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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: 'Dislike Homophobic Bullying', by CIG, the Portuguese governmental mechanism for citizenship and gender equality; and the performative action 'Exorcise the Pathologization', included in the Portuguese branch of the international campaign Stop Trans Pathologization 2012. Using critical discourse analysis (CDA) and visual analysis (VA), we conclude that gender violence is a cross-cultural and structural problem

KEYWORDS

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homophobic violence
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1. Gender as a central category of social analysis has been established since the seminal article of Joan Scott (1986), used to improve the understanding of power relations between men and women. Following Scott, several authors have been developing this stream of knowledge, both theoretically, epistemologically and empirically (see, among others, Connell 1987; Marshall and Witz 2004). In this development, the authors have configured a critique to gender binarism.

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 by the performativity of discourse, the intersectional and institutional power relations underlying social practices. We demonstrate how public campaigns against homophobia and transphobia can contribute to de-naturalizing the gender divide and gender regime, and thus to changing the cultural ground of gender violence. However, without deconstructing gender, they are at risk of reproducing gender hierarchies.

INTRODUCTION: BRIEF APPROACH TO THE FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE ON GENDER TO CONCEPTUALIZE VIOLENCE AGAINST LGBT

Taking a feminist and gender perspective – that is, where gender is a central category of analysis[1] – this article analyses two multimedia campaigns aimed at raising public awareness of gender violence, homophobic violence and transphobic violence. The two campaigns are 'Dislike Bullying Homofóbico' (Dislike Homophobic Bullying), which was promoted by the Commission for Citizenship and Gender Equality (CIG); and 'Exorciza a Patologização' (Exorcise the Pathologization), action coordinated by Panteras Rosa, the 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 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 et al. 2013).

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

In the 1970s and 1980s, feminist and women's movements were able to put violence against women into the public political agenda, and the concept of gender opened up new possibilities for understanding the genderization of violence (Pence and Paymar 1993). The 1980s and 1990s saw an increased body of work on masculine domination and control over women (LaViolette and Barnett 2000). Moreover, 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 of reifying 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 1960s, when the social sciences were attempting to understand transsexuality. In the context of the radical feminism and political lesbianism movements, the concept of gender also denounces compulsory heterosexuality (Rich 1980)

and views homophobia (and transphobia) as a weapon of sexism (Pharr 2000; Rodríguez-Castro et al. 2013). In spite of these roots, in recent years the concept of gender violence has tended to overlook forms of violence outside heteronormativity (Rodríguez-Castro 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: AGENCY FOR THE PREVENTION OF HOMOPHOBIC AND TRANSPHOBIC VIOLENCE

The lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) movement and the ensuing *queer* movement made the *coming out* process more visible. Sexual orientation and gender identity are no longer seen as merely private affairs of the individual, but take on 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[2] and homophobic assumptions, maintaining heterosexual and cisgender[3] privilege (Roseneil 2006).

Since 2004, Portugal has been one of the few countries that has 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, did the mission statement of the CIG include language supportive of LGBT people. However, this support was not attributed to any new or existing department or person (Rosa 2010).

Recent research shows that combating LGBT discrimination is more visible when the intervention comes from public institutions than from the actions of the LGBT movement itself (Rosa 2010). Using news articles about the approval of same-sex marriage in the Portuguese parliament, Fernando Rosa (2010) analysed how the media paid more attention to politicians in power than to the discourse of LGBT associations. The Catholic Church was the main opposition to LGBT associations. The public saw the government 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.

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

In relation to combating gender violence, relevant research has 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 to violence and control, either exercised or suffered (Anderson and Umberson 2001), and are associated with the connection between virility

2. Heteronormative assumptions consist of presuppositions based in heteronormativity. This notion, following Rich's concept of 'compulsive heterossexuality' (1980), has made its way across gender and queer studies to express and denounce how society is organized based on the assumption that heterosexuality is the norm – this is, normal – and other ways of affective and intimate relations are deviant or abnormal.

3. Cisgender is a concept that describes people whose biological body in which they were born corresponds to their personal gender identity. The prefix 'cis' in cisgender comes from a Latin word meaning 'on this side of'. Cisgender is used to refer to people who feel there is a match between their assigned sex and the gender they feel themselves to be; as well as to the social and immediate connection of a person's physical sex with their gender. It is worth noting that cisgender is being used to better express the difference to transgender identities.

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 of 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 (Collins 1998).

