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Maria Manuel Baptista & Larissa Latif
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GENDER, HUMAN RIGHTS AND ACTIVISMS
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“OH, YOU’RE A BRAZILIAN WOMAN! WELL...”: SYMBOLIC AND GENDER VIOLENCE, SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS AND IDENTITY¹

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ABSTRACT

The proposed article is to contribute to the reflection regarding contemporary relations from the question of identity and from the intercultural dialogue, elements considered important to the overcoming of stereotypes and of social representations. In this way, we intend to discuss the reproduction of practices of structural violence of gender in relation to the Brazilian woman, who even today comes being manifested, through attitudes and behaviours, by a considerable part of Portuguese society. Such dispositions can be considered worrisome in any context where there is a social construction of a specific reality, however, in regards to the academic context, such a view causes perplexity in face of the affirmations of the principles and presumptions of the State of Democratic Right and the respect to the human dignity. From the complaints and protests that were exposed in the Brazilian and Portuguese media that generated diverse debates regarding the construction of social representations, based on the inheritance of a colonial patriarchal, sexist, destroyer of ‘otherness’ (particularly femininity) mind-frame, there was a strong discussion in the internal organs of the University of Coimbra. In the face of this, using a bibliographic revision and semi-structured interviews extracted from focus groups between Brazilian students at the University of Coimbra, we propose a discussion about the permanence of stereotypes and entropies in the dialogue and in intercultural relations, and reflect on the judgements of relative values of the Brazilian woman’s sexual morals, which is not unrelated to the relationships that are the sphere of private and social life “outside the academic limits”.

KEY-WORDS

symbolic violence; gender violence; identity; social representations; otherness.

Social Representations and Sexuality

The existence of social representations linked to Portuguese society, a society which we take as a reference to raise this question, relative to sexuality and the sensuality of the Brazilian woman, is rooted in stereotypes. In this sense, we place an importance in approaching the theme that, in a certain way, refers to the difficulties to the construction of Lusophone relations free from the colonial mind-frame. The negative social image generally associated to the Brazilian woman, to this day, remains in a considerable “fringe” of Portuguese society. For example, we observe that, in 2003, the movement “Mothers of Bragança”⁴. The fact was

¹ Work presented in the GT “Violence: femicide and LGBTQ-phobias” of the V International Conference in Cultural Studies: Gender, Human Rights and Activism.

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⁴ On April 30, a group of Portuguese women created a movement in the city of Bragança, located in the Northern region of Portugal that began with a formal and public campaign, called “The Mothers of Bragança.” The movement wanted to eliminate prostitution in their city. The indignation of the Portuguese women in relation to the Brazilian women centred itself on the accusation that they were “playing around with their husbands”, who were Portuguese husbands of the city. (<http://www.tsf.pt/vida/interior/dez-anos-depois-da-guerra-das-maes-de-braganca-3192894.html>).

recorded again in 2014 in social media and in the main newspapers of the city of Coimbra and Brazilian ones, from the repercussions of a set of complaints regarding the practices of symbolic and gender violence by Portuguese students of the 1st Cycle (Undergraduates) and by some teachers (from the Faculty of Letters of the University of Coimbra) in relation to Brazilian students, the majority of them female, in the Programme of International Mobility for Undergraduates.⁵

Such episodes reveal a vision of Portuguese society with a very negative view regarding Brazilian women. What calls attention, in this last instance, is the fact that the movement is not led and mobilized by Portuguese women against Brazilian women, but rather through the complaints by Brazilian students against the thought structure of the teachers and the Portuguese students, who established a gap and a contradiction with the ideas of education of intercultural dialogue, as well as infringing presumptions of human rights.

It therefore requires, from these events, an urgent reflection regarding how to break the stereotypes that derive from an abyssal thought relating to the Brazilian woman that is still in use. These behaviours generate resonances and reinforce the stereotypes that, in turn, reproduce social representations and contribute to the propagation of practices of structural gender violence and symbolic violence.

However we point out, through the described facts, not just the difficulties brought through the presence of social representations of identity and the otherness of the Brazilian woman, as well as question of sexuality and gender, which are present in the scope of relations. Whereas such questions do not arise as a “special case”, but as a critical dimension that invalidates the fight against violence and the affirmation of human rights, with regard to the discourses that promote resistance to discrimination.

The existence of an abyssal thought

Brazilian society, just like Portuguese society, finds itself in a process of social change with differences relative to each of their respective frameworks. The experience of the effects of a democratic expansion on one side, and a crisis of legitimization on the other. The expansion of democratic legitimacy has proportioned significant advances in the conquest of guarantees and fundamental rights. However, the set of austerity policies in the Portuguese case and the political crisis that unlock an economic crisis are elements that profoundly impact the day-to-day life.

Citizenship, the dignity of a human being, sovereignty, political pluralism and the social values of work and of free initiative are fundamental to the State of Democratic Right, present in both the Constitution of the Portuguese Republic and in the Brazilian Federal Constitution of 1988 (“Citizen” constitution). Both Magna Cartas reiterate the principles of equality and universalization that orientate their fundamental objectives⁶.

⁵ A campaign in 2014 by a group of Brazilian students at the University of Coimbra, through social networks, from photos with posters that denounced phrases overheard in the academic environment against xenophobia, racism, chauvinism and homophobia. (www.noticias.uol.com.br/album/2014/01/30/campanha-denuncia-casos-de-discriminacao-e-xenofobia-na-universidade-de-combra.html).

⁶ Art.3 of the Federal Constitution of 1988 (<http://www.jusbrasil.com.br/topicos/10641719/artigo-3-da-constituicao-federal-de-1988>).

As such, the object and the problem of the investigation, while targets of criticism by the social actors that fight for the necessary transformations, represent ideologies that are still hegemonic and align themselves with an abyssal thought. Therefore, they overlap and manifest themselves through language in a type of abyssal rationalism, because:

It consist in a system of visible and invisible distinctions, being that the invisible ones ground the visible ones. The invisible distinctions are established through the radical lines that divide social reality into two distinct universes: the universe “this side of the line” and the universe “on the other side of the line”. The division is such that the “other side of the line” disappears as reality and becomes inexistent, and it is produced as inexistent. Inexistence means not existing in any shape or form to be relevant and comprehensible. (Santos, 2009: 23)

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The existence of an abyssal thought relative to the comprehension of identity, otherness and the way of being of the Brazilian woman in the face of many women of other nationalities expresses itself as a fetish that does not restrict itself to a fringe of the population that possesses a cultural capital and a level of lower intellectual development. It reflects itself in the relations and the day-to-day representations of the academic environment and of the numerous socially privileged environments. It reveals the consistency of such ideas in what is referred to as its sedimentation in mental structures. Behind the good intentions of creating a Lusophone space, there are mental structures based on a logic of the abyssal thought, which could compromise and could have compromised the intercultural relationship. The fluidity in the exchange of equality of positioning and of conditions becomes fragile. The consequences around the construction of a Lusophone space are strong, since reforms would be necessary not only in terms of formal public policies (intercultural education), as well in the investment in the realm of social communication that reveal itself as a fundamental dimension to be rethought, with views to its reformation and effective contribution to an overcoming of the stereotypes in the scope of the Lusophone space.

Social representations, identities and otherness

It befits to highlight that one should not reduce the sense of representation to the notion of stereotype. The traces of stereotyping can be observed in discourses about groups in general (Deschamps & Moliner, 2009). How, for example, can someone have never heard of the punctuality of the British, the beauty of Brazilian women, the sense of organization of the Germans and the unbridled consumerism of the Americans? As one can see, the stereotype is a simplification or generalization of some well-known characteristic of a given group. In thinking of “representing or self-representing”, it equates to an expression of thinking to which the agent relates his or herself with an object, that is, there is no representation without object. This object could be a person, an idea, an event, a phenomenon, etc. In this sense, representation is characterized as a way of knowing practically what links a subject to an object, always being a representation of something (object) or of someone (subject) (Jodelet, 1993).

A social representation is a phenomenon and a way of structural thinking that weaves resonances formed in the middle of processes of socialization established in the group, as

Jodelet highlights (1994). They act in the origin and in the web of relations that occurred in the processes of primary socialization and of secondary socialization, as is in the case of the relations of teaching-learning and the analysed representations in question – the context of formal education (Martins; Pardal and Dias, 2011). We believe that the problem that is placed around the commentary/social representation: “Oh, you’re a Brazilian woman! Well...” acts against what would be supposed in a relationship between undergraduate students and even masters and doctorate students, including teachers.

The questions of sexuality and gender treated in this work, in addition to having the existence of social representations which, in this specific case, characterize “labels” still associated with the Brazilian woman, partly through some members of Portuguese society, also discusses the importance of the fights and the resistances to discriminations that violate their human rights, just like the neo-colonialism exercised by academics. In this way, we can reflect on behaviours attributed in functions of a past dominated by colonialism that reiterates a critical dimension, in what is reported to the discourses that involve the effective construction of intercultural dialogue.

The influence of this colonial inheritance associated to the social behaviour and the dissemination of the social representations, together with Portuguese society, causes the intercultural relationship/dialogue to have a dialectic that deserves attention, for one notices still a traditional structure that contradicts and involves academic thought, despite the existence of a great proportion of knowledge and the circulation of new ideas debated with the intention to deconstruct the force of stereotypes profoundly caught in the mentality of many.

In this sense, we highlight how much social representations also revert themselves in everyday representations in the way that “an emergency, development and the approach of determined terms (scientific, philosophical, theoretical, etc)”, migrate this sphere and are appropriated by common sense to characterize a determined reality, they are also, like in all ideologies, inverted and appear like Marx mentioned “from head to toe,” as they are “social products involved in social fights, just as the options that the individuals assume in the use or determined type of use of these terms” (Viana, 2008, p5).

In this way we recognise the function of representations that refer to a perception of a common reality about a construction of identity. They are representations of others and that we share with others that make use, at the same time, individual and collective beings (Deschamps & Moliner, 2009).

Considering that social representations are themselves “productions of practical knowledge orientated to the comprehension of the world and to communication” (Spink, 2010, p.14), the work presented addresses the weight that the social imagination and the dissemination of stereotypes exercise regarding the configuration of identities and otherness, observing, primarily, the problems and the discriminations that they are underlying and intervene in the construction of intercultural relations.

In Analysis

The object of the study in question: “Ah, you’re a Brazilian woman! Well...”, involves the whole fundamental notion in a stereotype and a conjunction of pejorative ideas that reveal the manifestation of a notion of social representations designated as “deaf zones”, conceived

by Jean-Claude Abric, at the school of Aix-en-Provence in 2003. This concept reinforces the existence of everyday representations and of everyday representations in parallel, as relations of common sense that are constructed through three centuries of colonial domination and the almost two centuries of relations established in the post-colonial context between Brazil and Portugal, conserve ideas formed in the logic of exploitation and of patriarchy.

The discussion is seen as a whole articulated and unique in what is interdependent, interlinked and mutually conditioned to the objects and the phenomena, therefore, the direct influence of the social environment and the impressions that they are subjacent to, turn the language, the most powerful of instruments. Beyond such conditions, it can be interpreted as mere images or thought structures that merely "tangent" the construction of social reality. In this way, the dialectic in question treats a determined social phenomenon and refers to discursive structures, considering that "[...] the discussion contributes to a construction of all the dimensions of social structure that, directly or indirectly, they mould and restrict: their own norms and conventions as well as relations, identities and institutions that they are subjacent to" (Fairclough, 2008, p.11).

In this sense, we present the excerpts from semi-structured interviews extracted from a focus group between Brazilian students at the University of Coimbra, in the scope of a doctorate investigation regarding "the social representations reciprocal of identity and Lusophone between Brazilian and Portuguese students at the University of Coimbra", in which questions regarding the Brazilian women were debated, considering not only the reasons that they align to an inheritance of colonial thought, patriarchal and sexist, but also an adoption of a practice of symbolic and structural gender violence, which in turn is sustained by an abyssal thought. As the excerpts and debates proffered by three Brazilian students show, the most recurring situations that reinforce the expression "Oh, you're a Brazilian woman!! Well..." exposes itself:

"It wasn't so good for me! What I thought...I'm going to Europe, right? There is that vision of living in Europe, people are open-minded and it's not what I saw. In some moments, as much inside the university as outside, I saw situations of prejudice. Prejudice against the immigrant, racial, gender, etc! For example, I think that the Portuguese...in my particular view, they are, for example, chauvinists! (...) And this question of gender...it's really strong...they are very conservative and (...) principally the question of chauvinism and of prejudice with the immigrant" (Brazilian doctorate of the Programme of Economics and Management, 52 years old).

"I think about the two sides and weigh the two sides: positives and negatives. Ah...First, I always put it this way: yes, I am an immigrant here! And I know there is a whole stereotype about Brazilians and beyond these questions, there are questions, as my colleague said, which is the question that the university is very traditional and conservative, just as Portugal is very traditional and conservative...and there is a very evident chauvinism! And this chauvinism is manifested in speeches and positions in relation to us women, principally, in touching the stereotype and when the stereotype, in my case, for example for being homosexual and of other colleagues that came here and suffered threats, like what happened in 2014, and left the press that same year" (Brazilian doctorate in the Programme in Medieval History, 30 years old)

“Beginning with the most recent time, which was now during the “Queima das Fitas”⁷, where a colleague in the master’s course and she’s pretty and all...and then a Portuguese man came to this friend of mine saying: “So? How about it?!?” And I looked and I said: “She’s not for sale and she’s not a prostitute and that’s not how it works!” And he said: “But you’re Brazilians! And Brazilians are so much easier!” And I don’t know what...a situation like this...there are various cases like this here. (...) But do you know when you’re very close to the situation, you understand that everything existing has already been spoken and... in the question of conservatism, bureaucratic and traditional in the situation, people understand that it’s all or nothing! The context...I think they are really very closed, boxed, squared off over certain types of thoughts or they are really, ultra, mega liberals! Anything can happen! Everything’s a party! You’re a Brazilian woman so let’s party...then there’s a “wow, wow” in this sense” (Brazilian doctorate in Law, 28 years old).

As Fairclough (2008) defends, the discourses that unveil an existent phenomenon and that cause the establishment of ideas and of qualified information that hang and contribute to determine new practices, can also be understood as a social action. For the author, “the discourse contributes to the construction of social identities, to the construction of social relations between people and to the construction of systems of knowledge and beliefs” (2001, p.91). In this sense, we observe that the dialectic perspective expresses itself and is evidenced in such narratives by means of stereotypes and discriminations, contributing to the reproduction of practices of structural violence of gender in relation to the Brazilian woman and representing an abyssal thought that derives to be fought and not reinforced in the academic environment. In accordance with the critical interpretation of the discourse, we also understand that the preservation of attitudes of stereotypes and prejudice is not that far from the thought that circulates the University of Coimbra, as it may see, where it also claims judgements based on the culture of customs in this academic environment.

Conclusions

From Fairclough’s vision regarding the critical dimension that takes the discourse as “(...) a way of social practice and not purely as an individual practice (...) what implies the discourse to be a mode of action, a form in which people may act regarding the world and especially regarding others, as well as a mode of representation” (2008, p.91), we propose to reflect and highlight the existing dialectic relations in the structures of thought of Brazilian and Portuguese students and this way question how the intercultural relationship is affected.

We stress that the structures of thought that hover over the students and Brazilian women, in the academic environment, demonstrated through their depositions, directly affect the intercultural relations necessitating to establish the deconstruction of stereotypes and logics based on the inheritance of abyssal thought, colonial, patriarchal and sexist, that seem to be still very representative.

In the two episodes referred, there is a logic of thought that the other, in this case, the Brazilian woman, is seen as “different”. Therefore, we treat an object of study regarding the social constructions of gender, that fall over the condition of inequality that is at the core of

⁷ Festival characteristic of the University of Coimbra had during the Academic Week.

xenophobic practices, chauvinistic and other types of prejudice. For these considerations, the existence of a conservative thought not only prevents the affirmation of social transformations and behaviours based in new dynamics and diversity, as well as de-characterize the social experiences, the identities and the otherness that can only be understood from the practices of dialogue and equality, considered mediators of the relations of familiarity and sharing.

In this way, we understand that a coherent perspective of diversity can only exist if it is altered to the idea of overcoming a vision/concept of culture as something static and composed by identities surrounded by themselves. Therefore, three exercises are fundamental: the dislocation, the permeability of cultural frontiers and the work of creative potential to see the richness of differences and contributions that can be acquired through the interaction with the diversity. This way, the recognition of universal nature of human rights can make sense for all, from their identities and otherness, with a base of thought exposed by Fish, who affirms that it is possible to "celebrate the difference without making a difference" and at the same time understand that the centrality of culture transforms itself daily (Stuart Hall, 1997; 2003).

Nevertheless, we conclude with a critical interpretation of discourse regarding the social representations of identity captured in the presented reports, that the existence of a strong influence of a colonial past maintain in action not only a dialectic relation as well as an abyssal of a symbolic and systemic violence in relation to the Brazilian woman. The permanence of anti-social and anti-democratic behaviours weaken the cultural dynamics that could be potential in the Lusophone space, in addition to attaching the strengthening of critical consciousness as a form of fighting the hegemonic power in the various social institutions and this way break with a metonymic and arrogant reason that tries to maintain the loss of social experiences (Santos, 2004).

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REPRESENTATION OF GAUCHO FEMALE IDENTITY: CULTURAL MEDIA ANALYSIS OF THE DOCUMENTARY “CIRANDA CULTURAL DE PRENDAS - 40 ANOS”¹

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ABSTRACT

This work seeks to identify and understand how gaucho female identity is represented in the documentary “Prendas 40 Anos – Ciranda Cultural de Prendas”, released in 2010 by the Gaucho Traditionalist Movement (GTM), during the fortieth Prendas Contest of Rio Grande do Sul. In order to achieve that, we operate a cultural-media analysis grounded in Cultural Studies and draw inspiration from the culture circuit protocols proposed by Johnson (2010) and Du Gay et al. (1999) to build a specific methodology for this study. We conclude that the representation of “prendas” in the audiovisual production points to women’s traditional as mother and wife.

KEYWORDS

prendas; identity; representation; cultural media analysis; documentary.

Gaucho culture and female identity: preliminary considerations

As a constitutive element of the real world, it is through and by culture that human beings, gathered in society, enable their interactions and ensure their survival. At the same time, as human product and legacy, it is also capable of enabling human operations in reality according to their needs and characteristics, transforming the world around them. However, methods of inserting and integrating members of a given culture - in particular those more complex – are never exactly analogous to each other. This is because each individual takes part in their culture in their own way, playing specialized and/or specific roles and functions (Laraia, 2008).

However, there is a minimum threshold of knowledge required, which allows the survival of the cultural system and coexistence among its members. We believe it is through tradition that transmission and perpetuation of the key constituent elements of a given culture take place. Thus, for culture, tradition is also important in the location of individuals, ei-

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ther within their own group, in relation to other subjects, or in relation to other communities. This is because, to ensure the perpetuation of certain cultural aspects – at the expense of others - it also reinforces and establishes power relations, which are decisive for the construction and for the apprehension of reality by the subjects as well as for the construction of their idea of themselves and others.

22 | Classified as a regional culture within Brazilian national culture, the gaucho culture refers to a set of tangible and intangible values which first recorded occurrence was in the territory of Rio Grande do Sul, a state located in Southern Brazil. Boosted with the European colonization process in the seventeenth century, it gathers cultural elements of Brazilian or national influence, from the countries of the Plate River Basin, such as the bordering Uruguay and Argentina, as well as genuinely American/indigenous aspects, African aspects, disseminated through the enslaved peoples, and European ones, inherited through the Iberian colonization and the waves of Italian and German immigrants who came to the state in the nineteenth century.

With the premise that there is a process of constant renewal of cultural systems, which does not occur without tensions between what is inherited from the past and contemporary cultural practices and is brought into effect via a process of acculturation or through internal upgrade traditions, currently, according Lisboa Filho (2009, p.175):

In Rio Grande do Sul, we have a constantly evoked and updated regionalism in various ways, including in specific media products of various kinds, both on television as well as on radio and the internet. [...] In this process, the constitution of gaucho identity is projected from the past and creates present practices, associated with other contemporary and even globalized ones⁵.

An important concept that operates on the location or classification of individuals within the cultural system they belong to, and also in relation to other individuals belonging to other cultural systems, is the concept of identity. Thus,

[...] identity in a personal sense is something that a person presents to others and what others present to them. Identity presupposes the existence of a human group. It does not answer the question ‘who am I?’ or ‘what do I want to be?’ as much as it does the question ‘who am to the eyes of others?’ or ‘how would I like to be considering significant others’ judgment of me? (LARRAIN, 2003, p.34).

And identities, plural, as suggested by Hall (1996, p. 69), although constructed in relation to the past, which is evoked through memory, fantasy, narrative and myth, do not constitute a mere recovery of the past, “they are just the names we give to the different ways that position us and by which we position ourselves in the narratives of the past”. Hence, the author concludes: “Cultural identities are the points of identification, the unstable points of identification or suture, which are made, within the discourses of culture and history. Not an essence but a positioning” (Hall, 1996, p. 70).

⁵ Except for Du Gay et al. (1997) in page 3, all quotes in this article were translated by the authors from Portuguese.

Woodward (2000) indicates the processes involved in the production of meanings are engendered through "systems of representation" connected to the different positions assumed by subjects within "symbolic systems" responsible for "classificatory structures that give meaning and a certain order to social life and to fundamental distinctions - us and them, outside and inside, sacred and profane, male and female - at the heart of cultural systems of meaning" (WOODWARD, 2000, p. 67-68).

