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Title:

Prevention of gender violence and working against LGBT prejudices: The intersection between collective action and institutional dynamics

Abstract:

This study compares two public campaigns against LGBT prejudices: i) “Dislike Homophobic Bullying”, by CIG, the Portuguese Governmental mechanism for citizenship and gender equality; ii) The performative action "Exorcise the Pathologization", included in the Portuguese branch of the international campaign Stop Trans Pathologization 2012. Using critical discourse analysis and visual analysis, we conclude that gender violence is a cross cultural and structural problem embracing a wide range of forms of violence against women and LGBT people in Portugal. It is grounded in a dominant culture where gender is socially constructed as polarized, complemented with the performativity of discourse, the intersectional and institutional power relations underlying social practices. We demonstrate how public campaigns against homo and transphobia can contribute for the des-naturalization of gender divide and gender regime and thus for the change of the cultural ground of gender violence. However, without deconstructing gender they are at risk of reproducing gender hierarchies.

Keywords: Gender violence; homophobic violence; critical visual analysis; feminism; agency, heteronormativity.

Introduction: brief approach to feminist perspective about gender to conceptualize violence anti-LGBT

Taking a feminist and gender perspective, this article analyzes two multimedia campaigns aimed at raising public awareness about gender violence, homophobic violence, and transphobic violence. The two campaigns are: a) “Dislike Bullying Homofóbico” (Dislike Homophobic

Bullying), which was promoted by the Commission for Citizenship and Gender Equality (CIG); and b) the action “Exorciza a Patologização” (Exorcise the pathologization), which was coordinated by the following organizations: “Panteras Rosa” – “Front against Lesbi-gay-transphobia and Transsexual Portugal”.

The starting point of this analysis is the notion that gender violence is the exercise of power and control, in direct or indirect ways, by a group or a person, against another group or person. This type of violence is based on gender power dynamics and perpetuates hegemonic masculinity and heteronormativity, drawing a clear divide between the masculine and the feminine (Lameiras, Carrera and Rodríguez-Castro 2013).

The expression *gender violence* has been increasingly used (see, e.g. Istanbul Convention 2014) in a way that takes into account the cultural roots of gender differentiation, and moves away from perspectives that, implicitly or explicitly, ascribes violence to pathological, biological or strictly individual causes (Rodríguez-Castro *et al.* 2011).

In the 1970s and 80s, feminist and women’s movements were able to put violence against women in the public political agenda, and the concept of gender opened up new possibilities to understand the genderization of violence (Pence and Paymar 1993). The 1980s and 90s have seen an increased body of work on masculine domination and control over women (LaViolette & Barnett 2000). Moreover, the research on the social construction of masculinities (Connell 1987; 2002) and femininities (Schippers, 2007) made it possible to bridge violence against women with other forms of violence on the basis of the hierarchy and hegemony (Gramsci 1988) of the sex/gender order (Rubin 1975).

Currently, the concept of gender is subject to theoretical and philosophical controversy. Specifically, there is a danger to reify the distinction between sex and gender, leading to a crystallization of these concepts, and a rigid view of a world divided between men and women. However, from its initial formulation by the feminist Joan Scott (1986), the concept of gender refers to the socially ascribed characteristics that differentiate women and men according to their perceived biological sex. This concept was particularly relevant in the 60s when the social sciences attempted to understand transsexuality. In the context of the radical feminism and the political lesbianism movements, the concept of gender also denounces compulsory heterosexuality (Rich 1980) and views homophobia (and transphobia) as weapons of sexism

(Pharr 2000). In spite of these roots, in recent years, the concept of gender violence tends to overlook forms of violence outside heteronormativity (Magalhães et al. 2011).

In this sense, this article also intends to contribute to the visibility of the forms of gender violence caused by homophobia and transphobia.

Institutional dynamics and collective action: The agency for the prevention of homophobic and transphobic violence

The LGBT movement and the ensuing *queer* movement, made the *coming out* process more visible. Sexual orientation and gender identity are no longer seen as mere private affairs of the individual but have a political quality as LGBT people request recognition by governmental institutions and society (Almeida 2004).

In this context of democratization, public institutions have been committing to social justice; however they still reflect heteronormative and homophobic assumptions maintaining heterosexual and cisgender privilege (Roseneil 2006).

