • Context-specific experiences of intersectional marginalization based on sexual and racial or ethnic identities • Salience of one form of oppression over other depending on additional social identities, physical appearance, and religious affiliation • Intersectional identities as a means of personal growth because of availability of resources
Piling et al. (2017)*	Primary participants: N: 16; SO: LGBQ, pansexual, Two-Spirit, heterosexual, and questioning; Gender: women, men, trans-identified, Two-Spirit, genderqueer, cisgender, queer, and “not using gendered	How is the community participation among LGBTQ-identified individuals with major mental health diagnoses? (Relevant findings about LGBTQ	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social locations as communities included LGBTQ organizations, mental health agencies, support and advocacy groups, and community health centers • Communities as a source of support and empowerment

(continued)

Table 1. Continued.

Author(s)	Sample	Research Questions	Key Findings
	terms"; Ethnicity: White, East Asian, Caribbean, West Indian, Trinidadian, Jamaican/White, White/Metis, and mixed race; Setting: Toronto (LGBTQ individuals with schizophrenia or bipolar diagnoses) Secondary participants: N: 20; Service providers in LGBTQ or mental health organizations (n = 18) or key community informants (n = 2)	persons of Colour were extracted.)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Singular focus of the communities, with no emphasis on intersectionality
Patel (2019)	N: 9; SO: Queer; Gender: Women; Ethnicity: South Asian; Age: 20-43; Setting: Toronto LGBTQ community	How do experiences of racial discrimination impact the sexual identity and involvement in the queer community for queer South Asian women? What are the microaggressions experienced by queer South Asian women in Canada?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Preferrance of fluid identities (e.g., queer) over rigid identities (e.g., lesbian) • Performance of queerness in a culturally and contextually conducive manner, thus, challenging the Western value placed on "coming out" • Presumption of heterosexuality • Inapplicability of the Western-normative conceptualization of straight-passing privilege in the queer community in South Asian contexts • Dissatisfaction with the hegemonic whiteness in Toronto's LGBTQ community • Critique of Toronto LGBTQ spaces for being highly dominated by White cisgender men • Media portrayal: "Brown girls can't be gay"
Morrison (2008)***	N: 4; SO: gay; Gender: men; Ethnicity: Chinese and Indigenous; Age: 18-34 (Data from Indigenous participants were not included in this study's analysis)	Do a person's ethno-cultural identities have implications for the coming out process? Is the coming out process difficult for ethno-cultural minority gay men compared to Caucasian gay men? Are participants aware of the level of oppression due to intersectional minority statuses? To what extent do participants perceive stereotyping and marginalization of their ethnic/cultural groups within "mainstream" gay culture? (Relevant findings about gay men of Colour were extracted.)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Salient cultural factors that affected coming out process – importance of family in one's life and family and communal expectations • Psychological factors associated with the decision to 'coming out' – fear, stress and anxiety and ethnic or cultural minority stressors • Benefits of dating someone from own cultural/ethnic group – understandings of cultural circumstances, thus, not pressuring to come out • Awareness of the tension due to intersectional identities and the resultant stress, sadness, and shock • Lack of support from cultural or ethnic communities • Preferrance of one marginalized identity over two • Minimal representation of cultural or ethnic minority groups in gay media • Stereotyping of ethnic minority groups as heterosexual or feminine, demure, and shy if gay

(continued)

Table 1. Continued.

Author(s)	Sample	Research Questions	Key Findings
Poon, Ho, Wong, Wong, & Lee (2005)	N: 21; SO: gay, bisexual (MSM); Gender: men; Ethnicity: Chinese or half-Chinese; Setting: Online gay chatrooms in Toronto	How are the lived, psychosocial experiences of Asian men who use gay chatrooms? Can these experiences imply a culturally appropriate HIV prevention strategy for this population?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of positive social space in the chatrooms for gay Asian men • Internet as a useful means of meeting MSMs because of sense of control, safety, and anonymity • Stereotyping of Asian gay men as skinny, feminine, unattractive, and undesirable as long-term or sex partners • Negative impact of Western male beauty ideals of masculinity, thus, preference to date White gay men because they were perceived as “good in bed” and dating them was socially acceptable • Negative feelings toward self due to unfriendly remarks • Reasons of using chatrooms: Developing strong network in the chatrooms, discussing safe sex practices, providing each other social support, and seeking partners for physical sexual encounters to overcome feelings of loneliness and isolation • Protected themselves from HIV infection in various ways (e.g., no casual sex, using condoms, discussing about HIV, etc.)
Durrani & Sinacore (2016)	N: 4; SO: gay; Gender: men; Ethnicity: Indian and Pakistani; Age: 23-35	What are the factors that relate to HIV risk and prevention among South Asian-Canadian gay men? What are the unique social, cultural, and psychological experiences that influence exposure to HIV risk among these populations? What are the protective factors that promote behaviours consistent with HIV prevention?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Distinct experiences of being gay and South Asian, and the intersectional identity conflicts • Existence of unique differences, such as support by immediate family members and welcoming LGBT spaces • Intersections of HIV stigma and homophobia in South Asian community that led to psychological distress (e.g., isolation and loneliness) • Protected themselves from HIV through education, testing and services, social support, and endorsing positive identity
Munro et al. (2013)	N: 39; SO: LGBTQ; Gender: cis and trans male and female; Ethnicity: primarily racialized from 26 different countries; Age: 14-29; Setting: Toronto	How are the general life experiences of LGBT newcomer youth in Toronto in the broader context of their lives post-migration?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reasons of migration to Canada: Strong expectation of Canada as a safe, multicultural and gay-friendly country, desire to escape homophobic violence and religious persecution, and legalization of same-sex marriage in Canada • Homophobic experiences in Canada included physical and verbal abuse that was unexpected, interpersonal homophobic violence, and systemic homophobia • Avoidance of diasporic communities to minimize the chance of homophobic encounters

(continued)

Table 1. Continued.

Author(s)	Sample	Research Questions	Key Findings
Poon, Li, Wong, & Wong (2017)	N: 7; SO: gay/MSM; Gender: men; Ethnicity: Chinese; Age: 33-36	How do Chinese gay men make sense of an articulate their experience of immigration in Canada? What are the factors that affect risk behaviours specifically related to men of Colour who have sex with men (MSM) and in doing so, develop culturally appropriate HIV prevention strategies for these men?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Racism, xenophobia, and white dominance in mainstream LGBT communities, resulting in one's alienating experiences • Experiences of exoticization within LGBT community and the consequent responses ranging from advantageous to disturbing • Reasons for migration: Seeking sexual freedom, fear of being ostracized if sexual orientation is disclosed, inability to be true to themselves, vulnerability because of being gay, and pressure to get married and have children • Perception of Canada as a place that valued equality and liberty, respected human rights, and accepted unique differences • Perception of gay life in Canada as a chance to live free life and having a romantic partner to grow old with • Ambivalent actual experiences, including discomfort in going to gay venues because of a lack of knowledge of North American gay culture, experiences of social exclusion and fetishization by older White men
Logie et al. (2016)	N: 29; SO: LGB and heterosexual; Gender: cis male and female and trans persons; Ethnicity: African and Caribbean; Age: mean age of 31 years; Setting: Toronto	What are the experiences and perceived benefits of social support group participation among LGBT African and Caribbean newcomers and refugees in an urban Canadian center?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intrapersonal benefits: Self-acceptance, feeling welcomed and valued, enhanced mental health, assistance in coping with challenging times, and finding a space when depressed • Interpersonal benefits: Reduced isolation because of hearing stories of persons with similar backgrounds, sense of belonging and kinship after joining support groups, making friends and discussing about lives • Community experiences: Reciprocity, sharing knowledge and skills with others, motivation to volunteer at the support services, having a safe space without fear of judgement, reduced stigma, assistance in navigating sexuality and gender identity with others from similar backgrounds, as well as increased knowledge of, and access to, a range of resources and opportunities in areas including housing, healthcare, employment, and immigration
Giwa & Greensmith (2012)	N: 7; SO: gay/queer, gay; Gender: cisgender men and women; Ethnicity: Latin American, South Asian, Black, East Asian, and Middle Eastern; Age: 25-	How are racism and race relations contemporarily perceived by gay/queer- identified social	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Challenged the pervasive, dominant discourse of a single cohesive community which erased the diverse and complex experiences of persons of Colour

(continued)

Table 1. Continued.

Author(s)	Sample	Research Questions	Key Findings
	56; Setting: LGBTQ community of Toronto	service providers of Colour?	<p>(i.e., White dominance, marginalization, and difficulties dealing with the mainstream LGBTQ communities)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Racism and discrimination as barriers to LGBTQ persons of Colour's full participation in the community • Experiences of sexual racism (i.e., dehumanization of persons of Colour and perpetuating Orientalist stereotypes of Asian men; oversexualization and fetishization of men of Colour which places White men in powerful positions) • Sexuality as an expression of agency and power – both acted and were acted upon

Note. N = number of participants in each study; SO = sexual orientation; * indicates studies with a greater proportion of White participants, in addition to an inclusion of intersectionality in data analyses; ** indicates studies that discuss family and communal experiences of LGBTQ persons of Colour from a third-person (i.e., heterosexual and/or cisgender) perspective; *** indicates the qualitative study being published as a book chapter.

studies (12%) did not provide any data on participants' sexual orientations. Six studies (18%) were conducted with participants who identified with more than one sexual identity (e.g., "gay/homosexual," "lesbian/queer," and "gay/queer").

Gender identities

Fifteen (45%) out of 33 studies recruited participants with a range of gender identities (e.g., cisgender, transgender, genderqueer, gender non-conforming, etc.). Ten (30%) studies included samples of men, and one (3%) included women participants with their cisgender status being unspecified. One (3%) study included cisgender men and women participants. Four studies (12%) were conducted exclusively with trans-identified participants; one study included queer femmes (3%); and the other (3%) did not provide any gender-related data.