For Du Gay et al. (1997) is through culture that things "make sense" and the task of "constructing meanings" is done through the way we represent them. Thus, it is through language and symbolic systems of representation that identities have meaning and "by language, we do not only mean language in the strict sense of written or spoken words. We mean *any* system of representation - photography, painting, speech, writing, imaging through technology, drawing [...]" (DU GAY ET AL. 1997, p. 13).

Therefore, representation symbolically acts to classify the world and locate our relationships inside. In this manner, identity construction is both symbolic and social - and to a certain extent, material. Personal objects are decisive for that statement of identity before the other. In this relation, from which the constitutive distinctions of identities emerge, the "national" or "regional" factor is sometimes stronger than other factors such as gender, for example.

In Rio Grande do Sul, there are many subcultures stemmed from the migratory flows that, over centuries of colonization, came to the territory now geographically delineated as a state - Azorean, Portuguese, Spanish, blacks, Germans, Italians, Jews, Poles, Japanese and others. However, the subculture elected to the detriment of all others is the *gaucho*, containing the symbology used to establish the region's identity, especially in opposition and confrontation with other Brazilian regions. According to Oliven (*apud* JACKS, 1999, p. 72),

[...] representation of the gaucho figure, with its rural expressions involving the horse, the breeches, the *mate* tea and the construction of a free and brave social type also served as a model for different ethnic groups, which would indicate that this representation unites the people of the State in opposition to the rest of the country.

An institution directly linked to the legitimacy of that image and its identification with the idealized gaucho type is the Traditionalist Gaucho Movement (GTM), which was first structured in the state capital, Porto Alegre, in April 1948. The hegemonically widespread concept of what came to be "gaucho culture" is strongly linked to the concept of "gaucho identity" and the GTM's institutional influence operates in its legitimacy by giving a very restricted meaning to what constitutes "being gaucho". Today, civil society, state, GTM, and media intertwine as instances where gaucho culture is boosted and fed back. In this context, it goes beyond daily family or collective life extended to the immediate community. Therefore, what can be understood as gaucho culture is not restricted to each institution's practices and values in an isolated manner. On the contrary: gaucho culture is, in fact, constantly and simultaneously influenced by each of these instances, and gaucho identity results from the tensions between them.

It is pertinent to remember that identities, especially in contemporary times, never enclose a contained concept of subjects. This is because, on the one hand, identity is continuously constructed and reconstructed, in a dialogic and dynamic process of counterpoint with

its different. On the other hand, contemporary subjects cannot be labeled as having only one cultural identity. The problem of identity is much more complex because in contemporary societies subjects assume multiple identities, sometimes even conflicting ones, that nevertheless coexist and are diachronically assumed by individuals (Hall, 1999).

Hence, it is assumed that the ways of being gaucho produced and reproduced by each of the instances that consolidate gaucho culture - state, civil society, media, and GTM – do not necessarily assent with each other and may even be in conflict. Therefore, we may infer that just as media discourse, which merely refers to a part of gaucho memory and tradition to represent the state's identity, these other instances will also build necessarily partial representations determined by ideological choices, as is GTM's case.

Regarding gaucho identity, the initial and immediate representation is with the male gender. According to Maciel (*apud* LISBOA FILHO, 2009), the word *gaucho* originally referred to a man of Lusitanian and indigenous mixed origin. This human type, deprived of material possessions and without a family, skilled in the pampas work - especially horse taming - lonely wandered through São Pedro Continent territory - currently Rio Grande do Sul - in search of temporary work in the ranches. He served as cowboy and militiaman in the constant struggles for territory and defending borders against the Castilians, and was often involved with illicit work, such as cattle and leather smuggling, so much so that, for centuries, the term *gaucho* identified a socially marginalized group. Kahmann (2006, *online*), however, states that “de-marginalization” of the gaucho begins with the blossoming of regional literature through the Partenon Literário (Literary Parthenon) (1869-1885), with the release of images such as “Centaur of the Pampas” (Centaur of the Pampas) and “Monarca das Coxilhas” (Monarch of the Hills). The mythical representation of the gaucho man was thus built.

To make room for women's participation within the CTGs, the Traditionalist Movement delimited women's ways of cultural integration - primarily to the state's “*prenda*⁶” contest, named “*Ciranda*⁷ Cultural de Prendas” (Cultural *Ciranda* of *Prendas*). In order to achieve that, GTM appealed to the memory of patriarchy and the foundation of the positivist model of society. Thus, traditionalism creates a representative of state identity for females, in accordance with its proposals of exaltation of memory and of the gaucho myth.

The social structure of the CTG invented the *prenda* and assigned her a social role, creating a set of expectations about the behavior of women representing the “gaucho traditions”. Traditionalism made room for the entry of women in CTG, bestowing them with the responsibility of representing the *prenda* figure. The expected behavior for *prendas* results from a process of subjugation of these women to the Traditionalist Gaucho Movement's social structure. The set of rules laid down by GTM is based on the difference of gender roles attributed to males and females. These standards are internalized by the *prendas*, who act in response to a structure that defines their space (Dutra, 2002, p.51-52).

Therefore, the *Prenda* representation, created by the Gaucho Traditionalist Movement, is the product of a negotiation between aspects of the Gaucho identity grounded in the male figure, and aspects of female identity according to what is expected of women, that is, the *prenda* is the heir to the “naturally feminine” values and characteristics that her supposedly

⁶ Within the Gaucho Traditionalist Movement, “*prenda*” is a gaucho woman paired with a “*peão*” (cowboy).

⁷ The word “*ciranda*” refers to a traditional dance.

valorous ancestors embodied. The meanings present in the prenda representation consequently give the idea of a “gaucho woman” who remains, according to this logic, constant over time, and that are transposed to the cultural system that structures traditionalism. Hence, this study examines the intersections of the gaucho identity and female identity in the media representation of the prenda, identifying the meanings it evokes and produces - considering the context of production, circulation, and reception of the “Ciranda Cultural de Prendas – 40 anos” documentary.

Methodological path

From the point of view of Cultural Studies, theoretical and methodological proposals modeled on cultural circuits for communication foster a research plan that integrates different elements - producers, texts, and receivers - and moments - production, circulation and reception/consumption - which constitute the entire communication process. Johnson (2010) and Paul Du Gay (1997) propose their own protocols for the analysis of each moment and element’s specificities, that is, of the axes involved in the circuit as a whole, without pre-determining how these relationships are formed.

Richard Johnson’s circuit of culture (2010), originally proposed in 1986⁸, whose diagram is shown in Figure 1 below, indicates that it is in *production* that lies the concern for the organization of cultural forms, while the way to treat symbolic forms is located in *text*. In *reading*, the focus is on social reception practices, understood as a space for the production of meaning. Johnson (2010) also points out the existence of *lived cultures*, wherein circulate the active cultural elements that guide both the space of *production* as well as that of *readings* (ESCOSTEGUY, 2007). Paul du Gay et al. (1997)’s circuit of culture proposal develops from the study of the Walkman as cultural artifact, articulating the axes of *representation*, which refers to symbolic systems constructed within language, such as text and images involved in the *production* of an artifact or cultural product, i.e., in its socially organized transformation that takes place under certain means of production. These systems, within *representations*, generate *identities* attached to them and have a *regulation* effect on social life, promoting consumption. This circuit is represented in Figure 2:

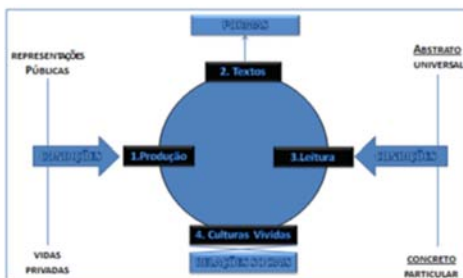


Figure 1 – Circuit of Culture
Source: Adapted by authors through Johnson (2010, p. 35)



Figure 2 – Circuit of Culture
Source: Adapted by authors through du Gay (1997, p. 3)

⁸ Richard Johnson. “What is cultural studies, anyway?” *Social Text*, 16, 1986-87, p. 38-80.

In this research exercise, however, we believe it is possible - and even rewarding - for analysis purposes, to appropriate the elements present in one or another of the above listed protocols. We have proceeded to compose a “hybrid” circuit whose elements enable views on the various aspects of the context of production of the representations of the gaucho woman in the documentary “Ciranda Cultural de Prendas – 40 anos”. Hence, we present our circuit for the analysis of the *prenda* representation in said documentary in Figure 3.

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Figure 3: Circuit of culture for the analysis of female gaucho identity representation in the documentary “Ciranda Cultural de Prendas – 40 anos”.

Source: developed by researchers.

We ratify this methodological choice since the elements of *identity* - regional and gender – and *representation* are central to the analysis of the selected empirical object. Specifically, we want the focus of this analysis to fall on the representation of the *prenda*. However, we selected identity as the axis for the circuit of culture, observing the tensions caused by the negotiation between gender identity (woman) and regional identity (gaucho).

By *ambience of production*, we mean a great instance composed of two moments: *Regulation* and *production*. A further look on the moment of *regulation* of the contest promoted by GTM that elects the Prendas - Ciranda Cultural de Prendas - also seems relevant to deepen the research; so this is a factor to be considered in this analysis, since the meanings of being a *prenda* are also built from the regulation proposed by the event and, more broadly, by the hegemonic and institutional regulation of the gaucho culture operated by the Gaucho Traditionalist Movement.

In this part, being a media product commissioned by GTM to commemorate the fortieth edition of the State *Prenda* Contest, and directed primarily at the young Ciranda participants, we analyze the documentary’s context of production context, which is not only governed by technical standards for audiovisual production, but mainly by ideological choices that shape the product. To contribute to the analysis, interviews were conducted with the documentary production team, via email. Open question interviews with the board of the Traditionalist Gaucho Movement were also conducted, in person.

The documentary text itself - the audiovisual product - was taken into account and subjected to textual analysis. The methodological tool proposed in this research to take care of the text itself, i.e., the selected documentary, is textual analysis. This is due to our understanding of its applicability on audiovisual products. According to Casetti and Chio (1999), images and sounds that make up such products can also, for purposes of analysis, be considered as texts - that is, language and communication achievements working from a symbolic material with specific composition rules to produce certain meaning effects. This exercise resulted in the creation of a reading scheme based on categories of textual analysis proposed for the documentary "Ciranda Cultural de Prendas – 40 anos": narrator and narrate, subject, scenery, and costumes, through which we seek possible answers to the question: "How it is female gaicho identity represented in that documentary?".

Representations of female gaicho identity: search results

First, we can infer that the representations of female gaicho identity through the Prenda present in the documentary are ideologically regulated by the Gaicho Traditionalist Movement since the ambience of production. But this regulation can start even before, as the "Ciranda Cultural de Prendas" is the contest that "creates" the "ideal" representation of the gaicho woman, the Prenda, and that choice is completely regulated by GTM, mainly through the regulation of the Prenda's competition in Rio Grande do Sul. Thus, GTM's board, as creator of the documentary, exercised its regulatory power in the production of ambience to select the Prenda representations presented in the product, ensuring that the testimony of each invited participant was in line with its policies and its cultural interests.

However, by adopting the analytical protocol of the circuit of culture, we assume that one instance influences the other and therefore the notes on Prenda representation along the textual analysis are directly related to the ambience of production and regulation. By analyzing the documentary, we were able to map the representations of female gaicho identity designated for the Prenda in the product and found that most of them located the woman as a secondary subject, amidst a gaicho culture grounded in the male. Identified with the patriarchal family model and the positivist model of society, these representations relegate the Prenda to a supporting position in the cultural system - albeit in a veiled way. Even the representation of the Prenda identified with the participation in the Ciranda Cultural, of which she is the protagonist, gives her a role we think is at least debatable, since the competition plays an important role in affirming the GTM itself, whose foundations are exactly patriarchy and positivism, basis of the traditionalist legitimization to delineate the limits of female participation.

We could flatly summarize or unify the representation of female gaicho identity designated for the Prenda in the documentary "Ciranda Cultural de Prendas – 40 anos" as the wife and mother in the traditional model, and whose social role, specifically in traditionalism, is determined according to the activities then judged to be more suitable for females. This representation also points out a "natural" heiress and the continuer of the values of a supposed heroic and mythical ancestor, whose legitimate representative the Prenda of Rio Grande do Sul, participant or elected by the Ciranda Cultural de Prendas, will become. This is legitimated by GTM itself, instance that created this representation. And finally, this rep-

resentation of the Prenda will be identified, mainly through the testimony of former participants and winners of the contest, with the subsequent conquest of the labor market and the contemporary female empowerment therefrom derived.

However, the documentary silences other representations which, we can conclude, do not concern the traditionalist context or include the objectives established for the product in question. When it was decided to present the representation of the gaucho woman in the role of wife and mother in the traditional family, consisting of father, mother and children, such a choice reverberated the valuing of heterosexual marriage over other types of loving relationships, including gay marriage - subject that exalts tempers within the CTGs. Since the product's goal was to make a historical record in the occasion of the forty years of the Rio Grande do Sul Prenda Contest, it is expected that the predominant representation in the documentary was the Prenda identified with the Ciranda.

Final remarks

By telling the “evolution” of women’s participation in traditionalism, the documentary extols women’s occupation of several important positions in decision-making traditionalist structures. However, this “growing” women’s participation in traditionalism - verified both in numbers and in achievement of other spaces such as administrative and agricultural areas, for example - is very little explored in the documentary. We can conclude, to some extent, that the immediate context of Ciranda, though fundamental to the GTM, it is not a space for dialogue, construction, exchange between the prendas and other women participating in other instances or areas of traditionalism. Similarly, we also came to the conclusion that the documentary does not promote linkages between traditionalist women in general because it is reductive to the category of participant Prendas or winners of the Ciranda. In addition to what the text says, attention should always be payed to what the text did not say. When we attained ourselves to the analysis of production processes, we obtained very important information: GTM censored the invitation to certain traditionalists, demanded the edit of a Prenda’s speech and, for political reasons, some people refused to participate in the project. Reflecting beyond the representations of female gaucho identity presented in the documentary, we can speculate on the representations it failed to present. Ultimately, a number of new questions about the numerous representations of the gaucho woman who were not included in our empirical object take shape. Therefore, it is urgent that new studies on the representation of gaucho identity by the media start to emerge, particularly those whose focus is the identity of the gaucho woman.

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ADDRESSING GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE: ACTIONS AND PUBLIC POLICIES¹

Claudia Priori²

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ABSTRACT

This work aims to discuss the actions and public policies to combat the gender-based violence, especially policies addressed to women, and it is based on a research conducted at the Specialized Police Station in Defense of Women (Paraná/Brazil) and on the Brazilian legislation in the past decades that address the issue, and is anchored in the history of the study of women and gender relations. It is evident in the Brazilian context the importance of implementing policies and actions to eradicate deep-rooted gender discrimination in society, because although there are specific laws to punish the perpetrators and protective measures for women - the institutionalization of gender violence – we witnessed and experienced daily a variety of types of violence and crimes committed because of gender / based on gender. Therefore, our aim is to address the issue in paying attention to the motivations that still socially reproduce these violent and discriminatory practices.

KEY-WORDS

Women; gender-based violence; public policies; discriminations; power relations.

Body of work

We begin this work by presenting some cases of violence recorded between the late 1980s and 1990s, in the Specialized Police in Defense of Women in Maringá-Paraná, and also the recent episode of attempted femicide - the case of Gisele in Porto Alegre/RS, on August 2nd, 2015 - to demonstrate the perpetuation of violence against women in its various manifestations: physical aggression, moral, psychological, verbal, symbolic, sexual violence, femicide, patrimonial violence, institutional and obstetrical , among many others.

(Oc.108/96) C.M.T... dating for 02 years with BKJ... started to argue, when he began to attack her verbally ... and that if the complainant breaks up with him he will throw acid so that she is deformed and not meet anyone else ... [Verbal Aggression and Threats - recorded on 23/02/96].

(Oc.05/89) At 10:00 today, attended this Specialized Police, V.A.G, single, of age, complaining of her father M.G, the one drinks and is morally attacking the family, and on the last day 1, her father beat her mother and her broke her leg ... [Physical Assault / Injury Body - registered on 03/01/89].

(Oc.567/95) At 15: 30, attended this Z.S at this station, representing his daughter, a minor A.S ... the minor dated and fled with P.C.Z, living with that one for 04 months ... that on

¹ Article presented in GT “Violências: femicídio e LGBTQfobias” do V Congresso Internacional em Estudos Culturais: Gênero, Direitos Humanos e Ativismos.

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02/12 around 5. A.m. ... grab her on the street by force, dragged her by the hair, took her into the woods and tried to rape her, that to defend herself bit and scratched and managed to escape ... [Attempted Rape - registered on 04/12/95].

[...] He was jealous of all the boys, I could not accept invitations to add profiles on social networks, could not talk to former colleagues from school. I had no contact with anyone, only with some girls. He went out to work and I stood at home taking care of everything. His mother encouraged him. For example, he wanted to eat a cake. I tried and failed. "I will not do, I'll buy," I thought. Then his mother told him that he had to break my face. [...] There were several separations. I sent him away, so he went to his mother's house and kept asking me for forgiveness. When I definitely decided for separation on August 2, the worst happened. [...] I raised arms and hands to protect my head, and it just continued. "Bitch!" He shouted. I said I'd forgive him to see if he would stop, but he continued to the end. (Case Gisele, Porto Alegre, 22, attempted to Femicide - Source: Folha de S. Paulo, 13/08/2015).

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These records are evident cases of violent gender relations, a phenomenon that we must face day to day. From the conceptual contributions of gender studies and understanding gender³ relations as a category of historical analysis, I refer to the American historian Joan Scott, when she says:

When I talk about gender, I refer to the discourse of difference between the sexes. It does not refer only to ideas but also to institutions, structures, the daily practices, as well as the rituals and all that is social relations. The discourse is a world ordering tool, and although is not anterior to the social organization, it is inseparable from this. Therefore, gender is the social organization of sexual difference. It does not reflect the first biological reality, but it builds the sense of this reality. Sexual difference is not the original cause from which social organization could derive. It is rather a moving social structure, which must be analyzed in their different historical contexts (Scott, 1998, p.2).

So from this gender perspective, I consider to be more appropriate to use the term/concept of gender violence to analyze the complexity of violent relationships between genders. And for that, I appropriate from the contributions of sociologist Heleieth Saffioti, stating that:

Gender violence, although the expression encompasses domestic violence, cannot be used as a synonym of this, it not only has a wider dimension, it has also more diffuse features and does not indicate that it is routinely directed to the same target. Gender violence reaches, preferably, the category that is part of subordinate way in the context of unequal gender relations (Saffioti and Almeida, apud Almeida, 1998, p.18).

It is important to note that gender violence commonly affects women, but also children, teenagers, homosexuals, transgender and other social groups, causing irreparable damage to life. Gender violence is usually practiced by the one that has a greater share of power in a relationship (see the example of Gisele's mother-in-law who encouraged her son to "break her"). In terms of gender relations between men and women, the man commonly exerts

³ See the work of Grossi, Mirian et. Al (1998). Enterview with Joan Wallach Scott. *Revista Estudos Feministas*. 6 (1). IFCS/UFRJ, 114-125.

greater power and domination over women and children, due to patriarchal and chauvinist heritage, which touts strength, virility and power stereotypes to men.

32 | Even if relations have been socially constructed with the unevenness of power between the genders, power is not an inert or passive target. This means that when a person feels threatened, coerced or abused, one tends to resist pressures, creating a force field, a counter, and according to Foucault (1982, p.183) “power flows, transitions between those who they relate in some way.” This field of power between genders does not always happen peacefully, but by ways of aggression, retaliation, even though one offender is a close partner, as happens in relationships of gender. After all, as more forms of resistance, counter-power strengthen, more the status quo tries to stay in power, using the domination and violence.

The violence shows that there is a struggle and resistance of genres from the perspective of having control over the other, by not allowing the other to switch directions in the relationship, i.e, there is a struggle to preserve the status quo by maintaining social organization as it is, for the permanence of power relations, and often uses the resource of violence to the coercion of another, as a way of expressing their domination and power. Violence seeks to nullify the forces of one of the poles of the relationship, attempts to remove the individuality of the person, violence immobilizes.

Addressing violence against women is mainly due to the work and struggle of the feminist and women’s movements so that the state recognizes the need to create specialized agencies for victims of violence, and would provide a legal treatment to the issue. This closer look at the issue (which was previously seen as a question belonging to the private sphere) comes from the 1980s, when one realizes that it was a specific type of violence: the gender-based. A violence that goes beyond the physical abuse and moral frailty, in other words, that limits women’s action by establishing the areas that women can take and hold that defines the social roles, places they can go, what they can talk, write and even think about, that determines the types of appropriate clothes to wear, the way they should behave, a violence that imposes how their sexuality should be experienced, and so many other prohibitions.

The perception of the complexity of gender-based violence culminated in actions and creation of public policies to address and combat this phenomenon. One of the measures implemented in Brazil, yet in the 1980s, was the implementation of specialized police service of victims who were women (the women’s police stations) and a few housing for victims. The police stations play an important role, because they represent a space of they own, where victims formalize their complaints, bringing up a problem that is cultural, social, legal, and public health. The first women’s police station was created in São Paulo in August 1985 - 30 years ago - and then several police stations were being installed in the country since. They are still scarce, as we have just over 500 police stations in a country with 5,570 cities, therefore only 10% of Brazilian municipalities have this specialized care. And it is worth remembering the precariousness that many of these places work, as in the lack of training of police officers to understand the cases from the perspective of gender, and also the absence of female officers for providing assistance to the victims. This unpreparedness or neglect with women’s police stations, often by providing a poor service, commits an institutional violence against the victims.