Discourse (Foucault 1988, 2006) and performance (Butler 1990) can be seen as constituting 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 discursive performativity (Butler 1997) to become transformative, it needs to be recognized as agency, in a given historical moment (Fraser 2002; Lovell 2003); in other words, it needs to be based in the political interaction of 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 analysis of two campaigns against homophobia and 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 obstacles to emancipatory action. In this analysis, we will take into account 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 (CDA) AND VISUAL ANALYSIS (VA) OF TWO MULTIMEDIA CAMPAIGNS TO PREVENT ANTI-LGBT VIOLENCE

In Portugal, the consolidation of the LGBT movement in the 1990s 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 Clube Safo in 1996 and Opus Gay in 1997. At the beginning of the twenty-first century more LGBT associations were founded, such as Não te Prives – Group for the Defense of Sexual Rights (2001) and Rede Ex-Aequo for youth (2003). These activist associations claimed some political space in the public media and some changes in the legal sphere, which, in turn, ensured increased and widespread visibility for LGBT people (Cascais 2004; Santos 2005).

From the 1990s to the present, the Portuguese LGBT movement has stood by the appearance of diverse alternative events in the public sphere: Arraial Pride (in Lisbon since 1997), a popular LGBT pride festival; Marcha do Orgulho LGBT (Pride LGBT Parade, in Lisbon since 2000); the celebration

of 17 May, the international day for combating 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, websites and publications of the movement. In this context, mediated communication by computer takes on features of the public sphere, in the sense developed by Habermas (1987) for a public space where public opinion and democracy are exercised outside the state and private domains.

The media introduced the LGBT community to the public sphere (Caldeira 2006; Gouveia 2005; Santos 2008; 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 were some kind of deviant disturbance of gender. This focus overshadowed the political activism of LGBT associations at public events as 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 (Castells 2010; Fraser 2010). *Cyberqueer* spaces are, therefore, spaces of resistance against the dominant heterosexist discourse of the traditional media.

This article is based on CDA and 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 violence against LGBT people. According to CIG (2013), its goals were to raise awareness among the general population of the harmful effects of homophobic bullying on 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, the Front against Lesbi-gay-transphobia,[4] and GTP, the Transsexual Portugal Group,[5] within 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 had made a public announcement on social media for people to join the action. Afterwards, a video of the performance was disseminated via the internet.

In a combination of CDA and VA, our study provides the connections between the messages of text and image, sometimes consistent and at other times divergent. Discourse analysis offers a wide range of possibilities for understanding '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.

4. Panteras Rosa was founded in 2004 as a collective movement without hierarchies. It focuses on radical democracy and direct action against discrimination and aggression that targets the LGBT community. While a queer and transfeminist group, it is 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).

5. The GTP was founded in May 2011 by Eduarda Santos and Lara Crespo, two of the activists who most consistently have given face and voice to the rights of transgender people in Portugal (Saleiro 2013: 183). On their website (http://transfofa.blogspot.pt/2011/05/contacto-transexual-portugal-grupo.html), they state that one of the main reasons for starting the group was 'considering the need for a proper transsexual voice independent of clinical lobbies and GL (gays and lesbians)'. Its list of claims 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).

Combining these two kinds of analyses, we take language and signs, such as images, the uses of light and unusual combination of words, as modes of producing the social world, as opposed to viewing and thinking about 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.

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) in which an individual agent can act (action).

The critical analysis of 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 analyse 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 levels of discourse that will be analysed (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 semiosis (including other forms of meaning construction, like visual language, body language and textual language, among others) – which offers possibilities for linguistic or semiotic analysis of 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 emerge as semiotic elements to be highlighted by CDA.

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

Images will be analysed by a combination of VA and the linguistic dimension (context, theme, sequence, narrative, light, titles, text and visual image). Kress and 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 in which they represent the world; that is, the effects in terms of knowledge and beliefs. The interactional operating mode enables analysis of the ways in which images create relations between viewers and represented participants, which takes into account power and control mechanisms. The third, the compositional, opens up the possibility for understanding the ways in which 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 to the contents of the textual production, according to the social positions they occupy in social relations. In this article, the goal is to analyse specifically the underlying strategies of the social practices presented in the two campaigns considered, which combat violence against LGBT people in Portugal. This will be followed by discussion of the results.

DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS OF THE CAMPAIGNS: DISLIKE HOMO-PHOBIC BULLYING (2013) AND STOP TRANS PATHOLOGIZATION (2012)

Dislike Homophobic Bullying

In Portugal, the term 'sexual orientation' was first included in the Labour Code in 2003. In particular, it was mentioned in the right to equal access to employment and work regardless of sexual orientation (Article 22), and the prohibition of discrimination and harassment based on sexual orientation (Articles 23 and 24). In 2004, the Constitution of the Portuguese Republic included Article 13, which prohibits discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation.