Racial and ethnic identities

Of the 33 studies, 11 (33%) focused on LGBTQ persons of Color from various ethnic backgrounds (e.g., South Asian, Black, Middle Eastern, and mixed-race). These studies utilized terminologies such as "racialized," "racial minority," "ethnic minority," "immigrants," and "persons of Colour (POC)" to refer to their participants. Ten (30%) studies focused solely on Asian participants and six studies (18%) recruited only Black/African participants. The remainder included a majority of White LGBTQ participants and a small percentage of LGBTQ persons of Color ($n = 5$, 15%). One (3%) study did not provide any ethnicity-related data. We did not analyze studies pertaining to Indigenous/Aboriginal LGBTQ participants, as they have a unique history of oppression by European colonizers.

Microaggressions enacted by family members and ethnic communities

Sixteen of the 33 studies were considered when constructing the present theme. During analysis, five subthemes were created based on shared characteristics of the data, with those being: 1) the culture of silence: sex as taboo; 2) misconceptions and language barriers surrounding sexual and

Table 2. Published quantitative studies.

Author(s)	Sample	Research Questions	Key Findings
Bauer et al. (2012)*	N: 433; SO: not provided; Gender: FtM and MtF trans; Ethnicity: White, Indigenous, and non-Aboriginal racialized (East/South/Southeast Asian; Black Canadian/American/African; Latin American; Middle Eastern); Age: 16–65+; Setting: Ontario	What are the relationships between sociodemographic characteristics, self-reported HIV prevalence, and HIV-related sexual risk among trans Ontarians? (Relevant findings about non-Aboriginal racialized persons were extracted.)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Less likely to be in the process of medically transitioning • More likely to report that the concept of transitioning did not apply to them, and have had low-risk sex within past year than non-Aboriginal White trans persons • Less likely to have been tested for HIV
Marcellin et al. (2013)*	N: 433; SO: not provided; Gender: FtM and MtF trans; Ethnicity: White, Indigenous, and persons of Color; Age: 16–65+; Setting: Ontario	What are the experiences of racism and ethnic-based discrimination, transphobia, and level of engagement in HIV-related sexual risk within White, indigenous, and persons of Color groups of trans Ontarians? Do self-reported racism and transphobia interact to impact on odds of past year HIV-related sexual risk behaviors for these groups?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 45% of trans persons (90% persons of Color) reported at least one instance of racism or ethnic-based discrimination • 98% of trans persons (90% persons of Color) reported at least one instance of transphobia • More likely to engage in low-risk sexual behaviors • No association between racism and transphobia for the full sample or White trans persons • Interaction of racism and transphobia – increased odds for high versus low risk sex for persons of Color
George et al. (2013)	N: 168; SO: gay/homosexual, bisexual, heterosexual, pansexual; Gender: cisgender persons and trans men; Ethnicity: Caribbean-born, African; Age: 16–61; Setting: Pride events, dance clubs, bathhouses and community agencies in Toronto	What are the prevalence of sexual risk factors such as inconsistent condom use among Black MSMs? What does this imply in terms of their sexual health?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 77% of the 134 participants who had anal sex with another man in the past year reported being sexually active for 6 months to a year preceding the survey • Most popular places to sought sexual partners: Internet (56%), gay bars/clubs (40%), and bathhouses (34%) • Of those who had anal sex in the past year, 86% reported condom use, 58% reported having inconsistent condom use, and 43% reported using condoms consistently • 32% were classified as having symptoms of depression, but only 13% were prescribed medication for psychological distress, and 20% reported crack use • Men who did not use a condom for anal sex with other Black men were older, less likely to disclose their sexuality, and had higher levels of depression • Inconsistent condom use was associated with having sex with a non- Black man, being born in Canada or the Caribbean, having unstable housing, and having high depression scores

(continued)

Table 2. Continued.

Author(s)	Sample	Research Questions	Key Findings
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inconsistent condom use with other Black men was associated with having undisclosed sexual identity • Consistent condom use was associated with having sex with other Black MSMs compared to men of other ethnicities • Consistent condom use when bottoming with a casual partner was related to having HIV + friends

Note. N = number of participants in each study; SO = sexual orientation; * indicates studies with a greater proportion of White participants, in addition to an inclusion of intersectionality in data analyses

Table 3. Published mixed-methods studies.

Author(s)	Sample	Research Questions	Key Findings
Husbands et al. (2013)	N: 134; SO: GBQ; Gender: men; Ethnicity: African, Caribbean, African/Caribbean/Canadian; Age: less than 30 to 40 and older; Setting: Toronto gay and bisexual men communities	How do Black gay men structure and understand their intra- and inter-racial sexual relationships? How do race and racialization emerge in racially segmented sexual relationships? Do Black gay men merely acquiesce to interracial relations as disempowered or objectified participants?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More likely to be insertive in sexual relationships with men from other ethnoracial groups (61%) or White men (59%) than with Black partners (38%) • Sexual relationships as racially ordered • Prominence of racial tension in Black-White sexual relationships (i.e., avoiding racialized intimacy and willingness to take up 'Black top' roles for sex) • Questioning the authenticity of White men's sexual attraction toward Black men, leading to a feeling of uneasiness amongst Black gay men • Sense of connection, familiarity, comfort, and an opportunity for greater fulfillment due to mutual desires, needs, and experiences in Black-Black relationships (except some Black sexual partners who try to assert hegemonic masculinity) • Sense of marginalization within the public realm of social relationships in the mainstream White community • Resilience depicted through affirmed identities and agency as Black gay men, building own social networks as a response to oppression, trying to 'fit in' and focusing on solidarity that resulted in concerns with health issues such as HIV/AIDS

Note. N = number of participants in each study; SO = sexual orientation

gender diversity; 3) religious objections to LGBTQ identities; 4) the “coming out” paradox; and 5) disconnection and lack of support within racial and ethnic spaces. The subthemes permit a deep examination of microaggressions against sexual and gender minority persons of Color due to cultural factors.

Table 4. Unpublished Qualitative Studies

Author(s)	Sample	Research Questions	Key Findings
Norsah (2015)	N = 6; SO : MSM; Gender : Men; Ethnicity : Sub-Saharan African, and Caribbean; Age : 18-60+ Setting : Greater Montreal Area (recruited from LGBT community-based organization [CBO] in Montreal)	How does social discrimination impact health-related outcomes? What are the stress management techniques used by BMSM (Black men who had sex with men) to mediate the effects of social discrimination?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Homophobia within Black communities based on religious and cultural beliefs • Racism and experiences of microaggressions in the mainstream society • Cultural dissonance and sexual objectification in the LGBT community • BMSM in-group conflict due to internalized racism • Social (acculturation) experience of immigration status, language, unemployment and poverty • Negative effects of intersectional social discrimination on sexual and mental health • Positive and negative coping strategies, and recommendations to address social discrimination
Yan (2014)*	N : 80; Service providers (SPs) who were primarily front-line workers assisting individual youth and youth in groups (ages: 13 to 18 years), and had diverse experiences both working with a range of services and working with diverse populations	What are Toronto SPs telling us about the sexual health needs of racialized LGBTQ youth? What does this look like through an intersectionality lens?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Challenges in accessing sexual health services for racialized LGBTQ youth, and racism in the mainstream LGBTQ community • Homophobia and religious and cultural expectations to embody a heterosexual and/or cisgender identity in home communities • Consequence of risk factors: Stress for racialized LGBTQ youth that affected their wellbeing • Incompatibility of needs and services (e.g., lack of youth-friendly services, services focus too much on sexually transmitted diseases, lack of workshops on healthy relationships, etc.)
Gately (2010)	N : 6; SO : Transsexual/ gay/ queer, queer, "passing" heterosexual; Gender : trans-identified; Ethnicity : Black, African-Caribbean, mixed race	How do race, class, gender, and sexuality intersect in the lives of racialized transgender men? How do racialized FtM transgender people negotiate their place in the various communities constituted by those particular social locations? Where do they locate communities of support? Where do they find solidarity?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Multifaceted power dynamics in the employment sector after coming out to the employers • Apprehensiveness about not conforming to traditional gender norms in public spaces • Finding unique space within the borderlands of gender and racial identity • Double marginalization of racialized trans men (i.e., disconnection with the mainstream gay scene, lack of intersectional focus in the mainstream LGBTQ communities, and expression of pride wherein voices of queer persons of Colour were silenced) • Modern queer community's ignorance of the significance of persons of Colour in LGBTQ history • Open expression of race, gender identities, and sexual orientation to challenge the hegemony of whiteness in LGBTQ discourses • Seeking solidarity in similarly oppressed people or a close circle of friends

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Author(s)	Sample	Research Questions	Key Findings
Donelle (2017)	N: 10; SO: Queer; Gender: Femme; Ethnicity: Racialized (no further information provided); Age: 18+; Setting: Two Canadian cities	How are femmephobia and femme invisibility racialized for racialized queer femmes? What is the role of media representation in upholding the invisibility and erasure of femmes?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Devaluation of femininity and lack of visibility for racialized queer femmes • Role of media representation of “lesbian chic” and “hot bi girl” and queer standards of White beauty that erased femme subjectivities • Lack of representation of racialized queer femmes in films and television that influenced racialized queer femmes’ subjectivities • Construction of gay identity as ‘White’ (i.e., homonormativity) that led to White persons not feeling accountable for persons of Colour • Role of colonial discourses (i.e., portraying racialized persons as primitive and White persons as progressive and modern) to associate whiteness with modernity and uphold heterosexism • Sexualized racism in queer communities in discourses that sexually objectifies, masculinize, feminize, and/or characterizes racialized queer femmes as undesirable by White queer persons • Femme as a political reclamation that resulted in the feeling of empowerment
Khan (2018)	N: 12; SO: LBQ, gay woman; Gender: cisgender and trans women and non-binary; Ethnicity: Arab/Egyptian, Black, Indian, Bangladeshi, Iranian, European, Guyanese, and Pakistani; Age: 23-38; Setting: Greater Toronto Area	What are some ways in which LBTQ Muslim women live out their intersectional identity (sexuality, religion, race, gender and so on) whilst negotiating dominant discourses in the many communities they belong to (normative Muslim and LGBTQ; professional domains; family of origin and choice, friends, extended family members; LGBTQ Muslim communities)? What strategies and politics are deployed by LBTQ Muslim women to resist, subvert, and challenge homo- and hetero-norms? What does it mean to be a LBTQ Muslim woman?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Daily negotiations of positionality based on race, gender, and sexuality that influenced one’s identity • Orientalist ideology of incompatibility between Islam and LBTQ identities • Using one’s queer racialized Muslim identity to challenge the Islamophobic anti-gay narratives • Perceived as being influenced by the West that resulted in negotiating familial and communal relationships and experiencing Islamic orthodoxy’s erasure of sexual and/or gender diversity • Experiences of racism, Islamophobia, exoticization, and commodification by the broader LGBTQ communities • Critiquing LGBTQ programs and services for their lack of focus on intersectionality and emphasis on Western-based “coming out” discourse • Seek support in larger LGBTQ Muslim support groups and networks, both online and in-person that fostered a sense of community • Agency and resistance through personalized approaches to the divine, religious and spiritual practice, as well as existing, living, and identifying as LBTQ Muslim women to challenge the status quo • Sexuality from a constructionist lens to understand one’s sexual identities