We recently (February 2015) had the creation of the first House of Brazilian Women in the city of Campo Grande/MS; and in June the same year, the opening in Brasília/DF of a sec-

ond unit, built with funds from the federal government. Other units are being built in capitals. The first units are already running and providing daily and multidisciplinary care: from receptionists who welcome and triage female victims of violence, to psychologists and social workers teams, and to the promotion of economic autonomy. A center of transportation also works at these Homes, to take the victims to hospitals for care and for examinations at the Institute of Legal Medicine (IML). The differential of the House of the Brazilian Woman is the integration between the Specialized Police for Assistance to Women (DEAMs) working 24 hours a day, the judiciary, the State Prosecutor's Office and the Public Defender's Office, serving in the same space. In addition, it provides other services such as a toy room, halfway housing and living space for women and children (from 0 to 12 years old) that are accompanying the victims. The Federal Government prospects that each state should have one of these houses.

There are several achievements of the feminist and women's struggles after decades of work and organization of movements in combating violence. In this sense we can mention the institutionalization of gender-based violence with the creation and specialized care in police stations, the line *Ligue 180* created in 2005, the law Maria da Penha established in 2006⁴, and it is also important to mention the implementation of public policies such as the National Pact for Combating Violence Against Women, launched in August 2007 by President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, as part of the social agenda of the federal government. This plan consists of a federative agreement between the federal, state and local governments for planning actions and integrated public policies throughout the country.

In 2013, it was the launching of the program "Woman, Living without Violence" by President Dilma Rousseff, in order to integrate and expand existing public services, through the coordination of specialized care in health, justice, public safety, social assistance and the promotion of a financial autonomous network. The initiative was transformed into a government program, including the measures and actions already mentioned to combat violence.

Since 2005, by the time of the creation of the line *Ligue 180*, the call center has recorded 4,488,644 calls (balance data released in the first semester of 2015). In the first semester of 2015, the Center conducted 364,627 consultations, which were on average 60,771 visits/month and 2,025 calls a day. Cases of physical violence, psychological violence, moral violence, patrimonial violence, sexual assault, false imprisonment and human trafficking are some examples of complaints. Yet in the first semester, it attended all 27 unit states, and 3,061 of the 5,570 Brazilian municipalities (representing 55%). This shows how violence is everywhere and emphasizes the importance and effectiveness in the internalization process of line *Ligue 180* to regions that do not have specialized care. From March 2014, the line *Ligue 180* has accumulated a dial-report function, in other words, in addition to providing care and guidance of women in situations of violence, it took over the task of sending the reports of violence to the competent bodies for research (with the authorization of users). The hotline model is mostly sought by females (representing 59.98%). But it was found that there was an increase in Central demand by others close to the victim, reporting of violence against women events, like the family, neighbors, and friends, it shows a greater awareness

⁴ Law number: 11.340, from 07 August 2006 - The Maria da Penha. This law criminalizes domestic violence as a form of violation of human rights. Amending the Penal Code and allows attackers to be caught in the act, or have their preventive detention when threaten the physical integrity of women. Also guarantees some unprecedented measures of protection for the woman who is at risk of life, such as the removal of the aggressor from the home and the prohibition of their physical approach to abused women and children.

of gender-based violence and drives a change in how the popular saying goes, now we can say, “*Anyone should do good between a man and his wife.*”

The calls in the line *Ligue 180* reveal how violence can be a routine and permanent link to the perception of feminicide risks against the victims of violence. Therefore, it is evident the importance of Law No 13.104, from March 9, 2015 – The Law of Femicide – because it frames and visualizes the violent deaths of women for reasons of gender and misogyny present in cases of murder. The femicide crime enters the list of heinous crimes.

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These initiatives and measures comprise the current program “Woman, Living without Violence”, and the Office of Policies for Women – in a status of Ministry – as responsible for program’s coordination and for its implementation, acting jointly with the Ministries of Justice, Health, Social Development and Fight against Hunger, and Labor and Employment. This implementation has been taking place in various ways: the creation of the House of Brazilian Women, patrolling the Maria da Penha Law, campaigns against violence, the extension of line *Ligue 180*, and the humanization of the care for victims of sexual violence, among others.

In a country and society where women are the majority of the population and the electorate, they occupy a larger number of university chairs, and a large portion of them are heads of families, why are thousands of women still living with violence? With so much legislation and protective and preventive measures, why there are still so many cases of gender-based violence? What are the reasons for the considerable increase in physical assaults, rape, false imprisonment and femicide, in Brazil in recent years?

The possible answers go through questions of naturalizing the devaluation of women, transmitted by biological, legal, religious, educational and socio-cultural speeches; by legacies of patriarchy and a macho culture that is inscribed in social practices; by naturalization of violence against women. To combat these discourses and practices, we need to invest in changes in education, in the form of social organization, promoting socio-cultural changes that respect and accept the differences, the otherness, and the “other”, who practices sisterhood⁵ and promote gender equality.

An education focused on gender equality, in which our children grow up learning that men and women may be different, without ceasing to be the same, and that they can and should be respected in the same way, that no one is superior to the other. This is true for gay people, black, transgender, people with special needs, among many other differences. Our education, our culture would be inclusive and not exclusive.

It is time for men and women break the biological speeches, sexist and misogynist as well as the propagated interdictory practices as “natural” because they are not. We cannot allow biological speeches of past centuries (although many people and conservative groups still currently insist on being based on it) to continue perpetuating socially, and delimiting spaces and social practices. We must break with this and understand the complexity of sociocultural factors, gender relations, of how they are built, legitimized and reproduced. It is necessary to promote gender equality in all areas and relationships.

I turn now to the research conducted in the occurrences records of Maringá’s Women Police Station, Paraná/BR, in the period between 1987 and 1996, to support our reflections.

⁵ In Portuguese: Sororidade from Latin, *sororis*, sister and *idad*, related to quality. The Sororidade is the pact between women who are recognized as sisters, being an ethical, political and practical dimension of contemporary feminism.

The city of Maringá was highly developed in the 1980s and this served as an attraction for people from other places searching for better living conditions.

In the time frame covered by the survey, the number of incidents recorded amounts to a total of 6,399 complaints covering a wide typology of crimes. So for a qualitative analysis of the data, we start from a selection of 3,721 occurrences which allowed defining the profile of victims and aggressors, the motives and the circumstances in which the attacks occurred, and our research showed characteristics similar to national and international wide surveys.

Our research covered, according to the Brazilian Penal Code⁶, the following crimes committed against women: attempted murder, bodily injury, libel, defamation, slander and moral aggression totaling 53.80% of worked occurrences, there is, so that just over half of 3,721 complaints, refer to crimes against life, personal injury and against the honor.

In a second group are the complaints about death threats, various threats and house imprisonment corresponding to 16.40% of cases, in other words, crimes against individual freedom.

In the third group, we treat the crime of attempted rape, corresponding to 0.57% of the total, it was perceived to be a significantly low number, but with serious psychological consequences for those who went through this experience. With the recent reformulations in the Penal Code, such crimes fall under the classification “against sexual dignity”, but at the completion of the research, is still framed in “crimes against custom”.

Finally, the fourth group comes to aggression resulting from drunken state, equivalent to 29.23% of the cases considered by the Criminal Code only as a misdemeanor on the politic of costumes.

The very close affinity level between victims and aggressors affects the forward decision-making of denunciation to these abuses and reveals the varied reasons why victims do not do it and continue to live with violent practices.

The various types of violence, including an instrumentalized violence, target the woman’s body, disfiguring it and treating it as an object on which great cruelty is spent. We find in the records of occurrences references to a variety of instruments used by the attackers: pliers, knives, chains, stones, scissors, chairs, sickles, knives, skewers, revolvers, forks, stools, wooden pieces, belts, daggers, hammers, rakes etc. The variety of strokes like punches, slaps, kicks, beatings and blows, reaches several areas of the body, leaving marks, scars that are recorded in double level, noting the psychological consequences of violence.

The exacerbation of violence and cruelty in the crime are always linked to power relations, and are forms of expression of statements, or reaffirmation of their own power relations. It carries a non-discursive cultural brand, or soon becomes part of the violent practices. The cruelty of a crime is not just about the violent practice, but the action and reaction that lead to the justification of cruelty, for example, the absence of justification.

The body injury, homicide attempts (today femicide) and attempts to rape, and the different forms of aggression in attacker’s state of drunkenness directly affect the physical integrity of these women, hurting their bodies and these brands reveal and take meanings of power, control, domination and male exploitation on them. It is the exercise of pleasure for enjoyment.

⁶ Brazilian Penal Code, approved by the Law no. 2.848, from 7th December, 1940.

The use of violence and cruelty which disfigures the female body is one of many ways that men are used to subject women and delimit the social spaces and places they can occupy. The defacement carries meanings that lead to exclusion, contempt, rejection, to banishment, to inferiority and discrimination. Cruelty disfigures, or rather, transfigures the body (turns it into something else, in another figure), and this is a way to dominate the other's body. It is a cancellation of the other.

Although we are working with instances of data records, we know that many women do not report the violence suffered for several reasons: fear of reprisals, the hope that the abuser will change his behavior, the feelings they nourish for the aggressor, trying to maintain family ties, low self-esteem, self-guilt, introjection speeches that their lives and their bodies are possession and ownership of "their" man (husband and/or partner), and in addition there are other factors such as economic, social and cultural ones, that block the complaint and the rupture with violence.

Physical violence, threats, moral and sexual assaults directly affect the mental and emotional aspect, triggering a fragility in the structure of personality, behavior and undermining the self-esteem of those who pass through the experience of being a victim of violence. Fear, embarrassment, anxiety, panic syndrome and self-guilt are effects of constant oppression in which they live, contributing to isolation and feelings of inferiority.

The financial autonomy of many women contradicts the idea of common sense that economic dependence is one of the main reasons for the permanence of women in relationships marked by violence of gender. It is needed to comprehend the sociocultural factors to understand the complexity of practices and cycles of violence.

The self-guilt is very significant among these reasons, as it reveals how women take for themselves sexist speeches and practices that they are to blame for the attacks⁷. These speeches are also assumed and played by the police and judiciary, which inhibit victims to report.

The gender-based violence, as noted, is a very broad field, because it refers not only to violence brought against the body, morality, women's sexuality, but it is also a way of indicating to women and other socially excluded groups, its *locus*, its determined place in society. In other words, it is a deliberate attempt to prevent the "other" and in this case, mostly women, to conquer new spaces and withdraw from social models framed by a cultural tradition of domination and male exploitation that always prevailed in society. In this case, violence, markedly sexist, violates the rights guaranteed to individuals regardless of gender.

So, given this complexity that is violence, I would put the question: gender violence is not just a local phenomenon, but worldwide, and requires a longer look at the measures and public policies. The awareness that gender violence in its complexity not only affects the family, but also various social groups, and has numerous implications for gender relations, especially for the health of victims is still limited. So there is much to be done and a key point is the struggle against the reproduction of violence in gender relations, by overcoming the power gaps in social, family or marital relationships. In addition, whatever the type of violence suffered either violence committed by men or women, regardless of spaces where happens, the output is still the complaint, the official complaint, because only then can we know

⁷ See the new research: *Pensando o Direito*, published in 10/04/2015, from the Secretaria de Assuntos Legislativos do Ministério da Justiça. Available at: <http://www.compromissoeatitude.org.br>. Accessed in 13/04/2015.

the extent and severity of the phenomenon and seek to control it and carry out the punishment of the perpetrators.

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WHO ASSAULTS? CONSIDERATIONS ON DOMESTIC AND FAMILY VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN UNDER THE SCOPE OF ANALYTICAL PSYCHOLOGY¹

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SUMMARY

This study sets out to observe the phenomenon of domestic and family violence against women through the prism of the Jungian paradigm. Much about this endemic issue is discussed under the law, politics and legal psychology itself, which believe that these problems of societal formation are developing by being hostile to female symbols. Through the precepts of Carl Gustav Jung's analytical psychology, we believe that they could contribute to the elucidation of the archetypal motifs, which are further discussed. Let us start from the assumption that the indices of femicide point to a change in the way we connect subconsciously with the maternal complex and the archetype of the Great Mother. Believing that our efforts can help the scholars to study the origins of this phenomenon and to motivate them to new insights, we gave life to this article.

KEYWORDS

Violence; Woman; Great Mother; Complex; Unconscious.

Introduction

The present study examines the emotional and mental dynamics through the issues inherent in the domestic and family violence against women, under the prism of Carl Gustav Jung's theory, in order to draw a parallel between the violation of women's rights in a patriarchal society, which undermines its empowerment on the socio-cultural. A lot of research in the fields of law and forensic psychology about this theme and several psychological theories hold numerous ideas on the subject, however, in analytical psychology productions regarding these issues are still scarce. Considering the deep hold of vast psychologies knowledge about psychological motivations, residing in the personal and collective subconscious. We understand that the problem of gender violence can be interpreted by the optics of the archetypes in male-female relationships and mother-child, seeking to contribute to discussions regarding possible measures to be taken in order to mitigate the impacts of this domination, devastating to the lives of countless women in Brazil and in the world.

In order to delineate the intricacies of forming a social reality remiss with the situation of vulnerability of women in the context of family violence, based on the maternal complex

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and the archetype of the Great Mother in the formation of the subjectivity of the postmodern citizen, we undertook a qualitative research with bibliographic and documentary bases.

Our thoughts were geared for Jungian paradigm championed by Eloisa Penna (2004) that conceptualizes this methodology as possible in qualitative research, understood as a method of observation of the phenomena by a biased understanding and interpretation of reality and concerned with the search for meanings and purposes of what you want to know. Penna adopts the Jungian work as a paradigm, because his knowledge is Dialogic product, relative and dynamic observation of phenomena in their context, in which the researcher's subjectivity influences on understanding, in accordance with the model proposed by Thomas Kuhn's paradigm shift while criticizing the positivist model and impersonal of seizure of the phenomena and propose a science attentive to social and psychological factors printed on data of reality.

The genesis of violence: the feminine symbols in the dynamic subconscious

The World Health Organization, WHO, defines violence as:

The intentional use of physical force or power, real or threat against oneself, against another person or community, that results or has high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological injury, developmental disability, or deprivation. (World Report on violence and health, 2002, p. 5)

We live in a society always grappling with this question considered endemic in countries like Brazil, whose deaths coming from external causes, homicides, are spreading (World Report on violence and health, 2002). Protection goes as far as possible: to walk cautiously through the streets and equip our homes with technology in order to keep the attackers on the outside. However, for a part of the population, such measures mean nothing because the danger lurks in the supposed safety of the home, and often in the marriage bed.

Violence against women is a controversial issue unsettling to jurists, social workers and psychologists who deal with the difficult task of reducing alarming rates of femicide, murders of women by gender issues, present in Television News and Government statistics.

A research published by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), in the year 2013 and performed with data from the Mortality Information System (SIM), the Ministry of Health, including the years of 2001 to 2011, pointed out that in Brazil 5000 women are killed every year, mostly as a result of domestic violence and family. Only in the State of Ceará, in the Northeast region, are 228 women killed every year by their companions, and the most shocking is that the Maria da Penha Law, No. 11340, failed to change this reality, since the numbers remained before and during the period of validity of the law.

When faced with such statistics we ask ourselves: who is this man who beats up and kills women in their own homes? What's the point? And since when are a woman carries life-threatening? In trying to understand the ways that may have led to this situation, we seek in terms of analytical psychology Carl. G. Jung, the possible foundations of relative differences between violence against women and the contemporary psychological structuring of gender.

The odds of the outside world meant that the human being is developed on two fronts: on the one hand the man, in the roles of Hunter and supporter of the fragile boundaries of the first villages; another woman, caretaker of the children and the home.

According to Will Durant (2012), the woman responsible for planting and the domestication of animals, as well as providing the necessary security and reception to the moments of introspection that preceded the emergence of the rational mind.

40 | There is a principle in analytical psychology stating that every occurrence in the external environment, there will be a match in the middle of procedure: This means everything as if experience in the outside world, will experience, at the same time, the psyche through complex activation, mental devices set held together by emotion and Ego stand alone. Consequently, we can understand that the division between the external world, nature, private and generated the need for separation between conscious and subconscious for adaptation issues and this in turn brought new possibilities for cultural development for mankind (Jung, 1990).

The woman, with its mysteries and its ability to generate life, intrigued by the first men; several myths bring it as figure. She is mother earth, protective, caring and good, with the power to give and take the life of any being, even the gods. The archetypal figure of the great Mother Goddess, who embodies the mother complex and persists in our culture to its contemporary, she is the fairy godmother of children's stories, is that which provides the conditions for that creates, which once carried, can develop and reach the world. However, if you look at this supposedly "good" mother, the Virgin Mary of the Christian Myth, for example, we find a different side, it's as much Mom good as terrible mother, can be both fairy as a witch, because once the child in your arms feel welcomed, she can't bear to leave this place, she prefers to remain a child forever, the default of nature that calls for the development and independence grow. The problem is that stay time in the company of this myth and fixed in this archetype can take us to the risk of annihilation (Jung, 1990).

This place where all decisions have already been taken by someone bigger and stronger, supposedly infallible or unstoppable, it is tempting for all of us, let's be adults or children. After all, who among us honestly would like to grow? Growing up is taking responsibility for our mistakes, is to recognize that one day we will grow old and die while the promise of the womb is the rejuvenation and immortality, reason why in so many mythical stories and films the fountain of eternal youth lies within a cave (uterine image) that the hero must unravel.

The impasse is that in all these myths, the source is guarded by a dragon or a horrible monster, threatening the life of the protagonist and for a very simple reason: to Jung (2008) the cave is not the only symbol unaware, in association with the hidden depths of the psyche, but of the great mother, because, as part concave in the center of the Earth, is female related mythically, for membership in the power to conceive and gestate life.

If primitive man had to go to the outside world and the development of the conscious mind accompanied this process, what was the home to the cave or the village, was owned by the wife and mother of introversion to the subconscious. When the hero enters the cave and its dangers is gearing up for the fight with his mother and with the shadows of his own subconscious that are invoked by classical representations of the feminine, as, for example, the snake, the wolf and the bear (Moore, 1993) recurring themes in various mythical and religious plots. The hero must face them and get out of the cave, modified forever by the experience, but carrying the magic object, the creative power, which prompted him to

submerge the cave, just so he can return to the surface and resume the course of its development. (Campbell, 1997)

We have here a paradox. How is it possible that the good and wise mother earth that nurtures humanity is the same terrible mother who summons the hero to the death threat? How is it possible that the mother of the child, dependent and submissive to his power, is the same mother of civilization? Which calls the man for the responsibilities of culture and understanding of its finiteness? The ancients have prepared an answer to that: the pagan Goddess was not a, but a Trinity, as a result, the archetype of the great mother is the Triple Goddess, heroic saga begins young, becomes wife-mother and ends up old wise, the witch who mobilizes the hero on his journey in search of his place in the world. This last is the mother of civilization as well as driving force that puts us out of home security, to life in the social world and the environment. This attitude represents the first step towards individuation, understood as the subconscious tendency of growth psychic self-regulation in pursuit of the total, i.e., toward the Self or selves, archetype related to the center of the personality. (Jung, 2008) Lean for herself is thus a natural instinct without which we encounter with psychic stagnation and apathy we've incurred the risk of neurosis.

The narrowness of your conscious sphere and limiting your life and existence saved his energy; little by little this has accumulated in the subconscious by blowing up anyway in the form of a more or less acute neurosis. This simple mechanism assumes a basic plan. Just to explain it, the instinct of the si-even, perfectly understandable. One could also regard him as a late maturation of personality. (Jung, 1990, p. 71)

If this premise is true and we need to renounce the paralyzing of early childhood forever in order to tread the journey of individuation, what to say of the many adults who in contemporary times remain as long as possible in the homes of their parents? The point of feeling that only are able to leave juvenile habits and begin to enjoy life as "real adults" at the age of 54 years. This was given provided by the English newspaper The Telegraph and bound by the newspaper O Globo, in a survey that interviewed 1000 men in this age range.

Are older men who dress and act like teenagers clothes if they were, that can't handle the smallest of frustrations, whether on the desktop or in the familiar and may even reach the emotional uproar by disability in social and environmental. Such a regression is not easily accepted by society and can generate a series of conflicts. One has to wonder: who the child punishes him for something bad or disappointing that it happens? Interestingly, the same figure who draws when the demands of the outside world threaten to consume him, without which many times about being necessarily the answers to your demand: the mother.

Previously we found that Jung believed that the archetype of the great mother worked as a triple deity, divine or young maiden, the mother itself and the old wise, so you can imagine that, in the absence of the mother, is the lack of its embodiment, the mother itself, is by the gradual disappearance of the figure of the great mother as triple and its replacement by the figure of the Virgin , prioritizing just one of its manifestations, there is a replacement who can blame for failures of social life, is in this situation that the truth man turns against the figure of their own companion.

Jung says that this is because the image is projected onto the partner by means of an identification with the animates a set of female psychological characteristics, gathered in the

psyche of man, formed in contact with the mother complex, this image arises from the interaction between the influence of this mother and child-generated reactions. The anima will be positive or negative as has been that man's relationship with his mother. A mother presents and provides examples of love, but allowing autonomy, prints a positive image, which will cheer up her child to develop beneficial ways to relate to the opposite sex and with the affective dimension of his life; but if the mother, by her excessive zeal, suffocates the child's autonomy, making it submissive and unable to make decisions for himself or if, on the contrary, belittles and demeans the young, prints a negative image, which will constantly tell him nothing can do, or is weak or bad (Jung, 2008).

In this way, the man, still in discussion with the maternal separation see in his companion his own anima designed as shadow, Jungian concept to those psychic contents that are little known by Ego, by denial of impulses and tendencies that are not recognized by the conscious portion of the psyche. If the relationship with the mother archetype has not been, in the words of Winnicott (1982, as cited in Pinto, 2007) appropriate to the conduct of a mother good enough, it is likely that the man try to respond to this threat of annihilation, and may affect the single image personified the great mother who can drive the libido: a companion. In the words of Jung.