Since 2004, Portugal is one of the few countries that included in its Constitution the principle of equality and non-discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identity (Rosa 2010). Nevertheless, only in 2007, the European Year of Equal Opportunity for All, the mission statement of the Commission for Citizenship and Gender Equality (CIG) included supportive language to LGBT people. However, this support was not attributed to any new or existing department or person (Rosa 2010).

Recent research shows that combatting LGBT discrimination is more visible when the intervention comes from public institutions than the actions of the LGBT movement itself (Rosa 2010). Using the news articles about the approval of same sex marriage in Portuguese Parliament, Fernando Rosa (2010) analyzed how the media paid more attention to politicians in power than the discourse of the LGBT associations. The Catholic Church was the main opposition to LGBT associations. The government was seen by the public as fighting for the eradication of discrimination and gender violence; however, because it was the only audible voice against this type of prejudice, LGBT associations had difficulties in challenging its implicit heteronormative preconceptions.

The international governments' commitment to produce public policies and legal measures against direct violence and other attacks on human rights, generally, stem from international law and other pressures of international agencies (Bunch 1991; Lacey 2004). Within a national context, these legal measures usually face local cultures of sexism, homophobia, and misogyny and is intersected with other forms of power (social class and race/ethnicity), which blocks changes in the real life experiences and subjectivities of oppressed and discriminated social groups. Recent research has shown that it is the agency of the social movements (Htun and Weldon 2012), in this case, feminist, LGBT and queer, that can determine the effectiveness of the state policies, including public campaigns.

Concerning combatting gender violence, relevant research pointed out the need to deconstruct the diverse and complex processes of the social construction of masculinities. Masculine identities are socially constructed with close links with violence and control either exercised or suffered (Anderson and Umberson 2001), and are associated with the connection between virility and manhood (Connell 1987; Almeida 2000; Hearn 1998). This process means that hegemonic masculinity is a dangerous notion because it is concomitant with the construction of emphasized femininities and dominated masculinities (Hollander 2001). Specifically for homophobia and transphobia, Meyer (2012) points out that there is a tendency to establish a hierarchy on the different types of violence, prioritizing hate crimes with the assumption that they hurt more than other types of homophobic and transphobic violence. Homophobia and transphobia derive from the multiple systems of oppression that affect LGBT people (Hill Collins 1998).

Discourse (Foucault 1988) and performance (Butler 1990) can be seen as the main apparatus for the reproduction of gender inequalities. However, social processes can change through the transformation of discursive formations and performances of resistance, as well as through *cultural action* (Freire, 1979). This change can occur through the distinction of concepts of sex, gender and desire (Postl 2009), as well as through parody, abjection, and "deviance." The result of this change is an increased understanding of the social construction of the body, the consideration of pathways outside heteronormativity, and binary gender logic (Preciado 2002).

Nevertheless, for the discursive performativity (Butler 1997) to become transformative it needs to be recognized as agency, in a given historical moment (Lovell 2003), in other words, it

needs to be based in the political interaction of the social relations and the particular conditions of social transformation and not just in changes in language.

In this sense, public campaigns can work as a mechanism contributing to transformative agency. In this article, on the basis of the analysis of two campaigns anti-homophobia and anti-transphobia, we will illustrate in which circumstances the agency of social movements can work as a tool for social change and, at the same time, describe which aspects of homophobia and heterosexism work as an obstacle to emancipatory action. In this analysis, we will take into account the video (multimedia culture) to identify three main discursive elements of speech: the speech (verbal language), the body (non-verbal language), and the space (contextual elements).

Method: Critical Discourse Analysis and Visual Analysis of two multimedia campaigns to prevent anti-LGBT violence

In Portugal, the consolidation of the LGBT movement in the 1990's was marked by the emergence of the first associations and groups that combated homophobia and advocated for the rights of LGBT people. Ilga-Portugal began operating in 1996, and the Gay and Lesbian Community Centre opened in 1997, along with the Clube Safo, in 1996 and the Opus Gay, in 1997. In the beginning of the 21st century, more LGBT associations were founded, such as the Não te Prives – Group for the Defense of Sexual Rights (2001) and the Rede Ex-Aequo for the youth (2003). The activist associations claimed some political space in the public media and some changes in the legal sphere, which, in turn, ensured increased widespread visibility to LGBT people (Cascais 2004; Santos 2005).

From the 1990s to the present time, the LGBT movement stands by the appearance of alternative events of diverse expressions of the Portuguese LGBT community in the public sphere: the Arraial Pride (in Lisbon since 1997), a popular LGBT pride festivity; the Marcha do Orgulho LGBT (The Pride LGBT Parade) (in Lisbon since 2000); the celebration of May 17th, which is the International Day for combatting homophobia (since 2005) and transphobia (since 2007); forums and online debates; and the opening of bars, nightclubs, and other cultural spaces to promote LGBT culture.