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Author(s)	Sample	Research Questions	Key Findings
Wong (2013)	N: 8; SO: LGQ, Two-Spirit, transsexual; Gender: women, men, Two-Spirit; Ethnicity: Haitian, Chinese/Eastern European, Korean, Sikh Punjabi (Indian), Rwandan, French Canadian/Black/Mohawk; Lebanese, French/Vietnamese/Chinese; Setting: Activists in Montreal	How are the lived experiences (i.e., family, citizenship, and activism) of activists in contemporary Montreal whose bodies are marked by the intersections of sexuality, race, ethnicity, colonization, gender, and class?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Negative impact on coming out experience due to racism, misogyny, classism, heteronormativity, homonormativity, anti-gay ideologies • Disidentification with racist assumptions of non-White cultures and negotiating relationships in meaningful to maintain family relationships • Creation one's own family without excluding biological ties to fulfill emotional needs and desires, transform intimate lives, and enjoy a buffer of psychic support aiding with challenges of life • Bonding with Canada based on social interactions (e.g., romantic relationships) • Disappearance of warmth feelings regarding Canada while entering the refugee process because of experiences of racialization and otherness • Experiences of "contradictions and ambivalences" in their search for belonging as intersectional subjects • Pluralized perspective of own race and ethnicity • Activism disidentifications strategies: Travelling, building and rebuilding coalitions centralizing emotions despite failure • Experiences of physical, emotional, and psychological distress due to challenges experienced during activism
Kanji (2017)	N: 5; SO: LGBTQ; Gender: cisgender male and female, queer, male, and non-binary; Ethnicity: Bangladeshi, Pakistani, West Indian, & "culturally confused" South Asian; Age: 23-33; Setting: Toronto South Asian community	How are queer South Asian identities and experiences formed in Toronto, Canada?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Need for a queer South Asian community and/or brown LGB or trans mentors to address participants' needs and their process of self-actualization • Representation of queer community as White and the need to hide own's brown identity to access the queer spaces • Casual synonymization between "South Asian" and "straight" – lack of opportunity to portray queerness in a South Asian setting • Silence on sexuality in South Asian cultures – not homophobic or explicit rejection, yet existence of feelings of exclusion • Racism as more deterministic than sexuality • Loneliness, displacement, and invisibility • Reconciling between queerness and South Asian-ness by rejecting South Asian identity, resurrecting a queer past, queering South Asian and South Asian-ing queer, and increasing visibility

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Author(s)	Sample	Research Questions	Key Findings
Pardoe (2011)	N: 3; SO: LGQ; Gender: genderqueer, female, woman; Ethnicity: Pakistani, Black, Egyptian; Age: 18-35; Setting: Toronto's lesbian/queer communities	How are the experiences of racialized lesbian/queer women immigrants living in Toronto?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relevance of labels (e.g., brown, South Asian) towards the production of identity, leading to positive experiences • Harder to translate north American concepts of sexuality into other languages • Value of the term "queer" to access the community, critique hierarchical societies, and exercise agency in response to being othered • Positive significance of religious identity in solidifying spiritual relationships, and where racial or ethnic communities form • Sexual identity development and social space → Freedom to be own self in Canada • Disconnection with family and their heteronormative expectations • Isolation from queer events and resources due to lack of awareness about where to go, and can express gay identity freely but wishes for more guidance and support • Sense of connection with Canada more than home country via meeting people, accessing queer resources, and freedom for sexual expression despite homophobic instances – influenced by reflecting being an 'out' queer in home country • Challenges to find a space in queer community due to dominance of White gay men, and perception of LGBTQ resources in Canada as hidden • Intersectional oppression due to racism, homophobia, and sexism that led to feeling of unbelonging in queer spaces • Queer theatre as a personal space to explore shifting identities • Messy and unstable process of coming out as an immigrant with feelings of being different • Universalizing depiction of gay persons that disregarded the difficulties of being a queer • Racism in the queer community that led to struggles to move out to disclose one's sexual orientation and finding one's own space as racialized queer bodies
Giwa (2016)	N: 13; SO: gay/homosexual, queer, same-gender-loving; Gender: men; Ethnicity: Arab/Middle Eastern, Black, East and South Asian; Setting: Ottawa LGBTQ community	In what specific contexts or circumstances do gay men of Colour experience racism and discrimination in the GLB community of Ottawa? What do gay men of Colour understand to be the factors that contribute to their oppression and social exclusion in the GLB	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Racism and discrimination in the GLB community in interpersonal, intergroup, situational and institutional contexts with White men • Disinterest or disconnection with mainstream GLB community and sense of connection with gay men from one's own ethnic communities

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Author(s)	Sample	Research Questions	Key Findings
		community of Ottawa? What strategies do gay men of Colour use to cope with the overt and/or covert racism they experience in the GLB community of Ottawa?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Health problems due to racism and homophobia: High-risk sexual behaviours and physical and emotional fatigue • Heterosexism in ethnic minority communities – identification more with sexual identity than with ethnic identity or integration of both sexual and ethnic identities • Factors contributing to racism in Ottawa's GLB community: Experiences of other forms of discrimination, unconscious racism and inexperience to racial or ethnic diversity, internalized cultural superiority of White gay men, White denial of racism, obliviousness and victim-blaming rationalization, racial numeric underrepresentation, less prioritization of persons of Colour, culture of silence, and lack of community support, ingroup racial resentment or competition and internalized racism among GLB persons of Colour, media bias related to White ideas of beauty, gay beauty stratification, social situatedness, and the racialized politics of desirability, as well as myth of inclusive citizenship and Canadian diversity • Coping strategies for confronting racism in Ottawa's GLB community: Emotion- and problem-focused engagement or disengagement coping • Effective factors on the choice of coping strategies: Open up lines of communication for dialogue, education, and mutual understanding • Ineffective factor on the choice of coping strategies was anger
Brown (2012)	N: 4; SO: gay; Gender: men; Ethnicity: Jamaican; Age: late 20s to early 50s; Setting: Toronto	What can we learn from the lived experience of gay Jamaican men about the process of adapting to life in Canada?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emphasis on physical traits such as bigger penis stereotype for Black gay men on gay personal ads and social meeting sites • Need to learn language and communication skills pertinent to Canadian culture and standards • Feelings of otherness, cultural shock and trauma, disconnection with Canada and ignoring to talk to or date White gay men • Conflicting identities (i.e., gay, Jamaican, and an immigrant to Canada) and inner struggle
Corkum (2015)	N: 8; SO: gay, lesbian/queer; Gender: men, women; Ethnicity: Indian, Black American, Trinidad, Bangladeshi, Croatian, Chinese/Singaporean, Brazilian; Age: 20s-30s; Setting: Toronto international students	How do queer post-secondary international students in Toronto and Southern Ontario experience migration to Canada? In what ways do these students engage in "border-crossing" as they engage with institutional,	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Desire, motion, and the search for home because of feelings of being different from peers, family, and broader culture • Decision to migrate to Canada due to linking personal freedom and safety with particular professional ambitions and goals

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Author(s)	Sample	Research Questions	Key Findings
		social and political sites of power?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Canada as a queer utopia mediated by the dominant tropes of whiteness • Being othered/excluded from the mainstream community, and feeling of uneasiness and being under surveillance – leading to internalization of colonized racism • Experiences of “queer citizenship” (i.e., the various ways in which queer migrants are incorporated or excluded from the Canadian queer body politic and its attendant spoken and unspoken rules, norms, values, and modes of belonging) • Pervasive experiences of racism, racialization, racial exclusion, and fetishization based on race – occurring due to White dominance in queer discourses • Negotiating borders by forming groups of White peers to gain perceived cultural and economic benefits, developing relationships with mentors for advancement of career, using opportunities to achieve particular emotional, sexual, social or material goals, and downplaying racial identity in public spaces while hiding sexuality from family • Consequences: Dysfunctional relationships and the resultant emotional, financial, and physical havoc
Bhanji (2018)	N: 20; SO: not provided; Gender: genderqueer, trans women, trans men, and Two-Spirit; Ethnicity: persons of Colour (no other information provided); Setting: Toronto and NewYork (focused on Canadian participants only)	What are the seemingly disparate narratives of counterterrorism and trans politics, the trans body and the terrorist body, and between vigilant reactions and the vigil that re-acts?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • White trans women as hopeful speakers, with only one trans person of Colour sharing her sad story about peers dying and systemic abuse • Overrepresentation of women of Colour in each year’s death tally of trans persons – increased attention to interlocking effects of systemic transmisogyny and racism as well as a sense of ambivalence among racialized vigil organizers • Failure to include marginalized voices at the event itself (e.g., racialized bodies were uninvited to take up space during scripted performances of mourning) • Trans persons of Colour leaving vigils feeling haunted and retraumatized by something unresolved • Racialized trans individuals’ perception of vigils as a singular opportunity to meet other racialized trans people or to feel recognized as part of a collective, as well as a space for visibility • Sense of isolation as racialized gender-liminal bodies existing in White trans communities that lack cultural sensitivity

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Author(s)	Sample	Research Questions	Key Findings
			<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Achievement of racial visibility at the Trans Day of Remembrance vigil only through a proximity with racial trauma – led to feelings of depression and being haunted by a sense of “powerlessness”

Note. N = number of participants in each study; SO = sexual orientation; * indicates studies that discuss family and communal experiences of LGBTQ persons of Colour from a third-person (i.e., heterosexual and/or cisgender) perspective

Table 5. Unpublished Quantitative Studies.