Just like the father protects the child against the dangers of the outside world, representing a model of persona, the mother is protective against the dangers that threaten the dark background of the soul. (...) The modern civilized man have to feel bound to lack this educational measure that, despite its Primitivism, is excellent. The consequence of this omission is that the soul in the form of the maternal imago, is transferred to the woman. After the wedding, it is the common man become childish, sentimental, dependent and even subservient; in other cases, becomes tyrannical, hypersensitive, constantly worried as prestige of his superior manhood. (Jung, 1990, p. 84).

Doesn't look random to most men who commit violence against their partners come from homes misfits and precarious living conditions for the education of a child. The weight of the anima becomes immeasurable to consciousness, by reference to these paradigmatic issues from the past with his mother and he tends to shift it to the shadow, in order not to have to deal with this issue directly. Occurs once in the shade the power of subconscious inflation tends to grow if the external environment comes the called that psychic and content, the lower the capacity to cope with this demand, more consciously the man will tend to design it and react to it as if it were an external threat. Thus the physical violence against women.

The ancient pagan people believed that a male who can't get rid of the need of the mother was doomed to never become, in fact, a man. It is from this that the personal relations of being female are if not more like coming from reality, but a reality mature. The signs of maturity, however, do not usually occur so clearly for the boys, which is why they have a harder time to experience this period of life and eventually admit the growth later than girls. By virtue of these biological barriers, the ancients created a series of rituals and evidence on which the boy should have to go to be accepted into the social environment as a man. These rituals complex anthropologists gave the name of rites of passage, full of symbolism

and practices of vigorous affections, some being endowed with real dangers analogous to psychological hazard the practitioner faced.

In the book *King, Warrior, Magician and Lover* (Moore, 1993) for the description of a rite of passage to adulthood of a Brazilian indigenous tribe, where the boy is observed by the cacique, which comes to the conclusion that it's time for the boy to die. Women, representatives of the Mother, ask if it is really necessary, trying to intercede for the child, to which men are put as irreducible. The starting is then taken to the forest where they must survive a test of courage, which follows its acceptance in the community, because the boy would have died and in its place emerged the man. The evidence of life, no matter how horrible that can seem, represent the difficulties of the adult world, which we're all subjected and for which there is no mercy, as well as in the rite there is no option not to rise to the challenge. Deny the passage is to fall as subject and risk annihilating also the pillars of the community.

Mythologies, it is common that the divine child is threatened by a female figure, as a goddess, or by an emissary of that figure, snakes, dogs, bulls and sea monsters, symbols connected the great mother. Is the figure of the old archetypical witch, demanding that the boy leave the shelter of your lap to face the adversities of the world of men, which must survive or perish for the good of the whole nation. Although a part of the Mother cries out for the symbiotic Union with the son, the imago of the old wise must overcome it and allow the rite of passage, so that the child can achieve the individuation. (Moore, 1993)

However, the advent of Christianity and the Roman expansionist culture decimated the practice of most of the pagan culture of the West and, with it, their rites of passage. Later the Roman values gave rise to the bourgeois way of life, the patriarchy and capitalism. Feminist currents of contemporary times, largely corruptions of feminist ideals in its origin, the man blamed by the Patriarchate and in certain occasions preach an appreciation of the woman rather than the man, feeding what common sense calls "war of the sexes".

However, the line of reasoning that weave in that article, it is noticeable that this positioning does not contribute to the rescue of the feminine in our way of life, because that would be needed to rescue the complementary role of sexes. Patriarchy, the commercial expansionism oppressor and violence are not expressions of the mature male, but highlight the immature man. Moore explains that the Patriarch does not accept the manhood, womanhood ripened or even their own natural course of development, becoming hostile to them:

The Patriarchate, in our opinion, is an attack on manhood in its fullness, as well as femininity. The associated structures and the dynamics of this system seek to dominate men and women equally. The Patriarchate is based on fear of the male [...] the boys are afraid of women. And fear of real men. (Moore, 1993)

The patriarchy and the current consumption society denote the violence inflicted by the male and female matured and the complementary role of the sexes. This process is interesting for a model of society based on individualism and segregation, based on the logic of divide and conquer. The first step was the separation of the symbols of the Mother, without the Young Divine and the Old Wise will not have the autonomy nor even allows the child's autonomy, being convicted, then, to merge with the latter that, in spite of the dangers of an oedipal identification with the woman-mother. This is not only violence against the symbols of the mother, but also against the father, for the mature male, once revered by shamanic

societies with their rites of passage, are hardly more avenues of expression. On the back cover of the book *The feminine in fairy tales*, Marie Louise von Franz resumes the paradigm of dispute between sexes and the importance of the rescue of its complementary role in Western society:

44 | The power struggle between the sexes has no more sense, since the male and female Principles are both present in each individual, who must work to harmonize them in yourself. This fact has even greater importance in the current time in that, with traditional models of virility and femininity in dissolution, we can observe in many young people a profound disturbance. This affects both boys as girls: the recent evolution of women and your statement make it often hard for men to be in relationship to them in life. Men and women cannot regain their deep nature but the recognition and respect of their complementarity. (Franz, 2010)

This is one of the major symptoms of contemporaneity, several psychologists supporters of psychologies, as psychoanalysis and analytical psychology of Jung, believe that men who arrive at clinics are being crushed by a terrible fear of the feminine inside, preventing them from connecting to the potential of the mature male, experienced process by the Patriarchate, which drove away the sacred dimension of the feminine as far as the transforming power of male initiation rites, as well as a feminist critique naïve not understanding that in order to have a significant change in one of the two poles, there is a need for joint modification to the opposite pole and complement, because in our psychic Constitution these papers are inseparable.

The need for domination and violence against women is therefore inversely proportional to the degree of awareness of the influence of the Interior Archetypes of male and female and, if we are to build a mature society and respecting these complementary poles, both in rights as in the singularities of the sexes that embody, it is necessary to discuss about this matter, indulge us speeches ready to scapegoating of one or other, developing new ways of thinking, different from childish patriarchy and its shackle, the capital, since only in that it speaks of the symptom, the ego can take hand of consciousness and illuminate what lies in the shadow of ignorance.

Final Considerations

With regard to annulment of mother earth as being triple in favor of the wife-mother and understanding the importance of Post-modern for the process of identification of man with the anima and their consequent projection in the form of shadow over women, a gap between the understanding of women's rights, as well as equity between genders, and practice perpetrated in Western culture.

Thus, lacks us see this problem under the angle of a decaying moral ball evidenced in the wife-mother lived paradigm, whose relations with the Western man, presently, are tested by the society which overvalues the beautiful and young, in trapping the terrible mother and stopping us from pursuing the heroic saga, which every child must face in the search for individuation.

So, considering that this work has achieved its goal, due to the emphasis given by the analytical psychology and sociocultural and historical contextualization, exposed the implications of violence against women and femicide in Brazil.

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MATHEMATICS EDUCATION AND GENDER ISSUES: DIFFERENTIATIONS GENERATED BY DISCURSIVE PRACTICES AND SUBJECTIVE INTERPELLATIONS

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ABSTRACT

Given the “evidence” that boys have a higher mathematical performance, the present study aims to investigate the problems that may arise in Mathematical Education when in relation to gender issues, i.e. with masculinity, femininity and other social representations. In fact, it is not very unusual to come across statements like “boys learn math easier than girls” or “the woman is very emotional and too little rational”, among others, that can bring certain implications for teaching mathematics, such as the legitimacy and reaffirmation of certain inequalities already materialized in the social sphere. In order to discuss such statements that, in a way, may end up playing a key role in setting certain binarisms concerning the gender identities, this paper presents a post-structuralist discussion and investigates to what extent the difference between boys and girls in Mathematics context is constructed and not natural.

KEYWORDS

Mathematical Education; gender; learning; denaturalization.

Introduction

Research emerges that intermingles into the “universe” of Mathematics Education and the genre in order to problematize some common conceptions, for example, the classic “statement” that men are naturally better in math than women. It is necessary to seek, in the midst of these intersections, subsidies for more broad and critical learning. There are few Brazilian researchers who have engendered in the search for relations between mathematics and gender. Souza and Fonseca (2010, p. 11) emphasize this need when affirming that “discussing the relations between gender and mathematics is, in some ways, a novelty in the field of Mathematics Education in Brazil.”

Given the statistical evidence that boys have a superior performance in mathematics, as shown by Corrêa, Sipraki and Soares (2012), it is not very uncommon to come across statements that associate this difference to a more focused and rational male nature or a more dispersed and emotional female nature. However, is it real that these differences are arising by nature? Actually, are men endowed with a cognitive ability prepared to comfortably receive a more refined mathematical knowledge than women? The discourse concept developed by Michel Foucault and performativity by Judith Butler will help us realize that the answer to these questions, it is a large round ‘not’.

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Speeches and Performativity

Foucault (1995, p. 55-56), when analyzing the concept of speech itself, affirms that the speeches are tools that:

[...] systematically form the objects that they talk. Certainly the speeches are made of signs; but what they do is *more* than using these signs to designate things. It is this *more* that makes them irreducible to the language and to the speech act. It is this *more* that needs to be brought up and that needs to be described.

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This “more” to which the author refers has to do with the ability of speeches, besides pointing out things, of structuring the listener’s thoughts regarding these things. When we repeatedly hear certain discourses that deal with something present in society, for example, we start to conceive that “something” as it was introduced by the speech. And this happens unconsciously. As pointed out by Larrosa (2002, p. 21), “the words do things to us.” Certainly, we have numerous “convictions” with us that, in fact, are not rightfully ours. They were systematically assumed by the speeches we heard throughout our forever incomplete constitution as human beings. The speeches are issued by several social groups, including politics, church, school, newspapers, novels, books, the internet, among many others. We are faced with them and, as Foucault (2000, p. 20) says, we are “language beings”, and these languages will fill and form our interpretive frameworks of thought, that is, our way of thinking.

The performativity idea, developed according to Silva (2000), by Austin (1998) and Butler (1999), has a similar perception to the speech concept. Based on these references, Silva (2000) considers that for one to understand performativity, it is necessary to distinguish between two types of statements: the “descriptive” and “performative”. The “descriptive” statements are those that describe a particular situation, such as “The book is on the table.” The “performative” statements, on the other hand, do not merely describe a state of things, but contribute in making something really happen, such as “I now pronounce you husband and wife” or “I promise I’ll pay you at the end of month”. They are propositions whose enunciation itself is necessary for what it describes to become a reality, that is, propositions that create facts. However, apparently “descriptive” speeches can work as “performative”, if they are told repeatedly. A good example is the enunciation “John is dumb.” This sentence, even appearing to be purely “descriptive” works as “performative” because, when repeated a number of times, it ends up creating a fact: “John’s stupidity” becomes real, thanks to incisive repetition of the phrase that defines him as being not endowed with intelligence. It is exactly as proposed by the Nazi Paul Joseph Goebbels’ phrase: “If you tell a lie thousands times (keep repeating it), people will eventually come to believe it.” It is interesting to consider that without repetition, anything happens. Non-repeated speeches will always be in the “descriptive” statements field. The performativity of statements is clearly present in the formation of gender identities. Something like “homosexual people are not normal” or “men learn mathematics better than women” can work within the performativity logic to create facts and inter-subjective truths.

The historical persistence of male hegemony

We are built upon from the experiences and discourses that directly interfere in how we evaluate and interpret the world around us. Certainly, we also cultivate our relation with mathematics permeated by such discursive structures that, in fact, determine to a greater or lesser degree, our view about this science.

48 | If the conceptions that naturally minimize women regarding mathematics persist, certainly there are some social efforts that seek to keep them. These efforts revolve around the speeches that form us as men and women within mathematics. Discursive productions still come to us that reaffirm, day after day, that men are naturally better in mathematics than women. Clearly, looking nowadays, all the struggles of feminist movements contributed immensely to deconstruct this way of thinking. However, as Carvalho (2004, p. 10) stated, “male dominance did not disappear, persisting in all fields of social life.”

Resonating and reverberating throughout the centuries we arrive at the discourses that insist on showing a natural male hegemony in the context of mathematics. Often we do not realize in our social practices the explicit marks of this perception, making it almost an invisible point to deny and we doubt its existence. However, it exists. In fact, instead of saying that it exists, it would be more correct to say that it persists. This happens because the process of construction and consolidation of this idea is much older than we can imagine. In fact, it was over time that this alleged male “superiority” in mathematics arose in people’s minds. And, inevitably, from the moment that a particular understanding of a social phenomenon takes shape and crystallizes in the minds of individuals who live within the same cultural space, this understanding becomes a truth, a constructed truth. When we stop to observe the human history, using both gender and mathematics as analytical categories, we easily realize that the distance between women and mathematics is latent and visible. According to Singh (2002, p. 116):

Institutionalized discrimination against women continued until the twentieth century, when Emmy Noether, described by Einstein as “the most significant creative mathematical genius ever produced since women began to attend higher education studies”, had her request to teach at University Göttingen, denied.

Recognizing and considering this historical context leads us to use the word *persistence* at the expense of *existence*. This consideration leads us to the fact that male superiority not only exists, but persists. In the logic of this work, assuming that this differentiation is something that *persists* is extremely necessary. This is because it is possible to bring out certain histories, besides everything that contributed and contributes to the *persistence* of this kind of enunciation, whereas when we consider that the male/female polarity within the Mathematics *exists*, we can make the mistake of not problematizing it, especially taking into account that the meaning of *existence* “what is” as a permanent state vs *to persist* “what is and has a reason to be” is not a permanent state. We want to mention the current state of things that does not necessarily refer to the power circumstances and relations that contributed and contribute to the definition and stratification of such things. That is, when a difference *exists*, it only *exists*. But when we say that it *persists*, the expression leads us to consider certain constancy and concatenation of circumstances that generated the event itself that *persists*.

The speeches reaching us and disseminating in our children and youth: Mathematics learning as a discursive and ideological space

One can think that these same historical speeches, persistent and not just existing, subjectified, made normal and disguised, that some teachers use, even unconsciously and without bad intentions, in their classrooms. Enunciative discourse delimits spaces to be occupied by men and women in the atmosphere of mathematical development, with men developing themselves with much more ease and dexterity than women. Our personal habits and professional methods are always producers of gender identities, identities that inevitably attach on a sexed body a series of determinations socially “inherent” to its sex. Thus, it is assigned to men the role of being good at mathematics, and to women the role to be one step behind in the study of this science. Again, men and women are called to assume their roles. According to Souza and Fonseca (2009a, p. 41 - 42):

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Adopting Gender as a category of analysis in Mathematics Education requires and heightens our attention to the fact that gender is produced in social practices that become masculinizing and feminizing practices. Thus, in our classrooms and what composes them (gestures, words, silences, rites, looks, materials, ways of organizing, ways to teach math, learning concepts, etc.) and in our research (even when concealing gender relations), male and female identities are produced.

It is worth recognizing that in our classrooms (and what comprises them) male and female identities are produced and reproduced. Thus, it is possible to consider that often the teacher replicates the idea that actually boys are better in mathematics, without noticing that they are contributing to legitimize a persistent historical differentiation that generates social segregation.

Santos and Cardoso (2012, p. 07) conducted an empirical study to better understand how the unequal relations between boys and girls and Mathematics happen inside the classroom:

All [boys] I interviewed, however, said they are very fond of mathematics, and they do not find it difficult to learn the math contents, in addition loving mathematic classes. The boys commented that the math subject is very easy (Field Journal, 03/01/2012). In another situation, the teacher asked students to use the multiplication table to answer the activity and the boy who was on my side told me: I do not need a multiplication table (Field Journal, 03/06/2012). The boys are making fun of the girls, saying we are smart, when a girl misses the answer in the table (Field Journal, 02/28/2012).

Let us remember, then, the way in which the discourse is set in Foucault’s perspective, as producer and creator of subjective truths and gendered realities. Within this logic, it is not surprising that girls really “accept” their position of not liking the complexity of the numbers on the contexts and situations that pervade throughout school life. The men/female/mathematics relation are produced discursively throughout the experiences that, as we see, say and continuously reaffirm women’s rational fragility, “manufacturing” realities and truths about the individuals. The statements and restatements that predetermine the spaces to be occupied by boys and girls in mathematics class take place within the

dialogue, in conversation, in looks, in relationships, in silences, in plays, in the mistakes and successes. Santos and Cardoso (2002, p. 07-08) also observed teachers during their research and showed that:

An example of this happening is when the teacher began the lesson with an activity of decomposing numbers. Then, the teacher asked students to write on the blackboard and, as always, the boys are called to participate more than girls (Field Journal, 02/23/2012). In remarks made in the classroom, we note that the teacher directs the mathematics class for boys, asking them to respond to the activities in the blackboard, making troubleshooting issues involving their names and they [the boys] like to participate in class. This is so common that the teacher does not invest in girls in these classes. In the correction of an activity, the teacher called students per row to go to the blackboard. Of the five rows that exist in the room, she called four boys and a girl, and the girl did not want to go answer (Field Journal, 03/01/2012). This student was not encouraged by the teacher to go answer the question. When the girls did not answer, she did not insist, then asking a boy to respond. By requesting more boys and encouraging them more than girls, the teacher produces a difference.

In fact, faced with such experiences, it is not unusual that one of these girls cultivates a hate relation about mathematics or one of these boys want to be an engineer or a mathematician in the future. We can think that they are “manufactured” in classrooms, boys endowed of math hegemony and girls often unable to relate healthily with this curriculum component. These are also manufactured in conviviality and dialogue among colleagues, fixed individuals positions that cause exclusion and segregation. The different ways of teaching are, as Larrosa (1994, p. 71) said, “social practices organized and constituted in unequal relations of power and control”. Feminine and masculine are reproduced in our classrooms through statements and subtle restatements.

As said by Souza and Fonseca (2010, p. 42), “in these power relations, all these lives become business, chronicles or cases, for speeches that do not cease to produce and encourage them to produce.” These researchers have also used an empirical study, inserting themselves in mathematics classrooms of an association dedicated to collectors of recyclable materials in the context of the Youth and Adult Education. They were able to define in what manner the statements revolve around the idea that “men are better at mathematics” subtly goes through teaching practices. So subtly, that we rarely realize them. According to the records of Souza and Fonseca (2009b, p. 600 - 601):

A mathematics class (class observed on 05/18/2006, there were nine women and one man) in which the proposal was the resolution of some operations and diverse activities of writing numbers. [...] *Lia* a young person, recyclable material collector, performed with difficulty some division operations. [...] *Pedro*, recyclable material collector too, who did not attend the classes, entered the room and stood behind *Lia*. Seeing her solving operations he began to dictate the answers and said, “You are very stupid.” [...] Then, she closed the notebook and also left the classroom. After a while, *Pedro* returned to the room and began to help *Antônio*, who was developing an activity forming numbers with cards. His attitude was different than *Pedro* had with *Lia*. [...] *Pedro* did not call *Antônio* “stupid”, although the activity performed was more elementary than that performed by *Lia* and his difficulty appeared to be greater than that demonstrated by her. *Pedro* only showed the cards that *Antônio* sought to form the number 17.

If, in fact, boys are prominent in mathematics, including in large-scale assessments as Andrade (2003) points out, we are (in this paper) considering the contexts that individual's experience that can, potentially, influence the learning process measured by the assessments. Let's go back to the writings of Souza and Fonseca (2009b, p 600-601.) that illustrates very specifically the nature of these contexts:

Let's consider the scenario of enunciation two: a workshop on the discussion of the accounts in the Association. Of all men, one answers the mathematical questions proposed. Of all women, one also answers all questions. At one point, the boy who remained quiet at the questions provokes this colleague, urging her [ironically] to answer a question about the total glasses sold in a fortnight and the arising of these sales revenues, "Go, Elisa, talk. You are such a smartass". Scenario three: a man who is a recyclable material collector explained during the interview how to teach his partner, also a recyclable material collector, to do math accounts. *Paulo* says: "*Eliane*, I have to teach her things because she only studied until the fourth grade, right?". Researcher: "I do not know. Did you study until which grade?" *Paulo*: "I even tried to make up to the fourth grade, but [...] I am more advanced than her at school, some things, mathematics, I prefer to teach her math, [...] but she doesn't, she cannot accept that I'm better than her in math accounts, [...] she cannot stand it, she cannot understand the things".

It is interesting to note how the "character" *Paulo*, despite not having consistency in his argument, insists in reaffirming categorically that his partner, *Eliane*, cannot keep up his male pace within the mathematical development. Even without managing to study up to where his partner studied, that is until the fourth grade, he claims himself as superior, saying she cannot understand things. This is a valid example of how male supremacy search for, at all costs, is undeterred. Everything leads us to believe, as Almeida and Moura (2013, p. 06.) states that "we have made men and women referencing in the dichotomy of modern thought; we compose the world and ourselves in the game of polarities. The opposition between the poles has generated asymmetrical relations guided in the binary: domination-submission".

Final considerations: The path of denaturalization

If these unequal relations are built in an everyday basis for girls and boys, of course they are not natural. Faced with all these questions, it is possible to consider that boys are not naturally better at mathematics than girls, what happens is that they dress themselves compulsorily of a gender, the male gender, which covers an infinity of symbols that give them supremacy, daily and collectively built, in mathematical development spaces. Similarly, girls are not naturally worse in math than boys; the girls dress themselves compulsorily of a gender, the female gender, which covers an infinity of symbols that give them a position of inferiority, historically and socially constructed in mathematical development spaces.