The LGBT community is geographically dispersed, but linked by a network of events and community interests, internet sites, and the publications of the movement. In this context,

mediated communication by computer takes on features of public sphere, in the sense developed by Habermas (1987) for a public space where public opinion and democracy are exercised outside the State and the private domains.

The media introduced the LGBT community to the public sphere (Caldeira 2006; Gouveia 2005; Santos 2010; Rosa 2010). These traditional media sources are seen both as producing harmful stereotypes and as allies in the struggles for civil rights. For Carla Caldeira (2006), in the first years of the LGBT Pride Parade, media coverage almost totally represented gay men and focused on the hetero/homo binary, as if the latter was some kind of a deviant disturbance of gender. This focus overshadowed the political activism of the LGBT associations at those public events as the LGBT Pride or the LGBT March. A new discourse about LGBT/*queer* identities and sexualities was greatly facilitated by internet-based communication, insofar as it made possible the connection between distant and different spaces, where individual experiences are shared inside the LGBT community (Castels, 2010; Fraser: 2010). The *cyberqueer* spaces are, therefore, spaces of resistance against the dominant heterosexist discourse of the traditional media.

This article is based on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Visual Analysis (VA) of two Portuguese campaigns disseminated on the internet to combat violence against LGBT people:

- Dislike Bullying Homofóbico (Dislike Homophobic Bullying), undertaken by CIG, launched in 2013, which focused on the prevention of the violence against LGBT. According to CIG (2013), the goals were to raise awareness in the general population for the harmful effects of the homophobic bullying in its victims, and to contribute to the eradication of homophobic and transphobic violence in Portuguese society. Additionally it also intended to minimize the social costs of violence and the suffering of the victims as well as that of relatives and friends.
- The action Exorciza a Patologização (Exorcise the Pathologization) was promoted by Panteras Rosa - “Front against Lesbi-gay-transphobia”¹ and GTP - “Transsexual Portugal Group”² in the scope of the international campaign Stop Trans Pathologization 2012. It consisted of a performance of a mock prayer near the statue of Dr. Sousa Martins in Lisbon. Previously, the

organizers made a public announcement on social media for people to join the action. Afterwards, a video of the performance was disseminated via internet.

For the analysis of these two campaigns our choice was a combination of Critical Discourse Analysis and Visual Analysis. Discourse analysis offers a wide range of possibilities to understand “the way versions of the world, of society, events and inner psychological worlds are produced in discourse” (Potter, 2004: 202). A critical approach to discourse analysis underlines that it “does not occur in a social vacuum” (Gill, 2000: 175), and is deeply rooted in the political and historical context of gender power dynamics.

Combining these two kinds of analyses, we take language and signs, such as images, the uses of the light, and unusual combination of words, as a mode of producing the social world as opposed to viewing and thinking discourse as a mode of action. According to Rosalind Gill (2000: 175), “[d]iscourse analysts see all discourse as social practice. Language, then, is not viewed as a mere epiphenomenon, but as a practice in its own right. People use discourse to do things — to offer blame, to make excess, to present themselves in a positive light, etc.”

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) sees language as a source of power, linked with the dominant ideology and with the possibility of social change. It takes into account a previous material reality (power) where an individual agency can act (action).

The critical analysis of the discourse encompasses a tension between discursive organization and social structure organization, referring to the social context of the discourse (the intertextuality), as discursive features can vary according to social structure (Fairclough 2002; 2005). In this method, the main procedures are selecting the relevant structures to analyze the social problem and link the text with the context. This is always an incomplete process and the theory is the fundamental tool to guide the strategy and the choices of the levels of discourse that will be analyzed (Van Dijk, 2005). According to Norman Fairclough (2002: 121), “[i]t can too easily be taken by a sort of ‘transferable skill’ if one understands the ‘method’ to be a technique, a tool in a box of tools, which can be resorted to when needed and then returned to the box.” Nevertheless, CDA is a theoretical perspective on language, in other words, it is about semeiosis (including other forms of meaning construction, like visual language, body language, textual, among others), which offers possibilities for linguistic or semiotic analysis about social process. As transdisciplinary, rather than interdisciplinary, it maintains a dialogical relation with other

theories and methods of social sciences. Social life is interconnected with diverse social practices, which emerges as semiotic elements to be highlighted by CDA.