Author(s)	Sample	Research Questions	Key Findings
MacLeod (2014)*	N = 405; SO: bisexual; Gender: women, men, genderqueer, bigendered, and Two-Spirit; Ethnicity: White, Aboriginal, Black, South Asian, Latin American, Chinese; Age: 16–55+; Setting: Ontario (Metropolitan Toronto)	What is the relationship between biphobia and self-reported anxiety symptoms?	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Experiences of racial discrimination by 23.3% of Ontarian bisexuals, leading to an increase in anxiety, compared to persons who have not experienced race-based discrimination• Association between discrimination based on racial, ethnic, and cultural identities, and higher levels of anxiety
Marcellin (2012)	N: 433; SO: LGBTQ, asexual, pansexual, heterosexual, two-spirit, unsure/questioning; Gender: Trans-identified; Ethnicity: non-Aboriginal White, Aboriginal, non-Aboriginal persons of Color; Age: 16–77; Setting: Trans community in Ontario	How does the prevalence of racism and transphobia impact the psychosocial and HIV-related behaviors of trans Ontarians?	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Positive correlations between self-reported racism and age – prevalent among Aboriginals and non-Aboriginal persons of Color, and less among those living with low-income cutoff, suggesting either less exposure to, or less notice of, racism• Negative correlation between self-reported racism and greater amounts of identity support• Increased odds of reporting sexual risk behaviors due to self-reported racism and transphobia• Least likely to transition even at the cost of living in the wrong gender because of fear of racism and transphobia on an intersectional level <p>Increased odds of high-risk sex due to self-reported racism for non-Aboriginal persons of Color, as well as, for gay and lesbian individuals and other sexual minorities</p>

Note. N = number of participants in each study; SO = sexual orientation; * indicates studies with a greater proportion of White participants, in addition to an inclusion of intersectionality in data analyses

The culture of silence: Sex as taboo

In a majority of racial and ethnic minority families and communities, a culture of silence persists in everyday narratives surrounding the topics of sexual and gender diversity. Sex is not openly discussed, and premarital (heterosexual) sexual activities are forbidden (Yan, 2014). For example, Nakamura, Chan, and Fischer (2013) investigated the social experiences of Asian MSM (i.e., men who have sex with men) within their ethnic and gay communities in Canada. They found that sex was regarded as a private matter; one that was not openly discussed (Nakamura et al., 2013). Further, Yan (2014) identified that LGBTQ youth of Color were often unaware of their own feelings, desires, and attractions, which further hindered their ability to maximize sexual health.

Some LGBTQ persons of Color challenged the position that familial and cultural silence surrounding sexual and gender identities was inherently problematic. For instance, Tam (2018) conducted a qualitative ethnographic study with 17 Chinese LGBTQ women and non-binary persons, and noted that some participants perceived the silence of their families as connoting acceptance of their sexual and/or gender minoritized statuses. This perspective is contrary to the hegemonic Western queer discourse that pressures LGBTQ individuals to talk “openly” about their sexuality and to come out to members of their family (Tam, 2018). Similarly, Kanji (2017) asserted that perceiving the silence that surrounds sexuality-related topics in South Asian cultures as intrinsically homonegative is reductionist.

Misconceptions and language barriers surrounding sexual and gender diversity

Misconceptions and language barriers surrounding sexual and gender diversity are prominent in racial and ethnic minority communities. For instance, Nakamura and colleagues (2013) revealed that Asian MSM were exposed to various stereotypes about being gay, including the association between “homosexuality” and HIV/AIDS. One of the common themes in racial and ethnic minority cultures surrounding sexual and gender diversity is that being LGBTQ and living a “gay lifestyle” were perceived as hallmarks of Western influence (Huang & Fang, 2019; Khan, 2018; Lee, 2009; Nakamura et al., 2013; Norsah, 2015; Tam, 2018; Wong, 2013). Therefore, an individual’s identification as anything other than heterosexual and cisgender is typically blamed on exposure to Western society and, particularly, other gay and/or trans people, who are viewed as imposing their “lifestyle” onto others (Lee, 2009; Wong, 2013).

Language also may act as a barrier for understanding LGBTQ identities in racial and ethnic minority communities. In their qualitative research on LGBTQ women and non-binary Chinese-Canadians, for example, Tam (2018) determined that participants had difficulty discussing their queerness in Chinese languages due to limitations associated with Mandarin and Cantonese. Participants found that their sense of belongingness within their Chinese communities suffered largely due to the internal conflict they faced because of being unable to communicate their identities to loved ones (Tam, 2018). This idea was reiterated by Kanji (2017) and Patel (2019), who reported that South Asian LGBTQ participants found it challenging to translate North American labels and concepts of sexuality into their respective native languages, leading to a rejection of Western ideas surrounding sexuality by family and community members.

Religious objections to LGBTQ identities

LGBTQ persons of Color experienced moral rejections from their racial and ethnic communities and families based on religious prohibitions against being LGBTQ. Due to these conservative attitudes, Nakamura et al. (2013) reported that the Asian MSM in their study were fearful of disclosing their sexual orientation to family and friends. In a qualitative study by Norsah (2015), Black MSM indicated that homonegativity (i.e., prejudice and discrimination toward individuals perceived to be gay or lesbian; Cerny & Polysen, 1984) in their racial and ethnic cultures was prevalent due to Judeo-Christian ideologies that denounced occupying social positions other than heterosexual.

In terms of how Muslim communities view sexual and gender diversity, available research suggests that these identities are perceived as being influenced by social (i.e., Western) forces, and are not conceptualized as “natural” or essentialist in nature (Khan, 2018). Other studies (e.g., Lee, 2009; Wong, 2013) focusing on Catholic members of ethnic communities (e.g., Asian, African, Middle Eastern, etc.) similarly reveal that individuals’ sexual and gender minoritized statuses were often attributed to outside influences.

The “coming out” paradox

The hardships associated with coming out to their families were profound for LGBTQ persons of Color. Ghabrial (2017) found that, because of the prevalence of cultural homonegativity, most of the LGBTQ participants of Color were not out to either of their parents. The inability to come out was attributed to anticipated negative reactions from families such as anger, disappointment, confusion, shame, sadness, heartbreak, and feelings of betrayal. Further, participants were frightened of being threatened or disowned if they disclosed their sexual and/or gender identities (Ghabrial, 2017; Nakamura et al., 2013; Pardoe, 2011). For Chinese gay men, concerns about coming out stemmed from a number of factors. These included the incongruity between Chinese identities and sexual diversity; a pathological view of “homosexuality;” anti-gay beliefs based on Christianity; filial piety (i.e., respect for one’s parents, elders, and ancestors in accordance with Confucian and Chinese Buddhist ethics); and the cultural expectations for men to perform their masculine roles, have a heterosexual marriage, and have children. As well, participants asserted that, if they were out to their ethnic communities and families, they would experience feelings of exclusion (Huang & Fang, 2019). The consequence of coming out may lead to a toxic home environment and, eventually, homelessness (Yan, 2014). Durrani and Sinacore (2016) interviewed four South Asian gay men concerning the social, cultural, and psychological experiences that influence their exposure to HIV risk, and found that, for these men, coming out as gay to their ethnic community was unacceptable due to the community’s patriarchal attitudes. Even though immediate family members of these South Asian gay men were supportive of their sexual orientation, the close-knit nature of the South Asian community in Canada played a significant role in worsening this situation (Durrani & Sinacore, 2016).

Keeping one’s sexuality and/or gender identity a secret from one’s family or community may be for one’s own protection and wellbeing. However, research by Tam (2018) also demonstrated that Chinese LGBQ women and gender nonbinary persons might be keeping their identity to themselves out of consideration and respect for their family and community. Given that Chinese culture idealizes family-based heteronormative conformity and gendered hierarchies (e.g., emphasis is placed on heterosexual marriage and having children), community members and relatives may perceive coming out as a failure of the family or the individual to adapt to these societal expectations (Tam, 2018). Moreover, gender conformity in Chinese communities is an expectation, without which families may lose their social status (Tam, 2018). The decision to “stay in” rather than “come out” is, therefore, guided by respect of familial politics and dynamics rather than a fear of rejection, and forms of coming out in this context may manifest differently than they would according to normative ideas of queer equality and liberalism (Tam, 2018).

In general, coming out stories and experiences of racial and ethnic LGBTQ persons were negative due to the presence of racism, misogyny, classism, heteronormativity, and/or homonegativity in the spaces in which they choose to come out (Wong, 2013). The complexities present in the decision to come out were fluid for LGBTQ persons of Color due to stressors associated with being a minority in addition to the typical fear and anxiety associated with disclosing one’s sexuality and/or gender identity. Reasons to come out, experiences with coming out, and feelings about coming out for LGBTQ persons of Color differ fundamentally from those of White LGBTQ persons (Morrison, 2008; Wong, 2013). For example, lesbian/queer women of Color have reported that coming to terms with one’s identity as “different” was a process characterized by instability and unawareness of queer bodies in day-to-day life (Pardoe, 2011). In addition, the expected reaction of family and community members and the importance of family in one’s life interacted to affect the coming out process (Morrison, 2008; Tam, 2018). The Chinese sexual minority men in Morrison’s (2008) study asserted that maintaining romantic relationships with someone from one’s own group might be beneficial to gay men of Color in that their partner would understand the various forces at play in the decision and ability to come out, and would not pressure them to reveal their sexuality to their family.