If, as said by Almeida and Moura (2013, p. 02) "regarding mathematics, the Program of International Student Assessment (PISA) 2010 [...] presents a lower result of girls, regarding their performance in mathematics, in most participating countries", we can say that this has absolutely nothing to do with the idea that women constitute as missing beings, but with

the strong discursive media productions that forcefully inculcate in women's minds that they were not born for mathematics, which may be generating from the elementary school a disincentive regarding the study of this subject, this disincentive that may be a causative element of the levels mentioned by learning tests.

52 | As suggested Walkerdine (1995), it is not that girls are bad in Mathematics. The fact is that the "truth" of child development pathologizes and defines its mathematical development in a manner in which it can, necessarily, be read as bad or inferior. The male/female dichotomy regarding mathematics is not natural: it is constructed, and has many consequences and ramifications.

If this differentiation is built, it is clear that it is subject to deconstruction. And this deconstruction vertically pierces the path of denaturalization and strangeness of male hegemony in the field of the exact sciences. Immersed in this way, we are invited to give rise to explanations for the results indicated by the statistics without, however, associating them with men and women the essence. Demystifying the "truth" that boys are naturally better is a challenge to overcome. Even though it is extremely difficult, we must always be aware of demystifying processes of that "truth", because the implications of adopting these concepts in the classroom will fall on lives, in a way, they will be guided by our speeches. This is because, as beings that are crossed by "languages and language sprayers", we are "manufactured and manufacture" [both in our classrooms and in the other social spaces in which we have the opportunity to verbalize what we feel and think] male and female identities that hold the guidelines that often prevent or at least hinder many transcendent possibilities by individuals.

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GENDER AND PERSONAL MEANING ATTRIBUTED TO TAKING TECHNICAL COURSES

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ABSTRACT

Reasons guided by socially produced needs shape the meanings that students attribute to the taking of technical courses. A study with students from a Brazilian government program with apparent similar socioeconomic condition showed differences in their responses, which supports the hypothesis that gender is a relevant factor in students' motivational relationship with their technical courses.

KEYWORDS

Gender; Personal meanings; Technical courses; Pronatec; Leontiev.

Introduction

This research, conducted in Belo Horizonte, Brazil, in 2015 with students recipients of a Student Educational Scholarship (Bolsa Formação Estudante) from the National Program for Access to Technical Education and Employment (Programa Nacional de Acesso ao Ensino Técnico e Emprego - Pronatec), aimed at analyzing the reasons that students attributed to taking specific courses. Pronatec was created by Federal Law No. 12,513/2011 to finance technical courses and professional training. The Student Educational Scholarship is one of its grant lines specific for technical courses. From 2011 to 2014, more than 2.3 million students registered in 220 technical courses were funded, totaling, together with students in qualifying courses, over 8.1 million students in over 4,000 municipalities (Brazil, 2015). According to Gallindo, Feres & Schroeder (2015, p. 34), during this period, 60.37% of the course openings were held by women. Education at a Glance, 2015 reported that:

Men and women with similar education levels face high income disparities in the Brazilian employment market. The average income of a woman with higher education is only 62% of the average income of a man with the same level of education. Brazil, together with Chile, has the largest gender wage gap among all countries and OECD partners with data available. In fact, while 72% of men with higher education earn over twice the average national income, the same is true for only 51% of women with higher education. Income inequality between genders is also great for men and women whose highest level of education is regular high school or professional education. (OECD, 2015, p. 3).

Brazil is, thus, last in income inequality between genders in the comparison of 46 countries conducted by the OECD.

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The survey data reported here were collected from males and females in school environments through an online questionnaire. The students were informed of the ethical guidelines being followed and answered the questionnaire in accordance with them. 258 valid questionnaires were obtained: 153 (59.3%) of the respondents identified themselves as being of male gender (MG) and 105 (40.7%) of female gender (FG). The 258 respondents attended one of nine courses: Industrial Automation, Electrical and Electronics, Electromechanics, Electronics, Mechatronics, Construction Design, Building, Computing and Interior Design.

Data from the National System of Professional and Technological Educational Information of the Ministry of Education and Culture (Sistec/MEC) from November 2015 that discriminated registered students by gender in continued education technical courses and technical courses simultaneous to secondary education indicated that FG predominated in technical courses with a small, but noteworthy advantage (56.0%). A clear predominance of MG was seen in Mechatronics, Electromechanics, Electronics, Industrial Automation and Electrical and Electronics courses, with little predominance in Building and Computing; registration in Construction Design was balanced and FG clearly prevailed in Interior Design courses.

Female participation in the investigated Industrial Automation, Electronics, Electrical and Electronics, Mechatronics and Electromechanics courses was low when compared to national results. The same percent gender distribution was observed in Computing. However, the percentage participation of FG in Interior Design and Construction Design courses was much greater when compared to national figures. A slight FG majority was observed in Building.

Among the 105 FG respondents, 31.4% were registered in predominantly male courses (Industrial Automation, Electrical and Electronics, Electromechanics, Electronics, Computing and Mechatronics) and 68.6% in courses with female predominance (Construction Design, Interior Design and Building).

Theoretical Framework

According to Leontiev (1983, p. 82), studying is a human-specific activity and like every human activity, it: a) meets a given need; b) disappears when the need is satisfied; c) is reproduced in new situations; d) can occur in all different conditions; e) involves vital practice relations of the subjects with the world around them; f) constitutes itself as a system comprised in the system of social relations.

According to the author, human needs stimulate and guide the individuals' study activity, but they only exert an influence when they have an objective existence. The actual reason for conducting study activities, which provides direction, may be found in the object of the activity itself. That is, in the subject matter that is studied. This object may be external to the subject or exist only in the subject's imagination. In any event, the importance is the need that the study activity meets.

According to Leontiev, to understand the relationship between the subject and the activity, it is important to consider the objective significance of the activity developed consciously and the personal meaning it has for the subject. Leontiev proposes that "[...] the meanings in the individual consciousness are more or less complete and perfect projections of supra-individual meanings existing in the society in question" (1983, p. 120). The personal

sense may not match the understanding of those meanings and even oppose them. The meanings are objective social consciousness phenomena that reflect the objects of the subject independent of relationships that the objects may have with their lives, needs and reasons to conduct a given activity. Even though technical courses are attributed social meanings, each subject lends his or her own personal sense to them. According to Leontiev, “If the external sensitivity associates in the consciousness of the subject the meanings with the reality of the objective world, the personal sense relates them to the reality of their own life in this world, with their motivations” (1983, p. 125).

For Leontiev, the reason is that objective thing where the subject’s need takes place. In the case of the study activity, it is the object being studied and perceived that fulfills the student’s need, that guides the study activity and leads it to the result wanted. It is thus up to teachers and anyone else who cares about student success to penetrate the motivational sphere, because, according to Leontiev (1983 p. 244), this is what “[...] qualitatively determines the interests from the point of view of his internal sense”.

Gender was considered in this study as a complex construction of the social organization of relations between sexes. They are configured in a dialectical relationship of mutual denial and only exist in this denial, because one cannot be understood without resorting to the other, one produces the other and is produced by the other, in an intrinsic and fundamental negation of this relational dynamics. It is an analytical category in a particular type of social relation, relations that, in class societies, are predominantly asymmetrical and hierarchical.

Each gender is defined by features, attributes or identities that are socially constructed from valuations and representations that take place daily and are reconstructed in different socio-historical contexts. Gender is the result of social and socialization practices conducted along the biological time line, with regard to the evolution of the human species (phylogenesis); the historical time line, with regard to the evolution of societies (sociogenesis) and the ontogenetic time line (the individual’s evolution). Such processes derive from ways of production and reproduction of material life. In class societies, they are held by patriarchal institutionalized mediation,

[...] a form of social organization in which relations are governed by two basic principles: 1) women are hierarchically subordinate to men, and 2) young people are hierarchically subordinate to older men. The male supremacy dictated by patriarchal values attributed a higher value to male activities to the detriment of women’s activities; legitimized the control of sexuality, bodies and women’s autonomy; and established sexual and social roles in which the male has advantages and privileges (Narvaz & Koller, 2006, p.50).

Lobo (1992) and Rowbotham (1984) criticize the use of the concept of patriarchy as an ahistorical, universal and an all-encompassing connotation. Castro & Lavinias (1992) argued that Weber used this concept to describe domination supported on tradition, from simple social forms and domestic communities, and that therefore, patriarchy is not consistent with modernity. However, Narvaz & Koller (2006) report that Pateman (1993) confirms the existence of a modern and structuring patriarchy in capitalist society and Machado (2000) also admits the presence of a contemporary patriarchy despite changes in the familial institution and in the relations between sexes. Narvaz & Koller (2006) reported that for Scott (1995)

rule is formed in the context of production of inequalities and discrimination by comprising linkages between gender, social class and ethnicity, producing differences within differences.

In their ontogenesis, individuals perceive themselves as either male or female when living conditions either favor or limit their freedom to be human, regardless of sex differences. Ontogenesis is a process conducted through different forms of mediation and in contact with other individuals, either male or female, that may be more, or less, confrontational within varying degrees of autonomy, expressing levels of domination and alienation. Within the denial, by force of necessity and internal development, conditions may be created as premises of personal adversity that is overcome and linked to the expression of the positivity of each one, regardless of the gender that one identifies with.

The division of labor by gender is established assuming that, for biological reasons, certain occupations are better suited to one gender or another. Differences in abilities, skills and behavior are taken as innate: women would have more difficulty in the use of logical and mathematical reasoning, would be favorable to occupations that require politeness, patience and attention in the care of people and be unbeatable in manual dexterity. These are gender stereotypes used to justify the gender discrimination of labor, but they also serve in the overexploitation of the labor force, especially women (Holzmann, 2000). In the nineteenth century,

As machinery makes muscle strength dispensable, it becomes the means of using workers without muscle strength or with immature body development, but with members of greater flexibility. So the work of women and children was the first slogan of the capitalist application of machinery! With that, this powerful means of replacing work and workers quickly became a means of increasing the number of employees, putting all the members of the family, regardless of sex or age distinction, under the immediate command of capital (Marx, 1984, p.23).

The increase in schooling and access to scientific and technical knowledge have favored the incorporation of women into the qualified labor market, even in occupations regarded as male, despite limitations and constraints such as prejudice, discrimination, hostility, moral and sexual harassment. (Bruschini & Lombardi, 1999; Bruschni, 2007). Lombardi (2006, p. 200) states that “the pattern of insertion of female engineers in the labor market closely resembles the pattern of all female workers, marked by horizontal (workspaces) and vertical (hierarchical rise) segregation”. The reproduction of what is traditionally considered a feminine role persists in the workplace, as well as negative differences in income and opportunities for professional development. With the restructuring of production, women’s vulnerability with regard to wage, employment and functional flexibility increased:

A new vision was introduced, “global feminization through flexible working” (Standing, 1989), in which was presented an analysis of unified trends from developed and emerging countries, where the feminization was part of a direct employer strategy to reduce wages and increase control over internal (the company) and external labor markets. This feminization strategy rested on the marginalized situation of woman in the labor market as well as the assumptions of “docility” and “homeliness” of women, which would facilitate working relationships (Kon, 2002, p. 99-100).

Reasons and senses in females (FG) and males (MG) taking technical courses

When the respondents were asked whether the courses they were doing were their personal dream, a relevant difference was noticed between the genders; there was a greater incidence of affirmative responses among FG, 61.5%, against 52.7% in MG. It is important to consider that significant numbers of MG (47.3%) and FG (38.5%) were not doing the technical course that they actually wanted.

Concerning whether they had accurate information about the course at the time of admission, FG gave a slightly higher percentage (18.3%) of 'were not accurate' and 'had no information about the course' responses. In MG, this percentage reached 13.1%. Would this be evidence that, in the latter, a larger number of individuals were familiar with what the courses were about or where they might work when the courses were finished? Not so much, as confirmed by the responses given to the question on the amount of information that they believed to have on working activities for the course that they were doing: only 7.8% MG and only 9.5% FG responded to 'have little information and knowledge' or 'have no information or knowledge'.

With regard to the information sought concerning the technical professional trained in the courses with the same name as those that they were doing, with 25.7%, FG was quite distinct from MG (13.1%) with respect to the response 'professional development prospects'. Perhaps this difference indicates that this question is not so significant for MG. On the other hand, this group had a slightly higher percentage (16.3%) in response to the option 'average wages', against 11.4% for FG.

FG had the highest percentage (81.7%) of those who said that they often or very often discussed the course with people outside it, in contrast to MG, with 62.6%.

Among the reasons given for taking their courses, those that coincide with the activity object (studying, in this case) were the least mentioned by either group, with the lowest rate (32.2%) in FG, against 41.2% in MG. In contrast, FG had a higher percentage of external reasons (extrinsic gains from such training). More than two thirds of FG (67.8%) mentioned it, against 58.8% in MG. These results can be understood when the students' work situations in both groups are considered: the majority did not work, sought work or were not working at the time and dedicated themselves only to studying. Based on the data above, it is important to say that a higher percentage (63.9%) of FG than MG (55.6%) were in these situations.

On participation in the household economy, FG presented a high level of personal dependence. 74.0% said that they were supported or received financial help from family members or others even if they performed some work activity. A lower number of MG (57.9%) reported the same situation. Data on personal income also confirm what is behind the high incidence of course completion are external reasons: 63.8% FG do not have any personal income. This proportion is lower in MG, 54.0%.

The questionnaire contained items on the reasons for taking their courses. MG and FG converged with respect to some reasons and diverged in relation to others.

Table 1. Reasons coincident with the activity object (the course itself)

Reasons coincident with what is learned in the course	Male - %	Female - %
Get new ideas on what I can do	6.3	6.0
Discover how things work	12.9	7.4
Use more advanced technologies	11.1	13.4
Better understanding of the labor market	5.7	9.4
Increase my initiative capacity	7.8	6.0
To be able to solve problems	8.1	6.0
Improve my ability to work in groups	7.2	7.4
To be a better person	2.1	1.3
Improve my ability to judge critically	3.6	3.3
Increase my self-esteem	3.6	5.4
Meet interesting people	4.8	4.0
Get knowledge that I would like to have	17.7	22.8
To be more self-confident	7.2	6.0
To be more aware of the social and political reality	2.1	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Authors' survey data.

The MG responses with the highest percentages were: 'get knowledge that I would like to have' (17.7%), 'find out how things work' (12.9%) and 'use more advanced technologies' (11.1%). FG's top response was the same as MG's, but with a greater weight (22.8%). FG also answered 'use more advanced technologies' (13.4%), followed by 'better understanding of the labor market' (9.4%), while in MG it was 5.7% of the responses.

FG respondents who were doing predominantly male courses had a higher percentage than those doing courses with female predominance in the following responses: 'use more advanced technologies', 'find out how things work', 'to be able to solve problems', 'increase my self-esteem' and 'meet interesting people'. Conversely, those doing courses with female predominance had higher percentages in the following responses: 'better understanding of the labor market', 'increase my initiative capacity', 'improve my ability to work in groups', 'to be a better person' and 'improve my ability to judge critically'.

Table 2. Reasons external to the courses

Reasons external to the courses	Male - %	Female - %
Increase my credibility as a professional	18.4	17.2
Improve my income	15.7	14.3
Improve my position in the labor market	13.4	11.8
Enter higher education more easily	10.5	10.2
Improve my performance at work	11.5	9.9
To be able to work for myself	10.1	11.1
To be free to work in what I want	7.5	12.4
Possibility of performing different functions	5.7	7.3
Improve my position in the company I work for	3.3	2.2
Increase my prestige with people	2.3	2.2
Improve my personal relationships	1.5	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Authors' survey data.

The main extrinsic reasons with the highest percentages were the same for both MG and FG, first, 'increase my credibility as a professional' and second, 'improve my income'. These reasons had slightly higher percentages in MG. In third place, MG gave more emphasis to the response 'improve my position in the labor market' and FG to 'be free to work in what I want'.

60 | FG who were doing predominantly male courses had higher percentages in the following responses: 'increase my credibility as a professional', 'improve my income', 'possibility of performing different functions' and 'improve my position in the company I work for'. Conversely, those doing predominantly female courses had higher percentages in responses: 'increase my prestige with people', 'improve my position in the labor market', 'enter higher education more easily', 'improve my performance at work', 'be able to work for myself' and 'be free to work in what I want'.

To understand these response profiles, it is important to consider that:

- a) 11.1% MG said that they already worked in the area of the technical course that they are doing, in contrast to 97.0% FG who did not;
- c) 19.6% MG said they already worked in the area of the technical course that they were doing, against 4.8% FG;
- d) the percentage of responses for desire to work or continue working in the area of the ongoing technical course in FG was greater: 'very high' reached 65.4%, against 57.5% in MG;
- e) 11.5% FG, against 6.7% MG, responded negatively about whether they desired to continue their studies in the area of their chosen technical course;
- f) 53.9% FG, against 46.4% MG, responded 'little' or 'no' to the question on whether the course that they were doing met their personal training needs;
- g) 70.4% FG responded that 'studying hard' was the most important tool for success in a career, against 58.9% MG;
- h) in MG, 17.2% chose the option 'know the right people' for career success, against 7.6% FG.

Final considerations

The investigated Pronatec scholarship recipients revealed precarious socioeconomic, employment and income conditions; however, FG more intensely, which may explain FG's personal meanings attributed to the technical courses they were taking. The meanings given by the participants, independent of gender and internal differences to the genders, were not produced regardless of their lives. Leontiev (1983) argues that reasons and human interests are not a priori data, they are historical and social, developed in accordance with living conditions. They are not products of biological destiny, but rather social constructions. Social relations between genders have a material basis and are expressed through the social division of labor between them. If they have a material basis, changes do not occur spontaneously, they need to occur in connection with changes in the concrete conditions of existence. The reasons and personal meanings expressed by the study participants were and are socially constructed and have long-term and deeply rooted dynamics, from birth. Understanding this process requires seeking the dialectical links between objectivity and subjectivity. To this

end, research and reflection on and from personal meanings, such as proposed by Leontiev (1983), are of fundamental importance, to which we hope this article has contributed.

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INTERCULTURALITY AND SEXUAL-GENDER DISSIDENCES: CONNECTIONS BETWEEN AGENCY AND ACADEMY¹

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SUMMARY

This paper presents the policies and affirmative actions that have been developed at the Universidad de Costa Rica regarding LGBT issues. It is a partial result of the investigation for my master's degree dissertation. The theoretical basis which I discuss is Interculturality (Intercultural Philosophy). With it, I propose sexual and gender dissidences as a topic that gives a new perspective for research in such framework, due to the existence of connections between them, that bring new gazes to both interculturality, as well as sexual and gender dissidences.

KEYWORDS

Interculturality; LGBT, University; public policy; affirmative actions.

I am a Costa Rican feminist and bisexual activist. In my country, I used to work at a public university. Currently I am studying in a postgraduate program in Brazil (a Master Degree in Education, from the Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul), due to a scholarship I obtained from the Organization of American States (OAS).

Through my research, I study and question sexual and gender dissidences in the Universidad de Costa Rica as my context. This means that I analyze the reality of lesbians, gay, bisexual and trans³ people (LGBT)⁴, who belongs to this specific university, regarding discrimination and affirmative actions in the academic space. With such purpose, Interculturality is one of the theoretical basis I choose to look at this reality in that particular context. So, I present connections between Interculturality and Sexual and Gender Dissidences (SGD), in order to establish a new bond between these theoretical corpus and the "sexual minorities", which brings new gazes to both fields.

Studying the LGBT topic from Interculturality open a new perspective on the subject, since SGD has been examined little in such a field. Therefore, I introduce my theoretical reflections with a general view about the university and its agency policies for SGD population (students, professors and staff). I want to clarify that in Costa Rica, the most used terms for referring to SGD are: diversidad sexual; personas sexualmente diversas; orientaciones sexuales e identidades de género; LGBT.

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³ Among "trans" people we include transgender, transexual, trasvesti, and drag queen/king.

⁴ I use these categories because they are the most representative and used terms in the political movement (activism) for sexual and gender dissidences. Also, because it is the most common denomination used in my country. Nevertheless, I am aware that those categories classify and limit the fluency we found in the queer and sexual/gender identities.

First of all, I must refer to my university. The Universidad de Costa Rica (UCR) is a public institution for higher education, the largest and oldest in my country. The main campus is located in the capital, San José, but it also has campuses all over the national territory (12 campuses spread in different regions). It has juridical autonomy; it is a democratic organization, with representative and collective decision-making bodies (the main one is the Consejo Universitario). For a general outlook, I bring some information that the university itself diffuses: 240 academic options (undergraduate programs), with more than 38.000 students; 486 post-graduate programs, with over 3.000 students; 257 agreements with international universities; 1700 research projects and activities; 480 extension projects; 109 artistic and cultural projects (UCR, 2015).

At this point, allow me to explain that I understand the university (as an institution), and specifically the *Universidad de Costa Rica*, as a state. Every university is a world in itself, with its own structure and organization, with a specific legal system, with exclusive ways of functioning, and with an own form of government suitable for its reality. Thus, some actions developed inside it are public policies because we are talking about a public institution (one of the State's universities). In addition, the UCR enjoys great prestige nationally, it is well acknowledged by the population, and is one of the best qualified public institutions; its contributions and bonds with the Costa Rican society are immeasurable. The importance that UCR has in the country is truly visible, which is present even in the social imaginary; this university constitutes an important reference in many subjects and fields.

The university is part of the society. Inside the society, there are groups which hold power and hegemony over people (groups and individuals), establishing patterns for them, as well as for their ways of living and thinking. In such manner, models are created, and everything that is apart from it is seen as different. However, it also exists resistance from individuals and groups who do not "fulfill" the imposed patterns, and because of that they rebel against the system in order to show their presence. This is the case of sexually diverse people, which means, individual who conform the sexual and gender dissidence.