In order to accomplish a CDA, we will analyze, in a dialectic way, the following aspects of the two referred campaigns: productive analysis, means of production, social relations, social identities, social values, cultural values, awareness, semeiosis and the historical-political context.

Images will be analyzed by a combination between visual analysis and the linguistic dimension (context, thematic, sequence, narrative, light, titles, text and visual image). Kress & van Leeuwen (1996) noted three simultaneous operating modes of semiotics: representational, interactional, and compositional. The first, the representational, enables us to consider the content of the images and the way they represent the world, that is, the effects in terms of knowledge and beliefs. The interactional operating mode enables the analysis of the ways images create relations between viewers and represented participants, which takes into account the power and control mechanisms. The third, the compositional, opens the possibility for understanding the ways the represented elements create a coherent puzzle.

In CDA, analysts should take into account that audiences, in the reception of diverse contents, will produce representations about the texts in distinct modes than the contents of the textual production, accordingly to the social positions they occupy in social relations. In this article, the goal is to analyze specifically the underlying strategies of the social practices presented in the two referred campaigns, which combating violence against LGBT people in Portugal. This will be followed by the discussion of the results.

Discussion and Analysis of the Campaigns: Dislike Homophobic Bullying (2013) and Stop Trans Pathologization (2012)

Dislike Homophobic Bullying

In 2004, the Constitution of the Portuguese Republic included article 13, which prohibits the discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation.

In Portugal, since 2003 that "sexual orientation" is included in the Labour Code, as regards the right to equal access to employment and work (Article 22), the prohibition of discrimination (Article 23) and harassment (artº 24). The inclusion of sexual orientation was also achieved in the 2007 revision of the Penal Code. In the new Penal Code was added so the "sexual orientation" as a particular motivation for discrimination, along with the "race" of "sex" and "religion" in Article 240 and Article 132 on "crimes against life" the so-called "hate crimes". According to Saleiro (2013: 153) existed in portuguese society and even in the associative movement confusion between homophobia and transphobia in regard to hate crimes, much media attention during the murder of Gisberta, a transexual woman, at Porto in 2004. The non-inclusion of "identity gender "even the" sexual orientation "as an aggravating factor for discrimination and aggravating hate crimes constituted thus an indicator of both the perpetuation of invisibility of these identities, whether the little vindictive force of transsexuals and transgender individuals. This would only be corrected in the next revision of the Penal Code February 2013 and can be read already as an input effect of "gender identity" in national legislation (Law 7/2011, March 15th). The Law 7/2011, March 15th "creates the sex and name change procedure in civil registration", which is also to highlight the legal elimination of the need of the Medical Association of the authorization for sex reassignment surgery (Saleiro 2013: 185).

The campaign Dislike Homophobic Bullying, launched in 2013, was the first video campaign sponsored by the Portuguese government against homophobia. Specifically, it was promoted by the Commission for Citizenship and Gender Equality (CIG), a government organization, which integrates the Presidency of the Council of Ministers. CIG responds to the profound social changes and politics in the Portuguese society in terms of citizenship and gender equality (CIG 2015). The campaign created a website (CIG 2013), which contained information about bullying based on sexual orientation and gender identity that was directed at the victims, parents, and the school community. The website also contained an awareness-raising 2 minute video intended for social media and Youtube sharing.

The analysis of the campaign will focus directly on the video mentioned above. This process will also take into account the information provided in the website as well as the vulnerability that the LGBT population faces regarding homophobic and transphobic violence. In its blue background homepage, the website has a large black and white title box with the Facebook "like" icon in a thumbs-down position renamed "Dislike" Dislike Homophobic Bullying. Below the title box there are three black and white buttons that read "what is it," "what to do," "see campaign."

- “what is it” drops down a black and white text box with the description of what homophobic and transphobic bullying is, specifying four types of bullying (verbal, social, physical and cyberbullying). It also describes the Portuguese laws regarding the discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identity. Finally, it provides a list of links to various governmental, non-governmental, and international organizations that intervene in the area of gender and sexual equality.
- “what to do” opens four black and white buttons directed at the “victim,” “parents,” “witness,” and “educators.” Each of these boxes drops down a small black and white text box with a few guidelines about what to do when one encounters homophobic violence.
- “see campaign” drops down a box with the video mentioned above. This video has an icon on the upper right corner that simplifies sharing on social media.