Disconnection and lack of support within racial and ethnic spaces

In most of the studies encompassed in this review, LGBTQ persons of Color asserted their feelings of disconnection from their families and friends. To elucidate, in a qualitative study by Corkum (2015), racial and ethnic gay men and lesbian women recognized, from an early age, that they were different from their peers, family, and the broader culture in terms of gender expression and gender identity, and that they desired to move out of their family home to explore their gay identity (Pardoe, 2011). Such disconnection from familial expectations was coupled with a lack of support from their families, especially their parents (Pardoe, 2011). Even after these individuals moved to Canada, they experienced a sense of constant surveillance and unease within their diasporic communities because of the enforcement of specific scripts of gender, sexuality, and cultural expression (Corkum, 2015). Racial and ethnic LGBTQ persons, who moved from their home, reported feeling a sense of longing for their parents, despite their heteronormativity, due to their inability to negotiate with and conform to Western queer culture (Pardoe, 2011). As well, in Nakamura and colleagues (2013) study, a majority of the Asian MSM in their study affirmed that their ethnic groups did not support their sexual identities. Unique differences exist, however, as some of the participants narrated positive experiences regarding their involvement in their ethnic cultures. Regardless, a high level of perceived discrimination remains, which contributes to racial and ethnic LGBTQ persons feeling disconnected. The absence of connection can be more definite amongst first-generation immigrants, who have less access to social support, unlike second-generation immigrants, who can seek social support outside their community. For those who choose to remain connected to their racial and ethnic communities, many are required to suppress their sexuality and lead “dual lives” (Nakamura et al., 2013). The challenges associated with having two – seemingly conflicting – identities may lead to tension and separation of one identity from the other (i.e., in certain contexts, the “queer” or “Asian” part of oneself is suppressed; Tam, 2018).

Yan (2014) reported that LGBTQ youth of Color hid their sexual identity from members of their own racial and ethnic group, as they feared being exposed to negative reactions from family members and losing financial support from parents. Munro and colleagues (2013) revealed that, to minimize exposure to homonegativity, racial and ethnic LGBTQ persons tended to avoid their home communities. The participants in Pardoe’s (2011) study similarly felt the need to leave home and distance themselves from their community in order to avoid homonegativity. Despite these feelings of disconnection and otherness, the South Asian gay men featured in Durrani and Sinacore (2016) work described longing for their culture, and being unwilling to abandon their cultural values or family relationships. Ghabrial (2017), too, found that racial and ethnic LGBTQ persons asserted their willingness to be more connected with their own groups, and they did so by seeking out various gay-affirming spaces or engaging in behaviors that were specific to their respective cultures. According to Wong (2013), racist assumptions of nonwhite cultures must be disengaged from, and relationships must be renegotiated in order to maintain familial ties.

Microaggressions in mainstream (White) LGBTQ spaces

The current theme is a conglomerate of 24 out of the 33 studies relevant to the present review. The theme, as a whole, discusses the research on how LGBTQ persons of Color are discriminated against based on ethnicity and race in Western LGBTQ spaces that were intended to be accepting. The five subthemes used to explore the intricacies of this topic are: 1) race, ethnicity, and sexuality-based stereotypes; 2) ignorance of racism, ethnicism, and intersectionality; 3) perception of not “coming out” as inauthentic; 4) sexual racism in dating contexts; and 5) disconnection due to the pervasiveness of White dominance.

Race, ethnicity and sexuality-based stereotypes

The race- and ethnicity-based stereotype that was discussed in a number of studies included in this review was that every racial and ethnic minority person was heterosexual (Kanji, 2017; Khan, 2018; Lee, 2009; Pardoe, 2011; Patel, 2019). The participants in Lee's (2009) study described the consequences of this heterosexist assumption, such as the inability to openly express their queer sexuality in racial and ethnic contexts. Further, participants described being mistaken, when occupying mainstream LGBTQ spaces, as belonging to a lower social class due to their racial and ethnic minority status. Some participants also reported feeling stressed and uneasy due to the stereotypes they felt were omnipresent in White-dominated spaces (Lee, 2009). For instance, Black MSM are stereotyped based on physical characteristics, such as having a large penis and being an aggressive/virile "top" (Brown, 2012; Husbands et al., 2013; Norsah, 2015). In contrast, Asian gay men have been stereotyped as demure, shy, effeminate, docile, and "not good in bed" (Giwa & Greensmith, 2012; Morrison, 2008; Poon, Trung-Thu Ho, Pui-Hing Wong, Wong, & Lee, 2005). The racialized stereotypes ascribed to Asian gay men contradict the hegemonic esthetic standards of Western culture that privilege White, muscular, upper-middle class, able-bodied, and masculine men (Poon et al., 2005). In terms of sexual performance, Asian gay men have been associated with Orientalist stereotypes that exoticize, subordinate and hypersexualize them (Giwa & Greensmith, 2012; Munro et al., 2013). Additionally, Donelle (2017) analyzed media representations of queer femmes, and the lived experiences of queer femmes of Color. The author found that media reinforce the stereotype of "lesbian chic" that makes White, wealthy, and thin femmes visible, and portrays them as an object of desire for heterosexual audiences. Donelle further commented on the hypersexualization of bisexual femmes through the stereotype of the "hot bi girl." The participants in Donelle's (2017) study emphasized that, although these stereotypes represent queer femmes, they exclude the subjectivities of queer femmes of Color.

Ignorance of racism, ethnicism and intersectionality

Pilling and colleagues (2017) examined community participation among 16 LGBTQ-identified individuals with mental health diagnoses, and found striking racial and ethnic differences in their findings. They also interviewed 20 service providers in LGBTQ or mental health organizations. Overall, participants recognized LGBTQ communities and mental health support groups as spaces to seek acceptance, connection, and a sense of safety. However, LGBTQ participants of Color noted that these organizations lacked an intersectional focus (see Khan, 2018). As a result, they experienced barriers to accessing these services, with one participant exclaiming that they were told to "leave all [their] other identities at the door" (p. 9). Service providers in LGBTQ organizations described their struggle to integrate intersectional perspectives in terms of sexuality, gender identity, race, ethnicity, social class, and disability, and argued that LGBTQ organizations should avoid perceiving queer experiences as monolithic (Pilling et al., 2017).

Giwa and Greensmith (2012) documented that gay/queer service providers rejected the idea that sexual and gender minority individuals were a cohesive community. One might acknowledge the political purposes that are served by a "queer umbrella" discourse; however, viewing LGBTQ communities as a monolithic entity in which the interests of a select few are paramount negatively affects racial and ethnic minorities by making them feel "othered" and invisible within LGBTQ spaces (Marcellin, 2012). According to the gay/queer service providers of Color interviewed by Giwa and Greensmith (2012), the absence of an intersectional focus in mainstream LGBTQ spaces was attributable to *sociopolitical racism*. This term refers to an avoidance of race-based discussions because of a greater emphasis positioned on Canada's politically correct culture (Giwa & Greensmith, 2012).

Perception of not “coming out” as inauthentic

In contemporary Canadian society, and particularly in LGBTQ spaces, it is perceived that sexual and gender minority persons should come out in order to feel authentic and empowered. However, LGBTQ persons of Color have contested this notion. In Ghabrial’s (2017) study, sexual and gender minority participants of Color argued that the coming out discourse, which is pervasive in White LGBTQ communities, does not consider racial and ethnic differences. Sexual and gender minority persons of Color felt that their sense of safety and belonging were threatened, and their familial and communal relationships were jeopardized if they followed the Western expectation of coming out (Yan, 2014). Thus, the participants in this study viewed National Coming Out Day, which is celebrated every year on the 11th day of October in Canada, as awkward, isolating, and selfish (Ghabrial, 2017). Rather than understanding this position, White LGBTQ communities continue to endorse the idea that queer individuals who “fail” to come out are inauthentic and self-deceptive (Tam, 2018).

Sexual racism in dating contexts

Sexual racism is defined as discrimination based on one’s racial identity in sexual contexts (Souleymanov, Brennan, George, Utama, & Ceranto, 2018). In modern society, sexual racism is experienced through “subtle manifestations such as unconscious biases in attraction, racial fetishization, and reproductions of ethno-sexual stereotypes in pornography” (Plummer, 2007, p. 3). Experiences of sexual racism in the LGBTQ community, including sexual objectification, are common among LGBTQ persons of Color (Donelle, 2017). The fetishization of racialized queer bodies are prominent especially for gay men of Color, who experience dehumanization and subordination in online dating contexts (Corkum, 2015; Giwa & Greensmith, 2012). Nakamura and colleagues (2013) recognized that Asian MSM used gay online dating sites to find sexual partners, and a majority of them encountered the expression “No Asians,” and found it insulting. [Gay dating sites (e.g., Grindr, Scruff, etc.) no longer permit users to issue preferences such as “no fats, no femmes, no Asians” (Elks, 2018, September 18).] However, specific perceptions concerning this phrase varied (i.e., some viewed it as an outright form of racism whereas others perceived it as an individual sexual preference; see Munro et al., 2013). On the other hand, the Asian MSM also described being sexually pursued by older White gay men, who fetishized Asian people and were paternalistic toward them (Nakamura et al., 2013). In Giwa and Greensmith (2012) study, gay/queer men of Color perceived older, White gay men’s sexual interest in Asian men as constituting sexual racism (i.e., Asian men were overtly sexualized on dimensions such as submissiveness that are congruent with Orientalist stereotypes). Further, they asserted that the fetishizing of Asian sexual minority men subjugates them, and situates White gay men in a position of power. (Giwa & Greensmith, 2012).

Huang and Fang (2019) discovered that Chinese gay men felt invisible and subordinated in dating contexts due to encountering the phrase “No Asians” on online dating websites or being expected to “bottom” during sexual encounters. Further, the participants in this study felt that they were unable to find a date or a partner due to the White gay community’s dislike for racialized (Asian) bodies, and the social hierarchy within dating contexts, which accorded White gay men the highest rank (Huang & Fang, 2019).