There are also new ways of thinking, such as the Interculturality proposal (here, it will be understood from the Intercultural Philosophy's perspective). It was not conceived for analyzing the SGD, but brings new possibilities and challenges to think about this subject. Beginning with the definition for interculturality itself, defining the intercultural represents a dilemma due to several reasons stated by Raúl Fornet-Betancourt (2004):

- asking for a definition is an occidental Eurocentric logic, based on a need to define and classify, which could carry some violence for whom doesn't need a definition;
- to define is to set; involves defining, fragmenting and parceling (reduces to an "object" of study);
- definitions objectify what is defined, and this is how dualism works and distinguishes between the knowing-individual from the object-to-know, leaving that object away, in "the other side".

In this dilemma about the need of a definition, I notice the first parallelism and connection between Interculturality and Sexual Diversity. There is always an attempt to define people, to place them into labels, to fit and locate them into binary logics, regarding "traditionalisms" about sex and gender; this becomes very particular with those who break

the hegemonic order. Yet, queer (sexual-gender dissidence) completely undo such binarism. There is a need to name and classify which –as I understand– responds to a need to rationalize: “it clearly exists a sort of obsession for rationality, which doesn’t allow us to see any other possibility, not contrary nor even lateral” (Kusch, 1978, p. 88)⁵. In sexuality, this obsession for rationality can be translated as an obsession for gender binary, heterosexuality, and monogamy: as part of the culture and the ways of living that have been imposed, we found gender roles and one single way for love and relationships (which I call the heterosexual-monogamous “combo”). All of this takes form under a core idea: heteronormativity. However, Interculturality consists in breaking traditional visions and betting for new views; here is another connection with SGD. It consists in cultivating “disposition for learning to think again [...] for learning to read the world and our own story” (Fornet-Betancourt, 2004, p. 11)⁶, also in building new readings for cultural processes and practices, in order to –at the same time– give a place to those who have been excluded, invisible or denied.

Interculturality could be thought as a deep critic to narrow understandings about reality; using a metaphor, a critic to a window’s perspective: it “allows seeing only through a portion of the open space to which it is targeting” (Fornet-Betancourt, 2004, p. 12). This makes it easier to understand that it exists in a wider complexity of realities (concerning individuals and groups), which include senses that are difficult to comprehend as a whole. Therefore, our approach to realities will always be partial, under a focus that only shows a part of it. What we see through a window is a part of the landscape, but not the complete panorama/scene. It’s with this perspective that we should address SGD: under the premise that we are approaching to a fragment which doesn’t reveal the entire landscape, because it is wider and complex. Also, in a landscape, as we are advancing towards the horizon, it keeps going away, distant. In sexuality, we are in front of an infinite world of discoveries; sexuality is not finished, set, established nor determined; it is totally dynamic, changeable, mobile, flexible, versatile. If this idea functions for heterosexual people, even more for all the sexual and gender identities that conform the ‘dissidence’.

And so, the intercultural journey must be understood in three paths: a methodology, a political project and a cultural project. Those three paths offer new routes for SGD and, in these trails, it is also possible to locate agency. This means:

- a *methodology*, that allows to “study, describe and analyze the interaction dynamics” and that assumes an ethical position “in favor of the coexistence of differences” (Fornet-Betancourt, 2004, p. 13). With this methodology emerges new scientific fields, perspectives and ways of “making science”, which certainly part from difference (this means, where the “base” that we have is the fact of being different). In Costa Rica, research on sexual diversity began in the 70s and has been growing since then, not only in the amount of works, but also in the diversification and depth of researched topics (Jiménez, 2014).
- a *political project*, that points at a reorganization of actual [international] relationships (Fornet-Betancourt, 2004). A political project that publicly makes visible our existence, our live conditions and situations, our needs; a political project that advocates for our citizen rights’ defense and that fights against all types of discrimination.

⁵ All the texts from Rodolfo Kusch used in this paper were originally written in Spanish. So, all quotations were freely translated by myself from the original text in our mother language.

⁶ All the quotations from texts written by Raúl Fornet-Betancourt were also translated by me, from their originals in Spanish.

- a *cultural project*, that seeks the “recreation of cultures starting by putting into practice the principle of mutual acknowledgement” (Fornet-Betancourt, 2004, p. 13). A cultural project that pretends to obtain acknowledgement, because those who belong to SGD are part of a culture considered different in our country (this means that SGD assumes its own culture), and –at same time– every sexual and gender identity has its own culture.

Consequently, interculturality transcends the idea of tolerance, because instead it proposes coexistence, dialogue, and mutual enrichment among cultures, in theoretical and practical levels, which can lead to cultural transformation processes (Fornet-Betancourt, 2004). These are also ideals for us activists for SGD whether in academy, in “streets”, or in both spaces. Here I must say that, in Intercultural Philosophy, construction processes could take many different forms besides conventional academic production: poems, essays, plays, novels (Zea, 2005). Furthermore, these processes include a very important element: the experiential and biographical level. “We show explicitly that we as people are involved in the intercultural space’s creation”, considering that what is intercultural is not “out of us. We are part of that field” (Fornet-Betancourt, 2004, p. 12).

When we discuss interculturality, clearly the idea of culture is there. In relation to this, one explanation says that culture assumes “a place where you necessarily inhabit. And *to inhabit* a place means it is not possible to be indifferent to what happens there” (Kusch, 1976, p. 115. *Italics belong to the original*). Accordingly, we could talk about culture as a living mode. But, in order to constitute ways of living as such, they need to be acquired by individuals; in other words, practices, symbols, and meanings from certain group need to be incorporated by its members. A culture has its value because it is absorbed by a community, which gives a special significance to it (Kusch, 1976). Culture does not exist without a materiality that is organized according to representative values for some society; and, such materiality and values become real in the everyday ways of living (Vaz e Silva, 2009). This is the reason why we should analyze the day-to-day from a specific context.

In this analysis of everyday experiences, we can realize if agency and the public policy for inclusion and rights guarantees are effective in real life. There is a plurality of cultures where each one has its singularity, which is traduced into “different types of forms for accessing to experience, knowledge, and reality” (Vaz e Silva, 2009, p. 39). Having all these ideas, three levels of culture have been identified in this research, which are present in the context of study:



A country's culture is probably the most evident, because many times the system itself seeks to build a national culture (a national identity) that in some moments can be homogenizing. Yet, inside this big country-culture, which is general and covers everything concentrated in a territory, there are also other several cultures. I am talking about "regionalisms", meaning smaller and specific groups, such as the LGBTI, that shows as a culture itself. As a matter of fact, in Costa Rica it is called *el mundo de "ambiente"* (the "environment" world) or just as "*el ambiente*" ("the environment"). Also, if we scrutinize the singularities inside such "*ambiente*", we can notice that it has subcultures too, for example: gays, lesbians, the trans group; bisexuals and intersexuals – which are commonly 'absorbed' by the other groups. Now, trying to establish a "hierarchy" for those levels of cultures and subcultures, the national-culture is bigger, comprehending the others; in parallel, will be the LGBTI subculture; and, for last, as a micro-world immersed in both, will be the 'bubble' of the *Universidad de Costa Rica*. This could be visualized as in the image.



My research is about the UCR's culture concerning SGD, being aware that both belong to a wider Costa Rican culture. Allow me to give some context: the UCR is the main crib for intellectuals in the nation, which since 1940 has been making contributions of high significance for the country, in a large variety of fields. Actually, in people's social imaginary it is considered the most prestigious university. This institution has even been recognized as *Benemérita de la Educación y la Cultura de Costa Rica* (Praiseworthy of Education and Culture of Costa Rica). It contains a great part of the country's critical thinking (but also, there are people with traditional and conservative ways of thinking and living). Due to dynamics that grow in its interior, it is sensed as a micro-world, also as a bubble. In fact, the main campus (located in the capital city) has as name *Ciudad Universitaria* (University City).

However, inside a culture, power struggles create guidelines "based on traditions within the groups" (Vaz e Silva, 2009, p. 37). Such traditions inside a culture have their own "symbolic codes, ways of living, belief system" (*idem*). Hence, in UCR's culture, actions have emerged that tend to generate favorable changes for SGD population within the university world. Before mentioning them, let me briefly mention two important background elements:

- The university's aim and tasks are regulated by several institutional principles, established in the *Estatuto Orgánico* (Organic Statute). One of them praises respect for people's freedom of expression:

Respect for people and freedom of expression: Guarantee, in the university world, the dialogue and free expression of ideas and opinions, as well as the coexistence of different visions and school of thoughts, without any limitation than mutual respect. (Consejo Universitario, 1974, p. 1. My translation from the Spanish original.)

- In year 2008, the former country's government promulgated a *Decreto Ejecutivo* (Executive Order) declaring May 17th as *National Day against Homophobia*⁷. Later, the next government, in 2012, made a rectification to also include the lesbophobia and the transphobia. Finally, the declaration set "*Day May 17 of every year, National Day against Homophobia, Lesbophobia and Transphobia*". This order also establishes that public institutions must spread the aim of such commemoration and to "facilitate, promote and support" actions in order to eradicate homo-lesbo-transphobia.

With such facts as a background, and although still is a lot of work to do, in the UCR have been developed affirmative initiatives in favor of sexual-gender dissidences, which deserve to be shared.

• **Pronouncement as discrimination free space.** In year 2011, the *Consejo Universitario* (University Council) issued a disposition declaring the UCR as a "space free from all discrimination and of respect for difference", emphasizing that it includes "sexual orientation and gender identity discrimination" (Consejo Universitario, 2011, p. 2). Within the agreements, this declaration states (Consejo Universitario, 2011):

- insist on the university's commitment towards Human Rights' and respect;
- request the UCR's administration (government) to declare as 'institutional interest' the activities developed on campus for commemorating the National Day against Homophobia;
- urge to the administration to formulate researches in order to identify discrimination practices inside the UCR;
- urge the academic units and the research units⁸ to create reflective processes that promote a culture of respect to sexual diversity.

Considering the agency in favor of SGD within the university, this pronouncement is the most important public policy of affirmative action, because it establishes the framework and guidelines regarding this matter.

• **Sexual Diversity Inter-university Festival.** As a response to the Executive Order which declares a day against homo-lesbo-transphobia (May 17th), since the year 2009, to commemorate this date, in the UCR (and other public universities) academic and cultural-artistic activities are carried out. At the beginning, they were small actions, with little assistance; yet, every year the festival grows, gaining visibility and diversifying the type of activities: lectures, roundtables, cineforum, performances, music shows and stands with information. I want to highlight here that the LGBT flag has been hung in some of the university's main buildings, for example: the *Escuela de Estudios Generales* (School of General Studies) and the library

⁷ In the international context, on May 17th 1990, the World Health Organization eliminated homosexuality as a mental disorder.

⁸ The **academic units** are all the university departments responsible for developing programs (educational projects) that lead to obtain an academic degree (diploma). The names they receive in the UCR are: *Escuela* (School), *Facultad* (Faculty), *Sede Regional* (Regional Office), or *Recinto Universitario* (University Premises). The **research units** are all the centers, institutes, departments or any other type of section -belonging to the university- where research is developed.

Carlos Monge Alfaro. Even though, last year 2015, the university Administration by itself, painted with the flag's colors pedestrian crossings near the UCR's main entrance at the central campus. These festivals have become real politicization moments in the university space. And, the best fact is that they not only occur in the UCR, but also in other two public universities: the *Instituto Tecnológico* and the *Universidad Nacional*.

68 | • **Comisión de Diversidad y Género⁹, FEUCR.** The *Federación de Estudiantes de la UCR*¹⁰ (called *FEUCR*) is the main student body in the institution; it is democratically elected by all students for representing them in several university entities. In 2009 a special commission was created to look after gender and sexual diversity issues, concerning the student population. However, actions developed by this commission depend on the directory on duty, which changes every year.

• **Specific actions from certain departments.** Clarifying that I haven't completely searched the agency and efforts on behalf of SGD (because this will be part of my field-work), I do want to mention some initiatives that I know and consider important.

The *Centro de Investigación en Estudios de la Mujer* (CIEM) is the research institute on gender studies; it exists since 1999, with an antecessor from 1987. This center is explicitly feminist and has several research and extension projects (usually together); the majority of professionals that work there are also professors in the university (in different programs). It has a specialized documentation center and an informative bulletin. Among its projects, some of them are about violence and sexual harassment, which includes situations related to SGD. The CIEM works with prevention, as well as take of action regarding accusations it receives.

Acknowledgement and acceptance of LGBT professors. In the university, there are teachers 'out of closet', this means that in their schools or faculties, their colleagues and chiefs know about their sexual or gender identity. For example, there are "cases" in the schools of Psychology, Philosophy, Modern Languages, and Musical Arts. This has particular relevance when these professors are trans. If a professor publically identifies as trans, this is a public acknowledgement which is particularly relevant due to the symbolic meaning this has.

Extension projects. As a part of the social action exercised from the university (which is part of its bond with society), stands out an area that reunites projects about Human Rights. One form of extension is the *Trabajo Comunal Universitario* (University Community Work), where every student graduating from the UCR with a bachelor's degree must complete 300 hours of community service. There are two projects that address directly and explicitly the SGD subject: one is called "*Apoyo a asociaciones de derechos sexuales, reproductivos y diversidad sexual*"¹¹, which pertains to the *Escuela de Ciencias Políticas* (School of Political Sciences); the other one is called "*Arte, Identidades y Género*" (Art, Identities, and Gender), subscript to the *Escuela de Filosofía* (School of Philosophy), in which gender is problematized, undoing notions regarding femininity, masculinity, and transgenderism, through artistic expressions.

⁹ Could be translated as *Commission on Diversity and Gender*.

¹⁰ In English, the name could be: *Student Federation of the University of Costa Rica*.

¹¹ Can be translated as: Support for associations on sexual rights, reproductive rights, and sexual diversity.

• **Institutional Policies for the following years.** Finally, another regulation that guides the UCR's actions is the institutional policies, issued every 5 years approximately. For the next quinquennium, 2016-2020, there are two important dispositions that eventually could be used for justifying affirmative actions¹²:

2.2.1. Will encourage the inter-, multi- and transdisciplinary education, updating ideas, and making the curriculum structure flexible and administration both for graduate and post-graduate programs, having a basis on a critical, humanistic, inclusive, human rights and environment preservation vision, according to the Costa Rican society requirements (Consejo Universitario, 2015, p. 2).

7.3.1. Will actively promote the development of an academic and work environment free of all kinds of violence and discrimination, as well as affirmative action strategies in order to overcome conditions of inequality and social exclusion, both of students and professors and administrative staff. (Consejo Universitario, 2015, p. 7)

All these policies and activities generated within the UCR, in great extent are a result of efforts made by activists that work inside the academy and try to make it a space without LGBT-phobia, a safety space for sexual and gender dissident people, guaranteeing their rights (at least in the university world). Facing the denial of the "other" (or its definition), as well as the domination and repression that society and hegemonic groups exercise, it arises the resistance of individuals who incarnate such "issue" that is denied. These individuals create arguments to show their own humanity, where a first step is mental emancipation (Zea, 2005) towards impositions. Another way of understanding this rupture with domination, is the epiphany (Dussel, 1977), in other words, the revelation of the oppressed, of the 'others'; this is explained as the beginning of the true liberation, where whom "rebels transcend the system, places continuously facts into question" (Dussel, 1977, p. 22. Translation is mine). The epiphany is a birth that inspires a new security and warmth; so, the world goes unfolding since that conception moment (Dussel, 1977).

In the scope of SGD, emancipation and epiphany are important issues before impositions in sexuality, such as: binarisms, monogamy, heterosexuality, and male-dominated thoughts in general. Academy is the main place where this is constituted. In my opinion, if we are *or* we work as scientists, professors or academic people, it is our duty to take advantage of our position to create changes, with the intention that knowledge is useful and, at the same time, an instrument of criticism and transformation for society. Fortunately, the UCR is like this. Although the path is still incipient, what matters the most is that such path is being built. Is already possible to notice its *seminality*, as Kusch (1978) says; and *seminality* is seeds, what germinates, what creates, what grows and gives fruit (Kusch, 1978). This is how social movements are, and this is how the LGBT movement has being. The evolution is slow, but constant. Advances are perceived, felt, and evidenced with the pass of time, from generation to generation. At the end, there are many cultural layers that we need to move.

"Changes have been made by people with the light of their dreams and utopias"¹³ (Sarango, 2009, p. 1). Achievements in LGBT issues are an example of this, because we have many dreams and utopias. Also because we have obtained important advances due to our

¹² The translation for both quotations was made by me.

¹³ The translation is mine, from the original quotation in Spanish.

70 | struggles these past decades. Primarily, because we won't stop fighting. Our fights are in a broad spectrum, so some times we need to focus in specific spaces or contexts, like -in this case- the university. It is evident that inside the UCR there are changes happening; in this paper it was not possible to mention all. My desire is that in the University each time we can build more spaces of respect and ethical conscience (Dussel, 1977), of intercultural dialogue (Vaz e Silva, 2009), and of cultural disobedience (Fornet-Betancourt, 2001), all of them towards a transformation of the country's reality. The challenge is turning the *Universidad de Costa Rica* into a space truly free of discrimination, which could be a model for the Costa Rican society. We have started walking in this direction and we will continue to head towards a time that completely complies in being free of discrimination.

In conclusion, I want to say that I tried to demonstrate how the discussion about interculturality, woven by the Intercultural Philosophy, can bring important elements to deepen the reflections and actions for the sexual and gender diversity movement.

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THE CONSTRUCTION OF PREFERENCES AND REPULSES IN SCHOOL: BOYS AND GIRLS “SUBJECTS”?

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ABSTRACT

The paper discusses gender discriminations on access to school syllabus and its social impacts, for example, the “natural” preferences of boys to hard sciences and girls to social ones. Although these are real phenomena, they are not natural, but rather social constructions; therefore, the access to knowledge is unequal. This asymmetric access is not deliberate, hiding in micro-political practices. Its effects outline what individuals will learn or not in concordance with the sex. Data presented come from a study with elementary school teachers and from an observation in a laboratory of a Physics class. It concludes that the construction of “preferences” about certain areas is a pedagogical phenomenon, influencing the upcoming participation of individuals in society.

KEYWORDS

Scholar Knowledge; Gender Discrimination in School; Scholar Subjects and Practices.

Introduction

Sciences such as Psychology or Neurology still do not explain the differences in academic performance between men and women. Nevertheless, there is a persistent overestimation of males in the western culture that was initially philosophically considered as “dominant”, superior and, later, by biology, a paragon of perfection. Thus, “(...) men and women are differentiated, identified as anatomically and physiologically complementary, inserted in different places and roles, standardized according to their ways of relating to each other” (Teixeira, 2010). Finally, in the 19th and 20th centuries, the ideas of “equal rights” and social movements exposed the reality of gender inequality (Negreiros, 2004).

The term gender originated in that context, learning the differences and similarities between men and women as social constructions and not as a result of their biology (Scott, 1990). However, very little attention has been paid to those questions in educational contexts. Therefore, what Robert Connell argues in relation to masculinity can be extended to women and, for that reason, to the gender relations in general in school situations:

Though schools have been a rich site for studying the reproduction of masculinities (...) and though most of the people doing research on masculinity work in education industry (...), there is surprisingly little discussion of the role of education in the transformation of masculinity (Connell, 1995, page 238).

Thus, this text reflects, in some ways, on how gender discrimination occurs in schools and how in the field of school education there are few proposals for questioning this reality.

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It is understood that there is no neutrality in the teaching and learning process, i.e. in the access boys and girls have to the syllabus. Nowadays, what is called science is the historically selected content, product of prioritized investigations in the last centuries in the scientific core from industrialized countries. So, it is the result of human judgment and some certain power relations. Throughout civilization, many moments were withdrew from history; because of that, currently, individuals' access is different from the knowledge which is produced and released according to the interests of influential groups, whether they are from the market, politics and/or religion.

Similarly, the school, in its micropolitics, also works with permitted knowledge, making differentiated accesses to education according to the individuals' race/ethnicity, gender, among other cleavages. School micropolitics is defined as the sphere of action in which groups or individuals dispute the power (Ball, 1993). From those struggles for power a process begins and, in it, representations and expectations of the teacher are used as tools of persuasion, knowledge and even of disempowerment, in short, a strong currency in negotiations and territory achievements (Teixeira, 1998).

Discriminated access to knowledge in general does not occur consciously, but it can be easily hidden in "good action"³. Its negative implications impose imaginary boundaries about which contents individuals are supposed to learn, influencing their behavior, faith in themselves and in opportunities within the group they fit in. This way, school practices are also the results of the perception that schools make about those who will or will not have access to certain information. There is no neutrality in the teacher-knowledge-student interaction. The differentiated way of having knowledge access in school for boys and girls may, then, influence behavior patterns in their academic trajectories and who will achieve school success or who will fail.

Social and educational production of affinities and performances

Considering that it is previously discussed by society, one should not disapprove schools to confirm and / or encourage certain behaviors (respect for the 'differences', for example). However, the fact is that the effort to encourage some behavior patterns in the teaching and learning process can induce short and long-term losses to those who are in the school environment. Regarding gender discrimination in education, these have already been discussed, but are still actively present in pedagogical practices.

For this reason, the theories on this matter should consider the actions of teachers (men and women) as powerful elements in the propagation of behavioral patterns. The faculty are the ones who present conservative and narrow-minded views of masculinity and femininity to children (defining restricted possibilities for men and women in public and private environments). As a consequence, schools provide gender requirements for boys and girls from an early age, not only with regard to the technical and scientific aspects, but also with regard to their attitudes towards life.

³ For example: from the assumption that girls are "fragile", certain practices of Physical Education are not offered to girls or otherwise, the belief that bearing pain is a "man thing" some children are submitted to violent practices.