The narrative presented in the video begins with a teenage boy arriving home and the following hours when he remembers the homophobic remarks that he has heard all day. The video starts with the teenage boy crossing a park with trees and opening the door to his home. In the background of the video there is ominous piano music. The teenage boy is then presented in multiple situations with his head down. While he prepares a snack and performs other daily activities, various young male voices (perceptible only by the tenor of their voices) are heard on the background making insulting remarks aimed at humiliating the teenage boy:

- While pouring milk in a glass that ends up overflowing, the teenage boy hears with sadness: “hey princess, did you leave your skirt at home?” A subtitle with the Facebook “like” button comes on: “Ana Silva likes this;”
- As the teenage boy remembers the insults, the number of “likes” for the remarks increase as the narrative progresses: “Your little boyfriend isn’t here to help you?!” – “10 people like this”
- “Look, the circus arrived in town” – “34 people like this”
- “Get out of here butterfly, that might be contagious” – “240 people like this”
- “Don’t tell me you’re gonna cry?! Be a man!” – “287 people like this”
- “Go home, faggot!” – “350 people like this”

At this point the teenage boy closes the window blinds, which creates a darker set:

- “People like you are not missed around here” – “420 people like this”
- “You are disgusting!”

After this comment, sitting at the edge of his bed, the teenage boy is seen crying for the first time. After this, a female voice, the first one on the video, says “homophobic bullying does not deserve your “like.” See what you can do at www.dislikebullyinghomophobic.pt.”

The light changes throughout the narrative, going from a very luminous set at the park to a very dark room as the insults progress and the “likes” increase. It is noteworthy that there is no going back to the more luminous set at the beginning of the video. There is also nobody else at home. He prepares his snack, closes the blinds, and enters his private space -his room. Hence, the young protagonist crosses three spaces in the video: the park, a public space; the house, a private family space; and the room, a private individual space. In all these spaces he appears alone, only accompanied by the echoes of the insulting voices.

“Exorcize the pathologization”

The international campaign Stop Trans Pathologization (STP 2012 2015) is a worldwide campaign that focuses on the de-pathologization of the trans identity. The main goal of this campaign is to remove the category of “gender identity disorder,” from the ICD-10 (International Classification of Diseases, 10th revision, from the World Health Organization), and the category of “gender dysphoria” from the DSM-V (Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, 5th Edition, from the American Psychiatric Association). This campaign also advocates for health rights of transgender people. Since 2009, every October, the campaign Stop Trans Pathologization calls for an International Day of Action for Trans Depathologization, with simultaneous demonstrations and other activities in cities all over the world (STP 2012 2015). In 2012, Transsexual Portugal and Panteras Rosa called for a public demonstration in Lisbon to mark the International Day of Action for Trans Depathologization (Panteras Rosa 2012).

The demonstration consisted of a performance next to the statue of Dr. Sousa Martins, in front of the Lisbon School of Medicine. Dr. Sousa Martins was a 19th century physician and university professor that became known for his qualities as speaker and philanthropist. Even to this day, many people view him as a saint and adorn his statue with flowers, candles, and marble plaques with engraved messages of appreciation.

This demonstration was videotaped and the resulting video “Exorcise the Pathologization” begins with an image of the STP 2012 campaign logo. Dr. Sousa Martins’

statue appears next. The background music is “Ave Maria” performed by Beyoncé Knowles. The video then shows the park where the statue is located and a group of people walking towards the camera wearing various sexualized versions of religious garb. For example, the main character was dressed as a nun wearing a form fitting and short habit. Others were wearing religious garb adorned with catholic veils, crucifixes, colorful bead necklaces, hand fans, feathers, rubber gloves, the LGBT flag, and red umbrellas (symbols of sex workers).

The music fades in the background and the narrative moves to a mock prayer that the group named “Prayer of the Trans-tornadas” (Panteras Rosa 2012). The word “trans-tornadas” contains two meanings. The first meaning of the word “transtornadas” or “troubled women,” evokes the gender identity pathology that the campaign intends to combat. The use of this word also represents an appropriation of the very concept that was once used to insult, oppress, and demean but now is used with pride and as a symbol of resistance. The second meaning of the word “trans-tornadas” is derived when it is translated as “becoming trans,” which refers to the concept of gender identity as a social construction, and is derived from the gender roles attributed to each sex. In Simone de Beauvoir’s words: “nobody is born a woman, one becomes a woman.” In this sense, transsexual and transgender identities emerge from the social classifications of the two opposite genders.