Different dating experiences were shared by the Black MSM. For instance, those who identified as “tops” felt desired by non-Black gay men whereas those who preferred to “bottom” experienced a lack of romantic opportunities in non-Black LGBTQ spaces (Norsah, 2015). Consequently, Black MSM were more likely to assume an insertive role in their sexual relationships with men from different ethnoracial groups (e.g., 59% in relationships with White men and 38% in relationships with Black men; Husbands et al., 2013). Acknowledging the power dynamics between White and Black men in society also appears to influence the likelihood that Black men will assume a more dominant role during sexual intercourse (Husbands et al., 2013).

Disconnection due to the pervasiveness of White dominance

Homonormative discourses, which construct “gay” as White, are pervasive in mainstream LGBTQ spaces. Consequently, the voices of racial and ethnic sexual and gender minority persons in these spaces are seldom heard (Donelle, 2017). The dominance of White men, in particular, has made finding space in the queer community problematic for LGBTQ persons of Color (Pardoe, 2011). A sense of belonging in LGBTQ spaces is a given for White individuals, as they are globally viewed as being representative of the entire queer community (Lee, 2009). Thus, the hegemonic whiteness of these spaces and their attendant pressures to conform to the standards established by White gay men fosters a sense of isolation and non-belongingness for racial and ethnic LGBTQ individuals (Pardoe, 2011; Tam, 2018). The South Asian sexual and gender minority persons interviewed by Kanji (2017) expressed the need to minimize their racial status in order to access and benefit from LGBTQ spaces in Toronto. In essence, participants viewed their racial and queer identities as incompatible with one another (Kanji, 2017). Black gay men reported similar feelings of marginalization in Toronto’s gay spaces because of their predominantly White, male, cisgender clientele (Husbands et al., 2013).

In a qualitative study with trans-identified gay/queer persons of Color, Gately (2010) demonstrated that participants did not feel a sense of belonging in mainstream LGBTQ spaces because of the dominance of White gay men, which was evident in the segregation of White and racial and ethnic minority gay men in spaces, such as “bear” clubs, where a White, working-class masculine subculture was created, and nonwhite bodies were excluded. Further, participants felt that, within pride slogans such as “Unity” and “You Belong,” issues pertinent to racism, classism, and transnegativity were left unchallenged. Non-hegemonic identities such as racialized queer and trans bodies were invalidated, and their voices were silenced through strategies that function to maintain the supremacy of a liberal (White) gay rights agenda (Gately, 2010). The present-day elision of race- and ethnicity-based discussions from queer spaces could be linked to the history of European colonization, which played a crucial role in shaming, silencing and dismissing non-Western countries (e.g., China; Wong, 2013).

Corkum (2015) documented that, although sexual minority persons of Color chose to migrate to Canada for its welcoming space for LGBTQ individuals, their experiences were not free from the hegemonic whiteness of these spaces. One participant affirmed that queer sexuality discourses in Canada dominated racialized narratives while privileging White bodies. Consequently, gay male participants in this study struggled to reconcile their queer sexuality with their racial identity (Corkum, 2015).

LGBTQ organizations also privilege White persons and display a lack of cultural sensitivity (Giwa & Greensmith, 2012). For example, Bhanji (2018) observed that Toronto’s vigils for the Trans Day of Remembrance included a predominantly White audience sitting in the first rows, and sharing their experiences of hope as trans individuals. In contrast, the only trans person of Color, who spoke on stage, narrated a story of trauma rather than hope. Bhanji (2018) reported that, although the organizers of the vigils attempted to include racial and ethnic minority queer voices at the community consultation level, they failed to include them at the events themselves.

Consequences of intersectional microaggressions

Thirty studies were utilized to build the framework for this theme. From the pool of data, four subthemes were created in order to effectively investigate how intersectional microaggressions affect LGBTQ persons of Color: 1) contradictions between Canada’s transnational image and actual experiences; 2) struggle, navigation, and saliency of intersecting identities; 3) health-based outcomes; and 4) narratives of agency, coping, and resilience.

Contradictions between Canada's transnational image and actual experiences

Researchers have documented that LGBTQ persons of Color identify a number of reasons for their migration to Canada. These reasons include sexual freedom; Canada's presumed status as a safe, multicultural and gay-friendly country; fear of being ostracized in their homeland due to their sexual orientation; the desire to escape homonegativity; and legalization of same-sex marriage in Canada (Munro et al., 2013; Poon, Li, Wong, & Wong, 2017). However, many of these expectations concerning personal freedom are seldom realized to the fullest (Pardoe, 2011). Among the Chinese gay men interviewed by Poon et al. (2017), Canada was perceived as a place that valued equality, liberalism, human rights and individual differences, where these men could express their sexual orientation as well as settle down and have a family. However, this view of Canada was challenged by participants' lived experiences, which were less than idyllic: specifically, participants were either de-eroticized or viewed in accordance with Orientalist stereotypes and fetishized. In Munro and colleagues' (2013) study, sexual and gender minority youth of Color expressed their shock over experiencing homonegativity in Canada in forms of physical and verbal abuse, and interpersonal violence. However, they asserted that they were able to find a way through their experiences of homonegativity, and were more focused on the positive side of their migration to Canada: "Compared to back home, ... [Canada] is a bed of roses" (Munro et al., 2013, p. 143).

Struggle, navigation, and saliency of intersecting identities

Consistent with the theory of intersectional microaggressions (Nadal et al., 2015), researchers found that sexual minority participants were exposed to everyday challenges because of their multiple stigmatized identities, such as problems in interpersonal relationships and daily social interactions (Ghabrial, 2017). Marginalized persons may experience a combination of shock, stress, sadness, and inner turmoil due to their realization that they occupy multiple devalued identities (Brown, 2012; Morrison, 2008). Coming out may not be optimal for LGBTQ persons of Color due to their exposure to homonegativity in home community spaces; however, "failure" to do so places these individuals at odds with mainstream LGBTQ spaces because of the significance these spaces attach to the coming out process (Ghabrial, 2017). Flanders, Dobinson, and Logie (2015), who interviewed bisexual women residing in Toronto about their sexual and reproductive health, echo this point. These researchers discovered that bisexual participants of Color regarded the intersections of their racial and ethnic identities and bisexuality as a hindrance to expressing their full self. Embodying another marginalized identity in combination with their bisexuality was worrisome for them, as this might even lead to physical violence in their home communities (Flanders et al., 2015). Further, the South Asian gay men recruited by Durrani and Sincore (2016) indicated having a difficult time reconciling their sexuality with their ethnic culture due to the clash between the two, which was heightened by the significance their culture placed on heterosexual marriage and traditional gender norms. Queer inhabitants of Chinese-Canadian communities indicated that social and geographical norms and pressures, ultimately, affected their queer identity (Tam, 2018). Gay men of Color reported being aware of the tensions that arose from having multiple intersecting identities, especially when those identities were perceived as negative (Morrison, 2008).

LGBTQ persons of Color adopted various strategies to navigate their intersecting identities. To illustrate: Patel (2019) found that the South Asian queer women in this study proclaimed fluid identities over rigid ones (e.g., lesbian), as they were required to express their identities based on social context. Thus, participants performed their queerness in a culturally and contextually appropriate manner, further challenging the Western value placed on coming out (Patel, 2019). Further, in a qualitative study, Huang and Fang (2019) observed that Chinese gay men employed three strategies to negotiate the challenges that arose due to personifying racial, ethnic, and sexual identities. First, they confronted their home culture's notion that "homosexuality" was a Western

concept by discussing their native histories where same-sex sexual behaviors were common (e.g., wealthy persons hiring young men for sexual activity). Second, some participants indicated that their Chinese culture was not relevant to their sexualities and emphasized that religious objections to sexual diversity originated from Islam and Catholicism rather than their religious affiliations (i.e., Confucianism and Buddhism). Third, some Chinese gay men responded to their intersectional identity by adopting the essentialist belief that sexual orientation was immutable; thus, they were unable to conform to the heteronormativity of the broader society (Huang & Fang, 2019). Similarly, Corkum (2015) discussed that, as international students, gay men of Color negotiated the intersections of their sexual and racial identities in several ways, including suppressing their sexual identity in familial spaces; expressing their identities selectively in different contexts for economic advantage (e.g., not revealing their international student status when applying for on-campus jobs); sustaining a romantic relationship with White men to secure permanent residency despite experiencing emotional and physical turmoil; and finding unique ways to assimilate into the Canadian queer culture. These findings imply that identity for racial and ethnic gay men may be fluid and reconstructed in accordance with specific social and geographical locations (Corkum, 2015).

Queer individuals of Color often appeared to negotiate their positions and identities based on context. Khan (2018) found that negotiations of positionality on the spectrums of race, gender, and sexuality occurred in everyday life for many queer people of Color. For example, Tam (2018) noted that racialized LGBTQ participants placed great significance on having quality, shared interactions with family members. However, they also remained mindful of expressing their queer identity when with their family, again, challenging Western notions of coming out (Tam, 2018). The projection of one's identity is situationally determined as LGBTQ persons of Color attempt to balance the "contradictions and ambivalences" they encounter in their quest to find a sense of belongingness in unfamiliar contexts (Marcellin, 2012; Wong, 2013).

Kanji's (2017) participants, self-identifying as South Asian queers, discussed the importance and deterministic quality of race and ethnicity over sexuality by indicating that racial and ethnic identifications were visible traits connoting a status that is occupied throughout one's lifetime. The South Asian queer participants also affirmed the significance of liberation as racial and ethnic minority sexual beings in mainstream LGBTQ spaces (Kanji, 2017). Huang and Fang (2019) asserted that many of the Chinese gay men in their study challenged the notion of being a "double minority" (i.e., individuals minoritized for a combination of their racial and ethnic and sexual identities), and attributed their discriminatory experiences to the saliency of their racial and ethnic identity rather than their sexual orientation. These men also suggested that they may experience varied degrees of microaggressions not just because of their sexual, racial, and ethnic identities, but also because of their socioeconomic status and religious affiliation (Huang & Fang, 2019).