According to Saleiro (2013: 151), before 2007 there was confusion between homophobia and transphobia in regard to hate crimes, even in the associative movement. The non-inclusion of 'gender identity' and 'sexual orientation' as aggravating circumstances for discrimination and hate crimes was an indicator of both the perpetuation of invisibility of these identities and the lack of impact of the LGBT movement in Portugal. This started to change in 2007 with the revision of the Penal Code, which included 'sexual orientation' as a possible reason for discrimination along with 'race', 'sex' and 'religion', in Articles 240 and 132, concerning 'crimes against life', the so-called hate crimes. Later, in the next revision of the Penal Code in February 2013, 'gender identity' was also included, which can be read as an effect of the inclusion of gender identity in national legislation (Law 7/2011 of 15 March). This law 'created the sex and name change procedures in civil registration' and eliminated the need for the authorization of sex reassignment surgery by the Medical Board (Saleiro 2013: 185).

Dislike Homophobic Bullying, launched in 2013, was the first video campaign sponsored by the Portuguese government against homophobia. Specifically, it was promoted by the CIG, a governmental organization, which was integrated into the Presidency of the Council of Ministers. CIG responds to profound social changes and politics in 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 victims, parents and the school community. The website also contained an awareness-raising two-minute video intended for sharing on social media and YouTube (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jv-2i6zO-BE).

The analysis of the campaign will focus directly on this video. The process will also take into account the information provided on the website as well as the vulnerability that the LGBT population faces regarding homophobic and transphobic violence. On the blue background of its 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' and '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 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 its sharing on social media.

The narrative presented in the video begins with a teenage boy arriving home and the following hours as he remembers the homophobic remarks he has heard all day. The video starts with the teenage boy crossing a park full of trees and opening the door to his home. In the background 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 males (perceptible only by the tenor of their voices) are heard in the background making insulting remarks aimed at humiliating him:

- While pouring milk into 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 increases 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 boy closes the window blinds, which creates a darker setting:

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

After this comment, sitting on the edge of his bed, the teenager is seen crying for the first time. Following 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.dislikebullyinghomofobico.pt'.

The light changes throughout the narrative, going from a very luminous setting in 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 setting at the beginning of the video. There is also nobody else at home. The boy 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

Stop Trans Pathologization (STP 2012) is a worldwide campaign that focuses on the depathologization of the trans identity. The main goal of this international 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 the 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). In 2012, Transsexual Portugal and Panteras Rosa called for a public demonstration in Lisbon to mark the International Day of Action for Trans Depathologization (2012).

The demonstration (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R8LXul74uSM) consisted of a performance next to the statue of Dr Sousa Martins, in front of the Lisbon School of Medicine. Sousa Martins was a nineteenth-century physician and university professor who became known for his qualities as a 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. Sousa Martins' statue appears next. The background music is 'Ave Maria', performed by Beyoncé. 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 is dressed as a nun wearing a form-fitting, short habit. Others are wearing religious garb adorned with Catholic veils, crucifixes, colourful bead necklaces, 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, 'troubled women', evokes the gender identity pathology that the campaign intends to combat. The use of this term 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 '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 up of simple sentences, which are then repeated by the audience. At the end of each sentence, instead of saying 'amen', the 'congregation' pretend to sneeze and let out the onomatopoeic sound 'atchoo!'.

6. 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.

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

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

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

10. 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, abortion and the law of gender identity.

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 Policarpos[6] […], and bless this act […].

The choice to pay homage to a non-religious saint and make a mock prayer seems to be a way to highlight the role that the Catholic Church still has in Portuguese society. Using the name of the Lisbon Cardinal Patriarch, José Policarpo, 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 CDA of the journalistic visibility of the legalization of marriage between same-sex couples in Portugal in 2010. This study shows that the position of the Catholic Church had a prominent role in Portugal compared to the visibility given to the LGBT movement. In the same work, the author states that the first in-depth interview published in the media on the subject of same-sex marriage was of D. Jorge Ortiga, president of the *Portuguese Episcopal Conference*. The media attention given to the Catholic Church on this subject was clearly greater than that given to LGBT associations or associative movements. Rosa (2010: 51) also states that because the Catholic Church has a major presence in the country, often political representatives identify themselves as Catholics, receiving symbolic elite status in media representation, especially when publicly debating gender issues or sexual orientation. Thus, it is understandable that performative action intends to denounce the hegemony of the religious discourse on sexual minorities and gender.