The “Prayer of the Trans-tornadas” is delivered through a megaphone by one of the “nuns.” The prayer is made of simple sentences, which are then repeated by the audience. At the end of each sentence, instead of saying “amen,” the “congregation” pretends to sneeze and lets out the onomatopoeic sound “atchoo!”

In the first sentence, the “nun” blesses the “congregation” stating: “In the name of the Single Mother, the Sex Worker, and the Free Spirit.” The prayer then explains the reason for the chosen location:

“Dr. Sousa Martins, [...] as a progressive and ‘Mason’ man, who may have been thankful to the divine providence for not being recognized by the so-called-saint church, free us from the democratic corrosion of the Policarpos³ [...], and bless this act...”

The choice to pay homage to a non-religious saint and making a mock prayer seems to be a way to highlight the role that the Catholic Church still has in the Portuguese society. Using the Lisbon Cardinal Patriarch, José Policarpo’s name is a way to symbolize the Catholic Church. The use of the plural “Policarpos” may also represent not only the Catholic Church but also other

Portuguese symbolic elites that have publicly opposed the LGBT Rights' Movement in general, and the Transsexual and Transgender' Rights' Movement in particular.

To support this argument let us remember the work of Fernando Rosa (2010: 48), which focused on a critical discourse analysis of journalistic visibility of legalization of marriage proposal between persons of the same sex in Portugal in 2010, which shows that the positions of the catholic church acquired a prominent role in Portugal compared to given to the LGBT movement. In the same work the author refers to an example that the first in-depth interview on the subject of marriage between same sex in Portugal, after the political announcement of the legislative proposal be put to a vote, published in the daily newspaper *Correio da Manhã* on 07/11/2009, entitled "*Adoption is the Goal*" was to D. Jorge Ortiga, president of the Portuguese Episcopal Conference. The media attention given to the catholic church to decide on the inclusion of LGBT rights is clearly greater than that given to associations or associative movements. Rosa (2010: 51) also states that because the catholic church has a major expression in the country speaking their representatives or political representatives who identify themselves as catholics refer them to the symbolic elites status in media representation when debating publicly gender or sexual orientation. Thus, it is natural that a performative action more transcendent character in relation to the discourse intends to denounce this hegemony of religious discourse on sexual minorities and gender. The prayer then asks the "saint" to combat gender polarity and the pathologization of the transgender identities by removing the "ignorant transphobic psychiatrist." The prayer accuses the mental health professionals (here represented by "psychiatrists") do depend on the diagnosis of gender dysphoria, pursuant to Law 7/2011, of 15 March, the desire of the transsexual want to perform sex reassignment surgery.

"Dr. Sousa Martins, who prevented diseases and countered injustice, be our spokesperson to get through less illuminated souls, physicians or scientists, professors or priests that preach hate and discrimination. Be our advocate before our governors, who misgovern everything, remove their power to destruct the National Health System, and end the prevention of STIs... free us from Paulo Macedo⁴, Passos⁵, Gaspar⁶, Isilda Pegado⁷, and despite their acts, help them if they catch something infectious... Atchoo!"

This performance condemns the role of State institutions and their representatives such as teachers, doctors, priests and politicians. These institutions and social actors are empowered by the Law of gender identity (Law 7/2011, March 15th)⁸, which sees gender as a binary and focuses on the concept of "gender dysphoria," and, therefore pathologizes trans identities and perpetuates transphobia. In this context, transphobia is seen as a form of gender violence, which is legitimized by a formalistic belief in the content of the law (legal) or natural law (rationality). In this perspective, obedience derives mostly from a set of uniform principles, which refers to the

Weberian concept of legal rational authority (Weber 2001: 685). This performance focuses on the power dynamics that promote discrimination both at individual and societal levels.

From the previous two analyses we propose seven categories to reflect the underlying meanings of the two campaigns for social transformation and prevention of gender homophobic-transphobic violence: 1) using the feminine as a form of humiliation or as a protagonist with political agency; 2) invisibility of lesbians and lesbophobia; 3) vision of the victim as someone without agency; 4) an incidentalist vision of violence; 5) language as a crucial subversive profane tool; 6) the public space as a promoter of political agency; and 7) a game of light and dark that can be a form of re-victimization.