Health-based outcomes

Durrani and Sinacore (2016) noted that the South Asian gay men in their study experienced psychological distress (e.g., stress, anxiety, and depression) due to HIV stigma, homonegativity, and the conflicts associated with possessing an intersectional identity as a sexual minority person of Color. In addition, Marcellin (2012) discovered that South Asian LGBTQ persons' intersectional identity also created feelings of loneliness, displacement, and invisibility. Similarly, Ghabrial (2017) found that LGBTQ persons of Color experienced stress and anxiety because of unemployment and financial difficulties; being unable to come out; racial profiling during police encounters; internalized racism and trans misogyny; and loneliness. Parallel findings were demonstrated in a survey conducted by MacLeod (2014), who implied that, for bisexual individuals of Color, the intersections between racial, ethnic, and sexual identities increased the magnitude of their

anxiety, in comparison to bisexual persons who did not experience racial and ethnic discrimination.

Regarding the impact of microaggressions for trans persons of Color, Bhanji (2018) noted that the elimination of their voices at the vigils on the Trans Day of Remembrance led to their sense of trauma and depression, as they felt the vigils left something unresolved. As well, these individuals experienced a sense of isolation due to the dominance of White trans communities at these events (Bhanji, 2018).

Researchers have documented that, due to their exposure to intersectional microaggressions, LGBTQ persons of Color in Canada lacked sufficient knowledge about health safety (e.g., possessing unrealistic views of their risk of contracting HIV), and were involved in health-related risky behaviors (e.g., using condom only during anal sex). Poon and colleagues (2005) discussed that, although the Asian MSM in their study described initiating safer sex discussions when meeting with potential romantic or sexual partners in Internet chatrooms, they seldom adopted safer sex practices, such as using a condom when having oral sex.

As a result of intersectional stigma, LGBTQ persons of Color may avoid engaging in behaviors that maximize their health safety. To illustrate: findings from the Trans PULSE project indicated that trans persons of Color were least likely to have been tested for HIV, followed by Indigenous trans persons and White trans individuals (Bauer et al., 2012). Consistent findings were evidenced for South Asian gay men, as social factors such as homonegativity, psychological distress, and stigma associated with HIV caused them to avoid getting tested for HIV or to view themselves as being immune to this disease (Durrani & Sinacore, 2016).

Yan (2014) noted that the consequences of hiding one's sexual and/or gender identities, in conjunction with the challenges of coming out, may result in LGBTQ youth of Color engaging in high-risk sexual behaviors, and being unaware of safer sex practices. For instance, George and colleagues (2013) found that inconsistent condom use by the Black MSM in their study was associated with having a non-Black sexual partner, less likelihood of coming out, being older, or reporting higher levels of depression. Due to the combined effects of transnegativity and racism, trans individuals of Color tended to put their sexual health at risk (Bauer et al., 2012; Marcellin et al., 2013).

Narratives of agency, coping and resistance

Corkum (2015) found that racial and ethnic minority gay men and lesbian women exercised their agency while migrating to Canada by emphasizing their personal freedom and safety from (homonegative) cultures, as well as their desire to pursue educational and professional goals. For these individuals, the ability to exercise agency and unabashedly express their identity as a sexual minority person were fulfilling, and provided them with a sense of safety (Corkum, 2015), much like those in Pardoe's (2011) research. The ability to translate formerly unnamed feelings and desires into an identity also gave these individuals a sense of legitimacy (Marcellin, 2012). The gay/queer men of Color in Giwa and Greensmith's (2012) study perceived their sexuality as an expression of agency through which they found ways to cope, resist, and regain a sense of power and control over their lives. These individuals resisted their subordination by having sexual relationships with White men and regaining power. Further, Bhanji (2018) documented that trans persons of Color established their presence as a distinct group at the vigils held on the Trans Day of Remembrance by attending them notwithstanding their exclusionary experiences at these events. Hence, they utilized the opportunity to meet other trans persons of Color and be recognized as a unique group with their own experiences (Bhanji, 2018).

Many strategies have been outlined when it comes to regaining a sense of agency and control in the face of marginalization. Marcellin (2012) found that access to community resources, critiquing hierarchical societies, and exercising agency in response to being othered may help LGBTQ people of Color resist the negative effects of discrimination (Lee, 2009; Marcellin, 2012;

Tam, 2018). Moreover, Lee (2009) identified education about sexual and gender diversity, self-affirmation, intercultural dialogue, and sharing stories as factors that help LGBTQ people of Color regain autonomy that otherwise may decrease when moving to another culture. In Giwa's (2016) study, gay men of Color described that they coped with racial discrimination present in the LGB community in Ottawa using strategies such as emotion- or problem-focused engagement/disengagement strategies, opening lines of communication, education, and empathy (Giwa, 2016). Family disidentification, as described by Wong (2013), also was highlighted as a way that queer persons of Color may exercise agency by transforming their view of family in a way that is emotionally fulfilling. To many LGBTQ individuals of Color, normative definitions of "family" have negatively affected their wellbeing (Wong, 2013). Thus, constructing one's own visions of family without excluding biological ties would allow one to reap the benefits of having a "typical" familial relationship without the negative outcomes associated with being a queer person in a racial and ethnic minority family (Wong, 2013).

Given the occurrence of intersectional microaggressions within familial and communal spaces, LGBTQ persons of Color seek social support in a number of ways. Poon and colleagues (2005) discovered that Asian MSM accessed Internet chat rooms to create a social network with other MSM. The anonymity of chat rooms provided these men with a sense of safety and control and helped them cope with the microaggressions they encountered in the mainstream gay spaces. The Asian MSM in this study described using the chat rooms to: make new friends and meet potential romantic partners; discuss and educate themselves about safer sex practices; and seek social and emotional support (Poon et al., 2005). LGBTQ Muslim women sought to create supportive networks both online and in-person. Further, looking for information online or from others who had encountered similar experiences provided queer people of Color with a sense of comradery (Khan, 2018).

Logie, Lacombe-Duncan, Lee-Foon, Ryan, and Ramsay (2016) examined the positive experiences and perceived benefits of social support groups for LGBT African and Caribbean immigrants and refugees and found that participants referred to a range of positive experiences as they sought social support. For instance, LGBT African and Caribbean participants experienced self-acceptance and enhanced mental health. On an interpersonal level, they were able to minimize their isolation, and were able to have a sense of belonging to Canada. These intra- and interpersonal advantages were accompanied by opportunities to get involved in the community through sharing knowledge with others, creating safe space without fear of experiencing intersectional microaggressions, and gaining knowledge about, and access to, various resources relevant to housing, healthcare, employment and immigration (Logie et al., 2016). Likewise, Durrani and Sinacore (2016) discovered that South Asian gay men sought social support by establishing supportive friendship networks. Gately (2010) also found that gender minority persons sought solidarity by communicating with people who were similarly oppressed or by relying on a close circle of friends.

Additional sources of solidarity for sexual and gender minority people of Color include: seeking help through mental health services; going to close friends for support; utilizing various groups (e.g., religious services, queer theater) for social support; and seeking anti-racist groups in order to separate from mainstream White society and define one's own initiatives (Lee, 2009; Marcellin, 2012; Pardoe, 2011). The positive outcomes that are generated from increasing one's sense of support and belonging have been identified as elevating one's understanding of the self and the world, and subsequently forming a protective barrier from the negative effects of racism (Marcellin, 2012; Tam, 2018).

A strategy of resistance that was identified in some of the studies we reviewed concerns reconfiguring intersectionality; that is, viewing the possession of multiple minoritized statuses as beneficial and empowering rather than as sources of oppression and conflict. In Ghabrial's (2017) study, for example, LGBTQ persons of Color indicated that their racial, ethnic, and queer

identities were supportive of each other, and they narrated positive experiences with regards to their intersectional identities. The Chinese gay men in Huang and Fang (2019) study reiterated that they did not consider their intersectional identities to be a source of struggle; rather, they valued their unique position as a racial and ethnic sexual minority person. Kanji (2017) reported that reconciling the perceived incompatibility between one's queer and South Asian identities necessitates reconceptualizing the past and adopting a process through which one is "queering South Asian and South Asian-ing queer" (Kanji, 2017, p. 48).

Discussion

The goal of this paper was to systematically review the experiences of intersectional microaggressions within familial and communal contexts for LGBTQ persons of Color in Canada. While most of the 33 studies that we reviewed were qualitative, they differed in their representation of sexual orientations, gender identities, as well as racial and ethnic cultures. In summary, we found that, due to cultural norms, expectations, beliefs, and linguistic limitations, familial relationships and a sense of belonging to one's community may be strained by expressing a minoritized sexual and/or gender identity (e.g., Ghabrial, 2017; Huang & Fang, 2019; Nakamura et al., 2013; Tam, 2018).

The current systematic review also documented that sexual and gender minorities may seek solace in mainstream Western society, where LGBTQ organizations presumably allow such individuals to express themselves freely (e.g., Munro et al., 2013; Poon et al., 2017). However, when one occupies minoritized racial and ethnic statuses, that type of freedom is infrequently afforded (i.e., individuals, regardless of their racial and ethnic backgrounds, are expected to fully conform to the norms established by White LGBTQ persons; e.g., Kanji, 2017; Norsah, 2015; Patel, 2019).

Results of this systematic review are consistent with the findings of previous microaggression scholars (e.g., Li et al., 2017; Nadal et al., 2012; Weber et al., 2018). For instance, Nadal and colleagues (2015) found that LGBT Americans described their racial and ethnic minority identities as a source of their "double discrimination" experiences and a hindrance to their coming out process, as they were snubbed and made to feel a sense of exclusion by their own racial and ethnic communities (Nadal et al., 2015). Consistently, while developing a psychometric measure to assess microaggressions experienced by LGBTQ persons of Color, Balsam, Molina, Beadnell, Simoni, and Walters (2011) noted that racial and ethnic minority LGBTQ adults experienced microaggressions in LGBTQ communities due to their racial and ethnic identities, heteronormative assumptions in racial and ethnic minority communities, and racism and ethnicism in dating and close relationships.