The prayer in the video then asks the 'saint' to combat gender polarity and the pathologization of transgender identities by removing the 'ignorant transphobic psychiatrist'. The prayer accuses mental health professionals (here represented by 'psychiatrists') who depend on the diagnosis of gender dysphoria, pursuant to Law 7/2011 of 15 March, to explain the desire of the transsexual person to have sex reassignment surgery:

Dr Sousa Martins, who prevented diseases and countered injustice, be our spokesperson to get through to 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 Macedo,[7] Passos,[8] Gaspar,[9] Isilda Pegado[10] 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 on gender identity (Law 7/2011,

15 March),[11] which sees gender as binary and focuses on the concept of 'gender dysphoria', therefore pathologizing trans identities and perpetuating 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 refer to the Weberian concept of legal rational authority (Weber 2001: 685). This performance focuses on the power dynamics that promote discrimination at both 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: using the feminine as a form of humiliation or as a protagonist with political agency; invisibility of lesbians and lesbophobia; vision of the victim as someone without agency; an incidentalist vision of violence; language as a crucial subversive, profane tool; the public space as a promoter of political agency; and a game of light and dark that can be a form of re-victimization.

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 Dislike Homophobic Bullying, the insults that the teenager hears almost always imply viewing him as more feminine and, therefore, not masculine enough. In Stop Trans Pathologization, a woman emerges as the protagonist of the mock prayer that denounces some of the symbols of female oppression identified by radical feminism in the 1960s and 1970s, such as the nun's habit.

The choice of insults for a campaign against homophobia is very relevant, as several studies have pointed out that insulting is the main form of violence by peers against LGBT people (Carrera-Fernández 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, 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.

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 mostly of other young men. The insults thrown throughout the narrative clearly illustrate the hierarchical representation of masculinities (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005).

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

11. 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, is only conferred after a period of two years in which the person lives according to the gender to which he or she wants to transition. During this period, he or she must continue to use the identifying documentation with birth sex and name (Saleiro 2013: 250).

end the suffering, the victim is invited to go to the website and consult the information included 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 protest their lack of voice, access and representation in media outlets.

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 on the website, we did not note a social deconstruction of homophobic violence and its roots. Although the website provides clear and precise information about resources available to victims and encourages them 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.

LANGUAGE AS A CRUCIAL SUBVERSIVE, PROFANE TOOL

The campaign Stop Trans Pathologization makes use of subversive language, repurposing the profane culture in several aspects: the term 'exorcise' makes reference to the profane universe; the sexualized religious garb used in the performance, namely the nun's habits and Catholic veils combined with make-up, feathers and other accessories, evokes a contradiction; the 'profane prayer' confronts the dominant Catholic, conservative tradition, which has presented many obstacles to the human and civil rights of LGBT people.

THE PUBLIC SPACE AS A PROMOTER OF POLITICAL AGENCY

Whereas in Dislike Homophobic Bullying the narrative goes from the public space, to the familiar private space and then to the private space of the protagonist (his room), in 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 their visibility.

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

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 use 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

This article has analysed two awareness-raising campaigns in regard 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 is visible in Dislike Homophobic Bullying, combating this type of violence is accomplished not only by social movements but also by state institutions, which have a public commitment to equality and non-discrimination.

The hegemonic masculinity that is still present in Portuguese institutions is rooted in heteronormative assumptions that gender roles are well defined and on two opposite poles. In the case of Dislike Homophobic Bullying, homophobic violence is presented as individual acts that 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. Social movements emerge not only as agents of change, which forces the issue into the political agenda, but then also as renouncing the forms of violence that are still present in 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 awareness of homophobic violence, but subtly it reinforces gender stereotypes using sexist and misogynist language, because it does not deconstruct the implicit meanings of gender in the video or on the website. The insults presented are mainly focused on feminization of the gay man. The agency and action are always presented from the exterior to the individual and outside the campaign itself. This does not promote the necessary means for victims to overcome their isolation. For example, avenues to achieve social connection would be discussion forums, interactive chats, victims' stories, 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 the use of language is 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 terms of violence and the 'accessories' that perpetuate violence. The transgression is something that exceeds borders and limits (Klesse 2007: 287) and is in a climate of tension and confrontation that defines normativity as a subject of criticism and transformation.

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

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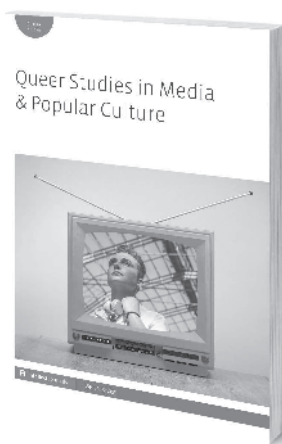
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