1) Using the feminine as a form of humiliation or as a protagonist with political agency

In the two campaigns the implicit views of women and what is construed as femininity are very different. In the campaign Dislike Homophobic Bullying, the insults that the teenager hears almost always imply viewing him as more feminine and, therefore, not masculine enough. In the campaign Stop Trans Pathologization a woman emerges as the protagonist of the mock prayer that denounces some of the symbols of female oppression, which were identified by radical feminism in the 1960s and 70s, such as the nun habit.

The choice of insults for a campaign against homophobia has a great amount of relevance, as several studies have pointed out that insulting is the main form of violence by peers against LGBT people (Carreiras-Fernandez et al. 2013). However, the video is limited to the homophobic insults that utilize traditionally considered female characteristics as weapons against gay men who are pressured to fit into the hegemonic or violent masculine ideal. On the other hand, the campaign Stop Trans Pathologization utilizes a woman dressed as a nun as the protagonist of the group. The members of the “congregation” are also treated with the female pronoun. Hence, in the second campaign, women are connected to parody, transgression, and innovation.

2) Invisibility of lesbians and lesbophobia;

We can observe a total absence of reference to lesbians. This absence is particularly visible in the campaign Dislike Homophobic Bullying. Homophobia encompasses, by definition,

discrimination and prejudice against gays and lesbians. In the video, however, homophobia is presented as an expression against a young gay man, by a community of mostly other young men. The insults thrown throughout the narrative clearly illustrate the hierarchical representation of masculinities (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005).

3) Vision of the victim as someone who lacks agency;

In the campaign Dislike Homophobic Bullying we can observe a narrative in which the victim is seen as lacking agency. The young man is portrayed as isolated and helpless in the face of the aggressors who hold the power. To end the suffering the victim is invited to go to the website and consult the information contained there about what bullying is and how it manifests. The website also offers links to other national and international organizations that approach gender and LGBT violence.

In a different direction, the Exorcise Trans Pathologization video brings the victims to the public space, united as a group, where they denounce discrimination from State institutions and they protest their lack of voice, access, and representation in media outlets.

4) An incidentalist approach to violence;

In the Dislike Homophobic Bullying campaign we can observe what Jeff Hearn (1998) coined as an incidentalist approach to violence, which refers to violence being conceptualized as incidents and isolated acts disconnected from power and social relationships. From the information provided in the website, we did not observe a social deconstruction of homophobic violence and its roots. Although the website provides clear and precise information about resources available to victims and encourages the victims to find help, it does not provide an explanation for this severe social problem. Hence, homophobia may be seen as an isolated attitude of a few individuals as opposed to a societal problem.

5) Language as a crucial subversive profane tool;

The campaign Stop Trans Pathologization makes use of subversive language repurposing the profane culture in several aspects: 1) the term “exorcise” makes reference to the profane universe; 2) the sexualized religious garb used in the performance, namely the nun habits and catholic veils combined with make-up, feathers and other accessories evokes a contradiction; 3)

the “profane prayer” confronts the dominant catholic, conservative tradition, which has presented many obstacles to the human and civil rights of LGBT people.

6) The public space as a promoter of political agency;

Whereas in the campaign Dislike Homophobic Bullying the narrative goes from public space, to the familiar private space, and then to the private space of the protagonist (his room), in the campaign Stop Trans Pathologization the main space chosen is the public space, a symbolic location with the statue of a well-known and respected person. Hence, in this campaign, issues such as sexuality, desire and gender identity are addressed in a public space. In the same manner that 1960s feminism defended the idea that “the personal is political,” this performance with a clear feminist approach, brings to the public sphere the themes that the patriarchal society prefers to see confined to the private space, thus isolating and controlling its visibility.

On the contrary, the Dislike Homophobic Bullying plays out the opposite narrative where the protagonist ends up isolated in his private, dark room.

7) A game of light and darkness that can be a form of re-victimization.

As the narrative moves from the public to the private sphere, the usage of light from bright to dark in the Dislike Homophobic Bullying campaign probably aims at alerting the viewer to the consequences of verbal homophobic violence. However, the message is also that victims are powerless and isolated in a dark room. Thus, the actual victims might not want to identify themselves with this image and be viewed as powerless, isolated, and perhaps weak.

Final considerations about the prevention of gender violence and LGBT discrimination

The present article analyzed two awareness raising campaigns in regards to the problems of homophobic and transphobic violence. This type of violence has its roots in a direct relationship between a gender hierarchy and the roles that are culturally and traditionally attributed to each gender. Currently, in Portugal, as visible in the Dislike Homophobic Bullying the combat to this type of violence is accomplished not only by social movements but also by the State institutions, who have a public commitment to equality and nondiscrimination.