It is common in the school professionals' speeches to find, at first, a modern tone of equality between genders, but then it contradicts itself when compared to everyday observation (Pereira and Mourão, 2005). Men and women's segregation in the school environment is justified by a pseudoscientific speech (generally focused on the reproductive function or complementarity between men and women), sometimes, for the sake of the children and their "innocence". This speech makes use of scientific speculation to dictate how to be a man or a woman. This view is still unstable from the scientific point of view, but when called science, they gain enough authority in the speeches and practices, leaving little room for debates and differences. This is a "scientific inquisition", i.e. science becomes a prescriptive dogma.

In pedagogical routines the existence of male teachers is accepted provided that they have "feminine" characteristics common to female teachers: "kindness", "affection", "attention" (SANTOMÉ, 1995). In other contexts, the presence of men is identified as important to replace the father figure or contribute to a model which the youngsters should follow, as there are "a lot of women" in the schools. Yet, the acceptance of this male model is frustrated when teachers are "effeminate" men, a priori, questionable individuals to socialize with children.

On the other hand, even the so-called "normal" men are restrained from direct interaction with children because they fear their "male nature" (in this case, they would be seen as violent, impatient to deal with children). Those characteristics, considered innate in men and not results of socialization, are seen as responsible for the absence of men teaching (EUGÊNIO, 2008). In rare moments, there is trenchant defense of equality between men and women in those contexts.

Interestingly, when we speak of teaching work in universities and in the scientific field, the speech changes: women are seen to be inadequate, unstable, childish, unfit for the "serious" world of work, "gossipers", "non-professionals", "sentimental", "emotional", "diffused", among other disqualifying characteristics (Teixeira, 1998; Silva and Ribeiro, 2014). This view endorses a traditional professional model, an androcentric version of what universities should be like. Thus, male teachers are seen by the faculty as more "serious", "objectives" and "focused".

Although criticized for their unconventional positions as professionals in education, contradictorily, teachers are encouraged to play the role of "general caretakers" in these environments. That role alleviates the administrative staff of schools, parents and also the government of other social responsibilities towards children. Such induction comes in various forms. The text below, for example, was distributed by a school supervisor to teachers of public schools in the commemoration for Teachers' Day in 1996; it reveals images that are valued in an exemplary teacher:

... Let me be more maternal than a mother to love and defend children as much as the mother of a child who is not flesh of my flesh... Shed, in my democratic school, some light on the barefoot boys that once surrounded you. Make me strong, even though I am a woman, especially a poor one; make me despise all impure power and all pressure that does not represent the flames of your desire upon my life... May my hand be light on punishment and even softer in caresses. May I reprimand with regret knowing that I corrected with love! Grant that I give spiritual form to my brick school building. May your flames involve the poor

lobby and naked rooms... And finally, that from contemplating the paleness of a Velásquez canvas I remember that teaching and love intensely on Earth is to reach the last day with the spear of Longinus through one's heart!

On October 15th it is celebrated "Teacher's Day". With Gabriela Mistral's page, we seek to honor those to whom this country owes so much. Thank you, teachers from Minas Gerais, for teaching us how to handle the most powerful weapon in the universe; the weapon of knowledge (Teacher's prayer, Gabriela Mistral, apud Teixeira, 1998, page 159).

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Similarly, the school governing body also has its professional routines influenced by gender. Female directors report experiencing ambiguous demands to perform their duties. Thus, they feel compelled to take a "male model" of leadership, which means: "rationality", "authoritarianism", "objectivity", greater control etc. (Teixeira, 2001). Such characteristics are seen as "proof" of competence to lead just like a man. Although, at the same time, they are compelled to interpret the "command of a great family", i.e. their work routine includes several tasks that surpass the pedagogical and administrative areas, for they are supposed to care for the others. This implies an exacerbated emotional affective involvement with the community. This model, which has been identified as an important school demand, pleases mainly neglectful parents, for they are released from affective responsibilities toward their children.

A process of "de-intellectualization" comes from those ambiguous demands and almost amateurism of teachers and other school professionals, falling into what is commonly called spontaneism. In this socio-cultural and educational dynamics, the emotional aspect is the central concern in schools, neglecting their teaching functions, theoretical and formal education techniques (Santiago and Santos, 2010).

On the contrary, the efforts to meet the expectations when a position is taken, in this case, women's efforts in school organizations, are also related to the organizational survival. In this regard, the election for the direction position can be cited as interesting examples when the same gender issues are used as persuasion, manipulation and seduction instruments of the school community.

For those who forcefully rebel against such stereotypes, the school patrol over those who dare to challenge the school established patterns of behavior culminates in exclusion or denigration of the professional. In some cases, colleagues make use of intrigue with parents to put "rebel" teachers in their "place". Those attitudes show typical forms of micro-power. On this subject, this is the story of an interviewed director (Teixeira, 1998, page 162):

[...] female teachers... they are more thoughtful. They have this ability specifically because of their female side... They are like mothers. Most of them are so... patient. In the Brazilian society... women are responsible for it (caring for children). Even now, when many men help, it is not the same. When things get difficult, women are the ones who are there for you (laughter) ... Even though I think that the presence of men in schools... is interesting because we would have a male interaction... It would be interesting because the boys would have the two sides ... But women are more sensitive. Men are more pragmatic... They don't worry if the kids cry...

As well as the lives of the professionals in schools, children's lives are affected by gender. During school routines, boys and girls are exposed to direct and indirect messages about

how to behave, what is expected from them and of them, what they are allowed or prohibited to, and especially about what is “normal” for every gender to like (Teixeira, 2001).

Indeed, in the school micro-organization, teachers have an important role in the realization of what is called, here, the “gender-based teaching” (Louro, 1997). Thus, expressing themselves orally or in writing, or even only by gestures, behaviors and manners, teachers legitimate models (male or female), and they act in such way to restrain the behavioral patterns considered inappropriate according to gender.

That points to the fact that the school is still being guided by conservative values regarding gender issues. Conservatism is expressed in the school dynamics, starting from monitoring students’ appearance (clothing, behaviors said to be appropriate for boys or girls, haircuts) to the control of what they may or may not talk and think, even including the division of school spaces (lines, toilets, games). The children are routinely reminded about their differences. The policing of conduct is extended from the images and messages that adorn the walls of the schools to the images and texts of textbooks (Louro, 1998).

Almost everything in the school context conspires to a standardization of different behaviors for them. The same occurs in the curriculum to which boys and girls are exposed, but not necessarily, have equal access. This inequality occurs silently, sometimes disguised in “kind” interactions between students and teachers and emphasize different “virtues” and skills for boys and girls (Teixeira et al, 2002).

After so much exposure and several penalties regarding what students may or may not do throughout time, children start to control themselves and they even exercise control over colleagues regarding possible gender-related behaviors:

School culture makes stable responses to be expected and teaching facts becomes more important than understanding intimate issues. Moreover, in this culture, authoritarian manners of social interactions prevent the possibility of new questions and do not stimulate the development of some interest that can lead teachers and students to directions that may prove to be surprising. All this makes sexuality issues to be relegated to the category of right or wrong answers (Britzman, 2003, page 85-86).

Through practices such as bullying, there will be a real “inquisition of genres”. Thus, guided by their teachers, the student body learns, over time, to exercise control over colleagues, defining, encouraging and criticizing deviations of standards regarding being a boy or a girl.

The case below illustrates an enhanced reinforcement of this model. It is from boys during a lesson in the physics lab (at the Technical School from UFMG). These students resisted developing the activities proposed by the teacher, spending most part of the course pretending to do them and she did not notice the fact. The following tables show how teenagers have already crystallized certain masculinity standards.

Table 1 – Boys group: dealing with writing (Nascimento and Villani, 2004)

Turn-Taking	
28 - NEY:	Who's gonna write the reports? /
29 - ALEX:	Me? / Have you ever seen my handwriting? ///
30 - NEY:	My handwriting is horrible. ///
31 - ADÃO:	Count me out... /
32 - ALEX:	Come on, guys... /Start it already... /
33 - ADÃO:	You guys are going to do it! /
34 - ALEX:	You will, indeed. /
35 - ELI:	This sucks. /
36 - ADÃO:	Who has a notebook? ///

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Here, the school played the role of teaching gendered bodies and minds. Despite the losses in terms of academic involvement that is established for boys and girls, there are indirect gains. Boys escape schoolwork without being caught and teachers do not realize it, in fact, perhaps many believe that “boys are like that” - indomitable (Santomé, 1995). As for girls, they can negotiate better with the school, because they adopt docility and submission behaviors, so valued by school organizations.

Really, rather than challenging their students about the stereotypes regarding gender or any other prejudices, the school often insists on cultivating outdated rhetoric. Faced with the new (usually a “wrong answer”), the school does not question its contents, but feels questioned. After all, what to do with so many innovations, many new family organizations, many new conditions of gender and sexualities? The school is wrong when it interprets the mismatch of ideas as if it were disrespect. This situation generates an internal crises, triggering feelings of unease and confusion about what to do between teachers and students. So, what is the role of the school and teachers?

Therefore, after reflecting upon the discriminatory character of the curriculum selection and pedagogical practices, the next step from the teachers’ part should be a change in the educational actions:

A second step is taken when an inclusive curriculum inverts the hegemony that characterized the old dominant curriculum. For instance, instead of requiring working-class students to participate in learning organized around the interests of the middle class, middle-class students are required to participate in learning organized around working-class interests (Connell, 1995, page 239).

There is no single answer to this matter. The school certainly influences the identities of their students and, certainly, of its professionals. However, identities are constructed in interaction with others. If there were no such possibilities, there would not be resistance from students educated by strict rules even if they did not know other ways of “being”. This expansion of the range of possibilities of existing, with respect to gender relations, is only possible with innovative practices, without “pre-judgments” and/or retrograde positions, as indicated below by the same author:

Requiring boys to participate in curriculum organized around the interests of girls, and straight students to participate in curriculum organized around the interests of lesbian and gays, demands a capacity for empathy, for taking the viewpoint of the other, which is systematically denied in hegemonic masculinity (CONNELL, 1995, page 240).

The case reported below illustrates this transformation. There are, here, children and teachers that contradict the usual and idealized perceptions regarding the relation between childhood and innocence (Teixeira, 1998):

Teacher: (...) sometimes, some students come to your class and you feel that their performance is not... really satisfactory. It is an opportunity for him/her to speak out... that his/her father did this or that, you know... A female student arrived to me and asked... how does a man know if a woman had an orgasm... With teenage students... I have no bonds out of the classroom, you know? I can't give 'em exclusive attention (!) I have to give 'em attention in a general way. And then... It seems to start some sort of dissatisfaction, they get angry... They become aggressive... I've already had many problems like this (!)... And I'm not being presumptuous, but it seems that I have some kind of charisma... it is something that gets them involved, but it's not something I do on purpose... Some girl has even tried to grab me and kiss me... It's embarrassing. This year alone, I have already received many notes, sometimes they don't sign them... and put them in the box, in the book... I am aware that I don't tease them, because when it happens I'm in the classroom, I'm not thinking about myself, I think about the work I must develop. I've already been harassed in the hallway, indeed.

Researcher: What type of harassment was it?

Teacher: The girl has tried to grab me and kiss me... it's funny, and embarrassing. This year, I received many notes, sometimes, they send anonymous notes, you know, inside the mail box, and sometimes they wait for me to get distracted to put it in my book... I have this problem, you know. I'm aware that I don't provoke them, because when it happens, I'm in the classroom, I'm not thinking about myself, I think about the work I must develop. Actually, I was very clear when talking to the coordinator, but then... it is something that... I get that they're teenagers.

According to one of the interviewed teachers, a fellow teacher told her “(...) I like to teach the youngsters”, revealing that she went out with her younger pupils (teenagers) to initiate them sexually. This report contradicts the perceptions of female teachers as self-sacrificing mothers and asexual beings, devoted to “care” for children and people “above any suspicion”.

It is understood, then, that identity is not an unalterable product, on the contrary, it is exactly its instability that allows changes (Eugênio, 2008). There is no crystalized identity in any individual. There are, but, many identities that merge or disappear throughout life. So, there is the possibility for interventions and consequent changes of these contexts. The construction of identities is performed through learning, without “endpoints”. Such construction is not restricted to the classrooms or to the transmission of systematic knowledge, but also to the indirect, not deliberate, and unconscious acquisition of tactics, knowledge, and behaviors.

In spite of having the commitment to the transmission of a systematic education as its main goal, the school is not only about that (Louro, 1997). Nor it is up to the school to make value judgments, it should give access to other ways of living/existing in the world instead. Therefore, when dealing with systematic knowledge, the school needs to dialogue with common sense, whose references give meaning to the world of individuals when those are challenged by extraneous information. Ignoring it would be like resetting the individuals' experiences, which is impossible in the learning process. So, taking possession of the individuals' common sense, beliefs, and practices is an initial step for “certainties” to be decon-

structured, and, thus, other values could emerge. Common sense, when properly perceived, can confront “social ghosts”, nevertheless, it has an intense power over individuals.

Consequently, for the school to occupy a significant position for those who attend it, and also in order to have an education that aims at social change, it is necessary to face discussions, uncomfortable conversations, and sometimes to be surprised/challenged regarding other worldviews.

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Thus, teachers are submitted and submit themselves to the micro-politics of school organizations, leading themselves to a partial and wrong appropriation of the meaning of teaching. This misconception leads to the adulteration of teaching functions, a process called teaching “de-intellectualization”. As a consequence, pedagogical practices contrary to social equity arise⁴ (Nascimento and Villani, 2004). Such practices reproduce misconceptions about genre identities that, once transmitted to students, can generate psychological and material barriers during the childhood. Sexual segregation does not produce the mere belief in “masculine” or “feminine” natures: it also generates power, helping certain groups to maximize their interests and submit themselves to others.

Therefore, one cannot ignore that, as other labor organizations, schools are also built through power disputes (legitimate or not). Powers that may be, more often than not, exercised in non-traditional ways. These power disputes influence the identities and professional trajectories of teachers, and, consequently, of students/pupils. Despite the countless losses, in such situations, some people benefit from ratifying traditional perceptions about sex. Some win elections, others can “escape from the classroom”, and others avoid working, for example. Sometimes, parents also take advantage from this sentimental manipulation of schools and educational institutions to delegate some family functions and household chores.

After all, on several occasions, the school would rather be silent, negligent or conservative than fighting education concepts for boys and girls based on the conception that naturalizes behaviors for each sex. So, according to this perception, sex becomes an “unquestionable object” (given as a pre-cultural fact), which actually announces a range of moral attributes that have no direct relationship with nature (Haraway apud Aguiar, 1997). In addition to that, Louro (1997, page 91) says that:

From architecture to physical arrangements; from symbols to the provisions on behaviors and practices; from teaching techniques to assessment strategies; everything operates in the constitution of boys and girls, men and women – inside and outside the school, since the institution ‘says’ something not only for those inside, but also for those that do not participate in it.

⁴ For instance, in a mixed work group, girls are assigned to write the reports because they have the most beautiful handwriting, since boys are labeled as “sloppy”, instead of being taught how to be more organized, and girls should be taught to have more initiative.

Conclusion

Educational institutions orchestrate, according to its micro-politics, actions that 'govern' gender relations, deeply marking the professional/school lives of teachers and students. It prevents, thus, the implementation of equity among individuals and the exercise of a fair education and citizenship, full of opportunities for both sexes. Despite this reality, in most studies on the subject up to now, "(...) education is often discussed as if it involved only information, teachers tipping measured doses of facts into the pupils' heads; but that is just part of the process. At a deeper level, education is the formation of capacities for practice" (Connell, 1995, page 239).

Then, perhaps the greatest challenge for schools may still be to break with the unilinear and pseudoscientific discourse, in other words, it should go beyond the common sense that seeks to frame us all in just a male or female identity, as if being a woman or a man could be performed under a single cultural/historical landmark.

For this, it is recommended, here, that the first step is to appeal to the awareness of teachers about gender issues, leading them to wonder how the norms about sexual distinctions influenced and influence their own life trajectories. In practice, that means, among other things:

Requiring boys to participate in curriculum organized around the interests of girls, and straight students to participate in curriculum organized around the interests of lesbian and gays, demands a capacity for empathy, for taking the viewpoint of the other, which is denied systematically in hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1995, page 240).

In conclusion, it is worth mentioning that, throughout the text, it has been argued that this self-awareness process allows teachers to denature, and above all, develop certain estrangement in relation to roles, spaces, speech, behavior and specific talents established for men and women and pay attention to the relations of power that pervade the social relations that take place at schools, as it happens in any other social environment. This estrangement is built through dialogue with common sense, with their own prejudices. Those teachers, once aware of the harm of sexual segregation, may become facilitators of changes along with the children and the community, aiming at a more anti-sexist and equal education.

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THE TRAPPED HEROINES: WOMEN IN THE PORTUGUESE CINEMA OF THE 1960s

Pery Machado

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ABSTRACT

A new generation of filmmakers sought political and ideological change through metaphorically-charged stories depicting the broken “realities” of 1960s Portugal under the ‘Estado Novo’. The films depict a society stuck in the past, unmoving towards a prosperous future, presented through down-trodden and desperate characters struggling to survive. But their political challengers are embodied by male characters, while female characters are maintained, for the most part, in the traditional framework that had always been enclosed in.

KEY WORDS

Novo Cinema; Salazar; Portuguese cinema; Estado Novo.

The depiction of women in cinema has always been linked to their dependency on the closest male protagonist, whether he be a co-star or a supporting actor, from D.W. Griffith’s controversial but important *The Birth of a Nation* (1915) to the ensemble cast of *The Avengers* (Joss Whedon, 2012). This is especially true of countries with a strong religious background, highlighted by a deep moral conviction that every person has a specific role in their social status. Throughout history, as those in power have almost exclusively been men, the subservient role has fallen onto women. This is especially true in the Portuguese cinema since its earliest incarnation at the beginning of the 20th century. When a military dictatorship took over the country and enforced its right-wing, conservative policies in the early 1930s under the ‘Estado Novo’ (literally translated as, the *New State*), the female figure became relegated to a specific role of reinforcing the religious and patriarchal society, having certain rights revoked or expressly prohibited, such as owning property, freedom to divorce and necessitating a secondary education in order to vote. (Solsten, 1993)

In the 1960s, with the emergence of the Portuguese ‘Novo Cinema’¹ (literally, *New Cinema*) movement that sought political and ideological change from a conservative, highly-constrained social hierarchy and class to a more liberal society, the depiction of the “people” and their social and economic conditions was the antithesis of what had been shown in the movie theatres up to that point. Beginning with ‘Dom Roberto’² (Ernesto Souza, 1962), the characters’ situations were, for the most part, on the poverty-line, bordering between survival by any means necessary and starvation (both economically and literally). Characters began to steal, lie and confront social institutions that had been in place to maintain order and appearance, something that was unheard of and unseen in the Portuguese cinema (although many characters had gotten into trouble with the law—and many times had been

¹ ‘Novo Cinema’ is the accepted term used to describe a New Wave-style of filmmaking prevalent in Portugal beginning in the 1960s, not to be confused with the Brazilian ‘Cinema Novo’ movement of the same time period. Therefore, when one refers to the Portuguese cinematic movement, ‘Novo Cinema’ is the used term.

² The film is known in the English language as *Dom Roberto*, but where available, an English translation of the Portuguese title is given.

placed in jail—their crimes had been minor and had been dealt with quickly with the payment of a fine).³ One should therefore presume that such a revolutionary movement (although bound by the constrictions of censorship of the time) would have featured a much broader role for women, that they would have broken the bond of servitude and docility and would have become independent of men, socially, financially and emotionally. But this is not the case. The fact is that among the most important films of the ‘Novo Cinema’ movement, one sees an affirmation of the social values presented and reinforced by the dictatorial ‘Estado Novo’. This will be evident in the following films that will be examined in further depth: ‘Dom Roberto’, ‘Os Verdes Anos’ (*The Green Years*, Paulo Rocha, 1963), ‘O Cerco’ (António da Cunha Telles, 1969) and ‘Mudar de Vida’ (Paulo Rocha, 1966).

Women in the Portuguese Cinema up to 1962.

The role of women in the Portuguese cinema had been defined largely to the most common form of storytelling and the most popular genre of films made in Portugal at the time, a particular style of comedy known as the ‘*comédia à portuguesa*’, a term coined by Paulo Jorge Granja (translated as the ‘Comedy in the Portuguese Style’). This was a convention established with the immensely popular film ‘*A Canção de Lisboa*’ (*Lisbon Song*, Cottinelli Telmo, 1933) and then heavily reinforced through the successive years with variations of the same themes (such as the maintenance of one’s social position, the importance of family, and the lack of any political consciousness). The film tells the story of Vasco (Vasco Santana), a bohemian medical student who would rather drink and chase women than study, and his turbulent relationship with Alice (played by Beatriz Costa). After getting expelled from medical school, Vasco tries to hide this fact from his benefactresses, his rich spinster aunts who have been led to believe that he is a celebrated doctor (even going so far as to pretend that he has a medical practice with humorous consequences at a zoo), but upon discovery he is disinherited and forced to depend on himself. By the end of the film, not only has Vasco overcome his financial predicament through his popular Fado performances but he also manages to graduate with top marks from medical school and marries Alice. Alice’s role is a supporting one, her knowledge of Vasco’s infidelities are overcome with sweet and funny wordplays, and she supports him when he emerges from obscurity as a celebrated *fadista*. Her position is dependent on her father (Antonio Silva), a tailor who obliges her to enter a popular contest, and without whom she would not seem to survive independently. This formula, of the laid-back but naturally enchanting man who must use his quick wits to turn his life around, a woman dependent on a family-figure who only has a supporting role, and the miraculous properties of Fado music, became the archetypal story for the majority of films produced in Portugal up to the 1960s and beyond. Examples of these can be seen in such films as ‘*O Costa do Castelo*’ (*The Coast from the Castle*, Arthur Duarte, 1943) to ‘*A Costureirinha da Sé*’ (*My Little Seamstress*, Manuel Guimarães, 1959) and ‘*A Canção da Saudade*’ (*The Song of Homesickness*, Henrique Campos, 1964).