The interaction between these seemingly opposing expectations of identifying either as a racial and ethnic minority or a LGBTQ person combined with the inability to conform to these expectations results in deleterious psychological and physical health outcomes (e.g., MacLeod, 2014; Marcellin, 2012; Marcellin et al., 2013). Some protection from the negative effects of marginalization may be granted by increasing one's sense of agency, seeking social support, reconceptualizing one's intersectional identity as a source of strength, and resisting negative stereotypes (e.g., Ghabrial, 2017; Logie et al., 2016).

Recommendations for communities of Color

It is recommended that racial and ethnic communities take action to be more tolerant toward individuals with diverse sexual and gender identities. Silence surrounding sexual and gender diversity is noted as being prevalent among racial and ethnic minority families due to concerns about economic survival, social status, and the family's future (Kanji, 2017; Tam, 2018). However, avoiding discussions surrounding these topics perpetuates discrimination against LGBTQ persons

of Color in their home communities and makes those individuals feel alienated (Kanji, 2017). Therefore, encouraging open discussions about sex, sexual orientations, and gender diversity *within* racial and ethnic communities is critical for promoting acceptance and creating an environment that is comfortable and accepting to LGBTQ persons of Color (Corkum, 2015; Ghabrial, 2017). Such unabashed approach to gender and sexual diversity facilitates the development of safe spaces and resources for LGBTQ persons of Color within their home communities, further leading them to experience feelings of cultural belonging, support, and empowerment (Huang & Fang, 2019; Lee, 2009; Nakamura et al., 2013; Pilling et al., 2017; Yan, 2014). Additionally, home communities and families acknowledging and learning about the intersectional oppression and microaggressions that LGBTQ persons of Color experience would allow those individuals to express themselves more fully (Flanders et al., 2015; Huang & Fang, 2019). Increasing awareness of the prevalence of sexual and gender identities (e.g., “homosexuality” is not a Western concept forced onto persons of Color; Huang & Fang, 2019; Khan, 2018; Lee, 2009; Nakamura et al., 2013; Norsah, 2015; Tam, 2018; Wong, 2013), increasing education on transgender issues (e.g., transition, discrimination, and health impacts; Bauer et al., 2012; Bhanji, 2018; Gately, 2010), dispelling myths and stereotypes about sexual and gender minorities (e.g., that they are a homogeneous group, that they are all White, etc.; Lee, 2009; Wong, 2013), and providing information on intersectional oppression (e.g., experiences of sexual and gender microaggressions in familial as well as racial and ethnic community contexts, and racism in the mainstream [White] LGBTQ spaces; Ghabrial, 2017) are all things worth doing in racial and ethnic communities in order to allow their LGBTQ members to feel connected to their culture and family without having to sacrifice expression of their gender identity and/or sexual orientation.

Recommendations for mainstream LGBTQ (White) communities

Conclusions from this systematic review proposed recommendations for mainstream LGBTQ spaces to be more inclusive of sexual and gender minority persons of Color. In Giwa and Greensmith (2012) study, gay/queer service providers of Color advised that White sexual and gender minority individuals should address issues of racism in meaningful ways, and disrupt the power imbalance within mainstream queer spaces. The service providers in Yan’s (2014) study emphasized the need for cultural sensitivity in the planning and delivery of sexual health education programs and services in LGBTQ organizations, especially for immigrants as well as racial and ethnic minority persons (e.g., including women-specific services for women of Color who were unable to openly discuss sexuality-related topics). In relation to parental anxiety surrounding children’s sexual and/or gender identities in racially and ethnically diverse communities, the service providers underscored the significance of workshops on sexuality and LGBTQ issues for parents, especially those from conservative racial and ethnic cultures. Overall, to fulfill the needs of LGBTQ youth of Color, the service providers recommended that the service organizations educate these young people about healthy relationships, social networking, with the services tailored to their intersectional experiences at a convenient space (Yan, 2014).

Strengths

The current study challenges the myth that LGBTQ communities are homogenous and, instead, emphasizes the social hierarchy existing in these spaces; a hierarchy that prioritizes and privileges White gay men. This hierarchical arrangement also perpetuates microaggressions toward sexual and gender minority persons of Color in Canada due to their intersectional identities. The paper also challenges the image of Canada as a nation inclusive of sexual and gender diversity and multiculturalism, while underscoring the interpersonal microaggressions against queer persons of Color that persist in Canada.

On a methodological front, most of the research studies we reviewed are qualitative. Considering the diverse experiences of LGBTQ persons of Color, the findings we summarize capture the unique meanings of embodying racial, ethnic, sexual, and gender minority identities simultaneously. As well, in accordance with a positive psychological framework, this review paper includes narratives of coping, resilience, agency, and positive intersectionality, as stated by the racial and ethnic minority LGBTQ Canadians that participated in these studies.

Limitations and future directions

This systematic review was conducted by authors belonging to a social justice research background; therefore, reducing researcher biases was of crucial importance. However, it is important to note that bias may have been present during the selection process of studies targeted for inclusion in this paper. For example, given our focus on microaggressions, instead of offering a balanced review of problematic and agentic experiences of LGBTQ persons of Color, we may have focused more on experiences of discrimination than on experiences of resistance and coping (Drucker, Fleming, & Chan, 2016). Further, most of the studies in this review were qualitative, and a lack of consensus persists regarding the guidelines on how to evaluate a qualitative study (Butler, Hall, & Copnell, 2016). Therefore, even though the studies were elected for this review based on how thoroughly the research objectives and methodologies were explained, and whether the findings focused on intersectional microaggressions, no published scales were used to rate these studies.

In accordance with the terminology employed in the studies we reviewed, we also employed words such as “LGBTQ” and “sexual and gender minority.” However, it is critical to acknowledge that microaggressive experiences differ between groups situated *within* LGBTQ communities. For instance, we found that gay men of Color are stereotyped in terms of their sexual performance, and racial and ethnic minority queer women are stereotyped in relation to their physical appearance (e.g., Donelle, 2017; Poon et al., 2005). We recommend, therefore, that researchers explore the unique experiences of sexual and gender minority groups, and how these experiences are shaped by their racial and ethnic identities.

Some of the studies that we reviewed included a mix of racial and ethnic minority samples, whereas others focused exclusively on Asian or Black LGBTQ participants. Although we could detect differences in microaggressive experiences between Asian and Black LGBTQ individuals, we were required to use the terms “people of Colour,” “racialized,” and “racial and ethnic minority” to refer to nonwhite persons as a whole. To address this limitation, researchers should explore racial and ethnic differences in microaggressive experiences, rather than utilizing monolithic and conceptually meaningless categories such as “people of Colour.” They also should distinguish between the racial and ethnic identities, rather than employing the terms alternatively, as observed in this systematic review.

It is worth mentioning that some of the studies in our review focused on LGBTQ immigrants or refugees, whose acculturation experiences were not analyzed as it was beyond the scope of this systematic review. However, their acculturation experiences may intensify their microaggressive episodes, compared to those who have lived in Canada for a long time. We recommend that researchers take into consideration whether intersectional microaggressions and the strategies used to combat them differ between those who are recent immigrants or refugees, and those who have lived in Canada for a long time, as well as immigrants in new settlement areas versus those in established enclaves. For instance, it is possible that immigrants in new settlement areas are able to build their own community – one that is more broadminded about sexual and gender diversity. In contrast, immigrants in established enclaves may experience greater hardships due to the presence of existing communities which could be homonegative and/or transnegative.

None of the studies in our review focused on the perspectives of family and community members regarding the sexual and gender identities of LGBTQ Canadians of Color. Exploring this phenomenon is essential to recognize the mechanisms underlying the intersectional microaggressions that sexual and gender minority persons of Color in Canada experience within their families and communities. For instance, in a group of five self-identified Latinx fathers residing in the United States with at least one sexual minority child, Abreu and colleagues (in press) reported that cultural values such as *caballerismo* (i.e., loyalty and emotional connectedness toward the family), *familismo* (i.e., the significant role of family in one's life), and historical explanations of sexual minority acceptance and oppression expedited participants' acceptance toward their sexual minority children. In contrast, cultural values that hindered this acceptance included: *machismo* (i.e., notions of masculine gender expressions), *respeto* (i.e., appropriate standards of interpersonal communication in a sociocultural space), and struggles to navigate rejection and acceptance toward their sexual minority children within the family unit (Abreu, Gonzalez, Rosario, Pulice-Farrow, & Rodriguez, in press).

Many of the studies that we included were conducted in larger Canadian cities, such as Toronto, Ottawa, or Vancouver. Hence, the findings of these studies could not be applied to LGBTQ persons living in smaller cities, where racial and ethnic communities may share a close-knit relationship. Researchers should explore whether the experiences of intersectional microaggressions fluctuate between LGBTQ persons of Color living in different geographical locations in Canada with variable degrees of community kinship.

As well, few empirical studies in this systematic review were quantitative. We recommend that researchers examine intersectionality from a quantitative stance (see Else-Quest & Hyde, 2016). Else-Quest and Hyde (2016) have suggested six components of quantitative research where intersectionality can be applied, such as theory, design, sampling techniques, measurement, data analytic strategies, and interpretation and framing.

Finally, a majority of the research studies in this review did not document the subtle nature of microaggressions (see Nadal et al., 2015, 2016). Indeed, some used the terms "microaggression" and "discrimination" interchangeably. Thus, the conceptual distinctiveness of the construct of microaggression remains unclear. To examine this issue further, we recommend that researchers explore the unique nature of microaggressive episodes for LGBTQ persons of Color, and whether their impact differs significantly from instances of blatant discrimination.

In conclusion, researchers should build literature that delves more deeply into the racial and ethnic differences existing within LGBTQ communities, and the intersectional experiences of LGBTQ persons of Color. In so doing, researchers should avoid considering these communities as a unified group with similar experiences and ideologies about sexual and gender diversity. It is anticipated that by addressing these research suggestions, resistance against hegemonic White LGBTQ discourses will be strengthened.

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