The hegemonic masculinity, which is still present in Portuguese institutions, is rooted in heteronormative assumptions that gender roles are well defined and in two opposite poles. In the case of the Dislike Homophobic Bullying, the homophobic violence is presented as individual acts which do not call for a gender deconstruction of violence. Hence, in this campaign, the lesbian identities are invisible and no attention is given to the specificity of the violence that lesbian women experience. The social movements emerge as not only the agents of change, which forces the issue into the political agenda, but then also renounces the forms of violence that are still present in the patriarchal institutions and the State structure, as in the case of the pathologization of transgender people.

The presence of these campaigns online disseminates these ideas to a larger number of people and increases discourse, which may create change. In the words of Gertrude Postl (2009), gender is not an “effect” of what we are but what we do and can be understood as a repetition of discursive acts and justified by a norm or a group of norms.

The Dislike Homophobic Bullying campaign intends to raise the awareness against homophobic violence but subtly it reinforces gender stereotypes using a sexist and misogynist language, because it does not deconstruct the implicit meanings of gender in the video or in the website. The insults presented are mainly focused on the feminization of the gay man. The agency and action is always presented from the exterior to the individual and outside the campaign itself. This does not promote the necessary means for the victims to overcome isolation. For example, avenues to achieve social connection would be discussion forums, interactive chats, victims’ stories, or crisis/support lines or shelter contact information.

On the other hand, the campaign Stop Trans Pathologization comes from the victims’ voices and is used to talk to the aggressors. The video does not focus on the victims' isolation but rather on their union and their power in the subversion of pre-established gender norms.

Thus we conclude that whereas in Dislike Homophobic Bullying there is an incidentalist approach to violence, in (Stop Trans Pathologization, there is the use of language as a tool of profane subversion. Whereas the former implies that violence comes from individual motivation as opposed to being a social construction, the latter uses a transgressive discourse of the violence terms and the “accessories” that perpetuate violence. The transgression is something that exceeds the borders and the limits (Klesse, 2007: 287) and is in a climate of tension and confrontation that defines normativity as a subject to criticism and transformation.

In summary, the queer strategies of transgression and visibility are central to reclaim equality, advocate for diversity, refuse assimilation, and acknowledge the possibility of multiple gender identities.

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¹ The Panteras Rosa was founded in 2004 like a collective movement and without hierarchies, which focuses on radical democracy and direct action against discrimination and aggression that is targeting the LGBT community. While queer and transfeminist group, working to denounce cissexism, heterosexism and the primacy of heterosexuality as part of a patriarchal political system that creates sexual and gender differentiations to determine social inequalities (see https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Panteras_Rosa).

² The GTP was founded in May 2011 by Eduarda Santos and Lara Crespo, two of the activists who most consistently has given face and voice for the rights of transgender people in Portugal, considering the need for a proper transsexual voice independent of clinical lobbies and GL (gays and lesbians). Its claims list includes, among others, the fight against pathologizing of transsexuality, the fight against the association of transsexuality to reassignment surgery sex and other surgeries, and the struggle for non-interference of the Medical Association in transsexuality processes (Saleiro, 2013: 183).

³ José IV, Patriarch of Lisbon, though commonly just referred to as "D. José Policarpo", was Cardinal and Patriarch Emeritus of Lisbon from 24 March 1998 to 18 May 2013.

⁴ Paulo Macedo is a Portuguese politician. He was the Portuguese Health Minister from 2011 to 2015 in the government led by Pedro Passos Coelho. Passos.

⁵ Pedro Passos Coelho was the Prime Minister of Portugal from 21 June 2011 to 26 November 2015.

⁶ Vítor Gaspar is a former Portuguese Finance Minister and Minister of State, having served from 21 June 2011 until 2 July 2013.

⁷ Isilda Pegado is the president of the Portuguese Federation for Life and was the promoter of the petition "Defending the Future" in 2013, which gathered more than 5000 signatures against same-sex marriage, the abortion and the law of identity genre.

⁸ According to this law, people with Portuguese Nationality may request a change of name and sex in identifying documentation as long as they provide a report from a multidisciplinary sexology team in which a gender identity disorder is diagnosed. However, this diagnosis, derived from clinical practice but not being inscribed in law, is only conferred after a period of two years in which the person lives according to the gender h/she wants to transition. During this period, he/she must continue to use the identifying documentation with birth sex and name (Saleiro, 2013: 250).