The comedies reflect on a social identity constructed by the ‘Estado Novo’, from marriage to dating to sexuality, projecting a conservative figure who is the moral foundation that

³ <In ‘*O Passarinho da Ribeira*’ (Augusto Fraga, 1959) the mother, Micas, (played by Maria Cristina) is arrested for creating a commotion on a busy street, but is quickly released after her fine has been paid.

reigns in man's playful (yet free) desires. The main characters come from a working and middle class background, small business owners and manual workers but who are not in the realms of poverty. The depiction of the extremely wealthy or the socially dominant classes is absent because the majority of spectators in the cinema were precisely from the working and middle classes, who saw the characters on the screen as the visual reflections of themselves. The ability to "see themselves" on-screen allowed the 'Estado Novo' to impose its ideological message to the audience through the actions and dialogue of the characters, projecting the desired views and attitudes through self-identification and conformity. Though not as explicit as the German cinema of the same era—particularly films like *The Eternal Jew* (Der Ewige Jude, Fritz Hippler, 1940)—nor as artistically as Soviet filmmakers (Eisenstein et al.), the simplicity and effectiveness of the projection of ideology cannot be undervalued. If it was not apparent in the first film, the near-constant repetition of the same stories cemented the message. (Granja, 2003)

The 'Novo Cinema'.

Dom Roberto

The emancipation and domestication of the female character, therefore, is well-established by the time Dom Roberto premieres in 1962. The film tells the story of João Barbela (played by Raul Solnado), a down-on-his-luck puppeteer who, after being forced out of his apartment, lives in a condemned building, constructing a fantasy life with Maria (Glicínia Quartin), a dishonoured woman whom he saves from committing suicide. Metaphorically, it is a reflection on the state of Portugal and the social conditions the population faced, ranging from the inability to feed oneself (at the beginning of the film João steals a sausage from a deli and a wandering chicken from a vegetable patch) to the lack of employment and a potential future (Maria wanders around the city in a vainglorious attempt to find work). Grim, ambiguous and unapologetically tragic, it is a truly revolutionary film that breathed a sigh of freshness to a moribund industry.

Yet, despite its critical acclaim, its socialist undertones and unique political voice, the character of Maria maintains the social role established by the 'Estado Novo' as the subservient. João 'saves' her from committing suicide at the beginning, feeds her and pays a room for her to sleep in for a night in the hope that she will emotionally connect with him as he has with her. Before he is able to see her the next morning, she has disappeared without so much as a thank-you note. When he sees her again in the middle of his puppet act, she is framed behind metal bars, metaphorically presenting her as trapped, economically, emotionally and socially. Indeed, when she accepts his invitation to live with him in the abandoned building, she is initially reluctant, but when she sees that his fantastical effort to pretend that the building is the beginning of a new life, of a potential future (he goes as far as to say that it is a very important building, and points out where the 'furniture' is—although these are only outlines drawn on the walls) she eventually agrees and indulges him in his fantasy, correcting him on where the 'refrigerator' is in relation to the rest of the 'furniture'. Her agreement to the living situation sees her undertake in traditionally female domestic chores: She cooks for him, cleans their rooms and helps repair the building. Maria falls into the 'traditional' female role of providing for the man while he goes into town in search of a

job to pay for food (that she ends up cooking), becoming just as dependent on him as the women in the films promoting the values of the 'Estado Novo'. Moreover, her illiteracy impedes her from advancing in life alone, and his simple lessons to teach her how to read and write further demonstrate man's dominance over women (even though he is no better off than her, economically). Her political voice is as muted as those in the cinema promoting the values of the 'Estado Novo.'

Os Verdes Anos

The female role is expanded in 'Os Verdes Anos', the second film of the 'Novo Cinema' (sometimes labelled as the first, true film of the movement), but upon closer investigation one sees a continued reaffirmation of the subservient role of the female. The film tells the story of Julio (Rui Gomes), a young, naïve man from the countryside who moves to Lisbon to work at a shoemaker's shop, arranged by his uncle (Ruy Furtado). He meets Ilda (played by Isabel Ruth), a maid who works for an upper-middle class family in the outskirts of the city. Julio struggles to adapt himself to life in the big city, and this begins to strain on his relationships with his uncle (with whom he had been living) and with Ilda, whom he suspects of infidelity. Julio's troubles become so severe and unmanageable that he coldly kills Ilda and tries to escape.

The film was lauded at foreign competitions, its bleakness and cinematic language echoed the neo-realism of post-war Italian cinema, and Julio's social awkwardness and inability to adapt to the big city (and by metaphorical extension, modernity) presents a hopeless youth, unable to survive. Contrasting Julio's meekness and seeming lack of enthusiasm, Ilda is not content with her job (though she takes it extremely serious, the mark of a hard worker) and hopes to work for herself sowing clothes and not have to depend on others. She encourages Julio to confront his boss for a decent wage and that he should not have to 'stay in a corner working for others'. Her desire for social ascension is also reflected in a scene when she dresses herself in her employer's clothing, rich and elegant while her normal clothing is plain and lacks variety.

Ilda's desire to raise herself above her social position is a strong feminist and political statement in a traditionally conservative country where social boundaries are clearly defined and strictly enforced. One should see Ilda as the beacon of progression, her ambitions a juggernaut of women's lib. Her role is thwarted by the audience's initial identification with Júlio (his first appearance is at the train station where his uncle had forgotten to pick him up and is forced to find his way to his uncle's apartment alone in a strange environment). By presenting Julio as the victim, the audience is forced to identify with him, and any subsequent act either done by him or to him is read as a reaction to his victimization. When Ilda dresses herself in her employer's clothing, Julio sits on a child-sized chair and does not present any sort of reaction, positive or negative, to her obvious sexual teasing (she exposes her bare shoulders suggestively to him and shows off her legs and feet in a pair of short shorts). The very next scene we see them dancing in a music hall to a slow and romantic song, but when the music changes to rockabilly, Julio desists in dancing. Ilda is visibly excited when they watch a pair dance fluidly to the music (she plays with her pearl necklace and bears a large grin on her face). When Julio, complaining of a headache, goes to a nearby pharmacy, Ilda dances with the male partner of the rockabilly pair. Instead of celebrating her sexual freedom

to choose whichever partner she wants, the audience feels that she has betrayed Julio. His distrust becomes the audience's distrust, and it forms the basis not only of their break-up but of the audience's unconscious doubt towards her motives (and his reaction to the situation is his attempt to assert his masculine dominance over her). By the end of the film, when we see Julio's behaviour becoming more erratic and crass, the audience begins to sympathise with Ilda but by that point it is too late. Julio pays no attention to her when she explains about her motivation to become self-employed a few scenes from the end, sublimely demonstrating his male dominance by dismissing her dreams (and by extension the audience's dismissal, as they already identify with him). Julio's final act of killing her can be seen as the male's final attack at thwarting any chance of social expansion of the female—if it is not with the male, there will be no rising at all.

O Cerco

One of the few films made with an exclusively female protagonist, 'O Cerco' gives the female the most amount of screen-time than any film made during the 1960s. It tells the story of Marta (Maria Cabral), a young woman who leaves her husband to search for her true identity. The audience follows her as she works as a model for an advertising company looking to sell whiskey in Portugal, freely engages with different sexual partners and suffers physical abuse at the hands of men. On the surface the film would seem to have a strong feminist agenda, creating a world where women are treated as objects, men dominate the social and economic strata, and any sympathetic man who selflessly aids women is destroyed.

But while the female voice is presented as an objectified one, the director's framing of Marta and her own actions do nothing to aid its political agenda. The film's opening titles show stills of Marta being enclosed by lines, as if trapping her⁴, giving the premonition that she is the victim—indeed, she is viciously assaulted by her husband and slapped by a co-worker she had slept with. But upon gaining her 'freedom' after leaving her husband, she struggles throughout the film to earn money and becomes heavily dependent on the financial power of men. Her employment as a model, though not manual or traditionally domestic, is reliant upon her looks and physical attributes, not on her intellect, and we see the camera's desire to capture her image, from the way she meticulously combs her hair to her constant application of make-up to her naked body when she tries on different clothing for a photo-shoot.

The objectification of Marta is not undermined or thwarted by any of her actions. Marta does not possess the same desire as Ilda to become independent of any masculine help nor is she as determined as Albertina (curiously, also played by Isabel Ruth) in 'Mudar de Vida' to escape—indeed, when Marta asks her American lover Bob (David Hudson) to take her to America with him, he dismisses her in the same way as one would a childish request and she refrains from asking again. Moreover, she is further objectified through her sexuality: at one point, Marta's boss asks her to entertain a prospective client at a nightclub after another girl in the same group flirtatiously danced with him. All four of Marta's sexual partners have contributed to her advancement (or at the very least, her survival) in one way or another: her husband and Bob provided her with a place to live, Rui the photographer (Oscar Cruz) helped

⁴ A direct reference to the film's title, roughly translated as The Circle.

create her 'image' for the advertising campaign, and Vitor Lopes (Miguel Franco), a smuggler who sympathizes with her—and is the only character who seems to act selflessly towards her—offers to pay her bills, telling her that she need not worry about paying him back straight away. Even after becoming victim to the treatment by the majority of men in her life, the film ends with Marta being stuck in the same position as she had been, at risk of falling into debt again—only this time, because of her abandonment of Bob and the mysterious death of Carlos Lopes (highly suggested as being orchestrated by Marta's boss, to whom she had mentioned Lopes' profession and his ability to sell the same whiskey for a much cheaper price, effectively putting him at risk of losing his business) there will be no safety net for her to fall on.

The film's lack of a political view in the same way as 'Dom Roberto' or 'Os Verdes Anos' (the struggle of the social classes, the decadence of the Portuguese state and the bleakness of the future presented through symbolism and metaphors) forces the audience to view this film as a character-driven drama without any metaphorical camouflage. Therefore, any potential characterological reading of the film is not clouded in ambiguity but is rather shown as a literal representation of political dialogue. Ilda's death at the end of 'Os Verdes Anos' can be interpreted as the death of change at the hands of a socially antiquated system of conventions (represented by Julio), but whereas Marta's experiences form a dialogue about the treatment of women in society, her lack of imagination or direction provides no solution to her (or women's) predicament. Indeed, the film ends with her applying her make-up on after discovering her employer's new address, suggesting that she is still reliant on her physique to try and survive.

Mudar de Vida

Paulo Rocha's follow-up to 'Os Verdes Anos', 'Mudar de Vida' tells the story of Adelino (Geraldo del Rey) who after many years serving in Africa, returns home to the fishing village where he was born. There he finds that the woman he had loved, Julia (Maria Barroso), grew tired of waiting for him to return and married his brother. To relieve himself of the pain, Adelino occupies himself with whatever work he can find (usually gruelling manual labour for a struggling fishing company). He meets Albertina (Isabel Ruth) a morally 'loose' woman who yearns to escape from Portugal to change her life ⁵. With her help, Adelino finds the courage to escape from his meagre existence and change his own life.

The film's focus on the fishing village (the subject of numerous films made during the 'Estado Novo', such as 'Nazaré, Praia de Pescadores' (Leitão de Barros, 1929), 'Ala-Arriba!' (Leitão de Barros, 1942) and 'Nazaré' (Manuel Guimarães, 1952), presented a much more critical view of Portugal at the time, rural and dependant on the traditional industries. Adelino's involvement in Africa is one of the first references in the Salazarist cinema to the colonial war in Africa (unprecedented at the time) and the frank depiction of the arduous work done by the fishermen paints a picture of the status quo as a society stuck in the past fighting for a cause they don't understand or care to change.

The two female characters of Julia and Albertina present the opposing views of Portuguese society, between those firmly established through decades (and indeed centuries)

⁵ Indeed, the title translates as *Change One's Life*

of religious and social constraints and those who sought a rupture of the patriarchal bonds of subservient servitude. Through Julia we see the traditional: a married woman who dresses in typical peasant clothing, performs manual labour (such as collecting pine needles and preparing food for her family) while her husband works far away in the city. Her decision to marry Adelino's brother stemmed from the social constraint of becoming a decent person and entering respectability, in other words, to fit into the pre-defined, established social order. She lives with two paternal figures (we do not know if they are family members), echoing the conventions established in the cinema of the 1930s.

Albertina represents modernity and escapism⁶. From her clothes to her sexual behaviour, she is the antithesis of Julia. Albertina is forced to live by her own wits and is not afraid of fighting those who attack her (she even carries a knife and knows how to use it), and she longs to escape her life in Portugal, something almost impossible due to the fact that women were unable to obtain passports (Solsten, 1993). She works in a factory making clothes, which the fishing community sees as lazy in comparison to their demanding job, having to physically row their fishing boat out to sea. Albertina's desire to escape at whatever cost leads to her commit acts that would have horrified the community, such as stealing money from the donation box in a deserted chapel (they giveth and she taketh away).

The film is divided into roughly two parts, signalling a change in Adelino's life, from his shattered illusions of the past (demonstrated by his disappointment at Julia's marriage) to the dangerous yet enticing future with Albertina. Julia's illness and the fishing company's bankruptcy at the end of the film cuts off any hope Adelino (or the audience) may have had for links to the past and pushes him to follow Albertina's plan to escape (she even declares, much to his surprise, that she is leaving the following week and that the money she needs "will appear.") Indeed, despite being the protagonist of the film, Adelino is torn between two paths, by two women, one firmly rooted in the past and the other destined to escape to the future (or die trying). This demonstrates the significant role, albeit framed as a secondary one, the women play. Julia's portrayal is specifically designed to evoke the images audiences were used to seeing of women: domesticated, subservient and traditional (in attitude and in attire). Albertina's dissatisfaction with her position (and by extension women's position) in Portuguese society acts as the realization that the situation (economic, social and political) is hopeless and that the only way to escape is to emigrate.

Conclusions

As politically charged as these examples may be (by no means are they representative of *all* films by the 'Novo Cinema' movement, but of the 12 feature-length films made by the movement in the 1960s (Cunha, 2013), these four bear the most political ideology), their preoccupation stands firmly with political and social change through the framing and audience identification with male characters. For the most part, women are relegated to the traditional roles they have always inhabited, and those who attempt to break free fail.

The only film to show a successful female figure is 'Mudar de Vida'. Its political power is embodied by Albertina, the marginalized heroine of the film—one could go so far to say that

⁶ A trait seen in a number of films of the Novo Cinema, many characters seek their future abroad, implying that Portugal has nothing to offer them.

she is the most powerful female figure of the 'Novo Cinema' movement. Her determination to emigrate and succeed is unchallenged by any social constraints (though the film ends ambiguously, uncertain if Adelino and Albertina manage to escape the country). This is not the case in the previous films mentioned, where the characters either are stopped by the patriarchal society (as in the case of Ilda), return to their previous position (as Marta does) or cannot see the situation for what it really is (like Maria in 'Dom Roberto'). Albertina's emphatic declaration of emigration is (almost) enough to convince Adelino to go with her, and though it is only after all connections with the past are lost that he decides to follow her, she is the instigator of change, something that none of the other female characters mentioned come close to achieving, always confined to a supporting role (even if they are the main character, like Marta).

One can argue and debate the reasoning for the exclusion of successful, modern female figures in the Portuguese cinema of the 1960s, but what stands true is that there is indeed a lack of them. The 'Novo Cinema' films, although artistically and politically different to the films supporting the 'Estado Novo', maintain the traces of the society in which they inhabited. While the films must certainly be praised for their counter-cultural depiction of life in Salazarist Portugal at a time when the regime wanted to show a strong country with firm moral and social groundings, the concerning lack of strong, modern female characters must certainly be remembered when discussing the social boundaries depicted in the 'Novo Cinema'. It is most disturbing that the social, economic and political liberation sought by the directors are primarily for male characters, which highlights and reinforces the disparity between the genders. Such a revolutionary and socially-driven ideology shares more characteristics with the regime it sought to undermine than it may care to mention.

Filmography

Canção da Saudade, A (1964) Henrique Campos
Canção de Lisboa, A (1933) Cottinelli Telmo
Cerco, O (1970) António da Cunha Telles
Costa do Castelo, O (1943) Arthur Duarte
Costureirinha da Sé, A (1959), Manuel Guimarães
Dom Roberto (1962) Ernesto Sousa
Mudar de Vida (1966) Paulo Rocha
Nazaré (1952) Manoel Guimarães
Nazaré, Praia de Pescadores (1929) Leitão de Barros
Verdes Anos, Os (1963), Paulo Rocha

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SHAKING THE DUST OF LITTLE SECRETS¹

Virgínia de Oliveira Silva²

ABSTRACT

The documentary maker Bertrand Lira decided to venture, for the first time, into the realm of fiction, adapting to film the tale *Dust of the Little Secrets* by Geraldo Maciel (to whom the film is dedicated), published in the book *The Inventory of Little Passions*, by Manufatura Publishing House, in 2008. In his homonymous film, the tale reveals the complex and tense relationship between the couple who are the protagonists. While its synopsis shows a drama of a countryside man, fascinated by the mystery of the world and its greatness, we see that the direction of Bertrand Lira and his assistant Cristiane Fragoso as the editing by Ely Marques, indicate the choice of a filmic narrative that suggests more than shows, being woven mainly by ellipses which gives clues when it chooses to focus more on the fringe and crevices of the wife's universe on everyday life, which is revealed in frank expansion process, impossible to be contained by the walls of the house or the backyard fences. We conclude that the fact that educators present and discuss such filmic production in the educational environment, paves their way (with regard to the conscious choice processes in the use of film language); and, as much as its deep content (the female uprising when faces the wicked and unequal division of pleasures and disappointments in the enjoyment of the public and private worlds, according to the genre to which one belongs) also exerts powerful forms of activism.

KEYWORDS

Cinema from Paraiba; Gender (Male and Female); Public and Private; Cinema and Education.

The private public and the public private

*Had a clock
made of crab shell
to set the minutes
the hours I don't see you.
(Folk song by Quinteto Violado)*

The Dust of Little Secrets (Fiction, 21 min, HD, 2012), from the director Bertrand Lira was shot in the Cariri region of Paraiba state (northeastern Brazil), with the support of the Congo City Hall (a city of Paraiba) and the funding of the Municipal Culture Fund (FMC in Portuguese) of João Pessoa Cultural Foundation (FUNJOPE in Portuguese). Passages of time in this filmic product are inferred from the different and sequential scenes of meals, capriciously set on the table of the couple's home, and through changes from light to dark, suggested between day and night, in which characters are presented in various ways: with different haircuts, she with a new arrangement in hairstyle, they wearing different clothes,

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she alone or with him, he with a long beard or even clean-shaven displaying only a mustache. This contributes greatly to the perception of changes in time and mood of the characters, the expert direction of work of art and costume design executed by Zeno Zanardi.



Figure 1 - Frame of The Dust of Little Secrets - Internal - Night - Reproduction



Figure 2 - Frame of The Dust of Little Secrets – Internal - Day - Reproduction

The light designed by experienced cinematographer João Carlos Beltrão, aided by Luiz Augusto Barbosa sometimes raises a “wall” between the two indelible characters who were sitting at the same table as they seem to inhabit completely different worlds. The fact is confirmed further in the narrative: the husband moves in the public world (an Aristotelian *polis*), crossing their paths and roads - but, unlike the content in the predication “public”, we are separated from it because we can only intuit what occurs outside the cinematic field - and the wife in the private space (an Aristotelian *oikia*) - predicative that in the film retains the same conceptual inversion already observed for the adjective “public” - strolling in front of the public eye-viewer her constant drudgery from the kitchen to the living room, from the room to the bedroom, from the bedroom to the backyard: we shamelessly invade at any time of the day the private space of her home...

While the real possibility of exploring the observable universe is reserved to the man, as it unfolds more and more every time he leaves, to the woman, the incessant amount of domestic and tedious chores: dealing with animals, sweeping, cooking, collecting water in the stream, sewing, washing, ironing ... Her exploring world, beyond the interior rooms of her home, does not cross the border of the pond margins.

Unravelling the rug

*Tell me, Muse, of the man of many ways, who was driven
far journeys, after he had sacked Troy's sacred citadel.
Many were they whose cities he saw, whose minds he learned of,
many the pains he suffered in his spirit on the wide sea,
struggling for his own life and the homecoming of his companions.
Even so he could not save his companions, hard though
he strove to; they were destroyed by their own wild recklessness,
fools, who devoured the oxen of Helios, the Sun God,
and he took away the day of their homecoming. . .*

Homer

The atmosphere led by Lira and created by Beltrão's photography is dense, slow, building the ambience of the waiting wife/Penelope - played in a convincing performance by Veronica Sousa, member of Collective Alfenim Theater (who also starred in the soap opera *Old Chico*, directed by Luiz Fernando Carvalho), and in several films, such as *Clarisse or Something About Us*, by Petrus Cariry; *Odete*, by Clarissa Campolina, Ivo Lopes Araújo and Luiz Pretti; *Water Drop, Latches* and *Where Borges Sees All*, a black and white trilogy by Taciano Valério and *Bud*, by Andre Moraes) – that, even not making 10 years as in Homer's *Odyssey* seems longer, more extended in time.

The chosen plans to capture the images of daily life of this couple, whom we are invited to observe for almost 21 minutes, the movie length, shows us the wife always in the background, the shadow of her husband - portrayed in a restrained way by Nanego Lira (*Misery Tree*, by Marcus Villar; *The Grain*, by Petrus Cariry, *Cinema, Aspirin and Vultures*, by Marcelo Gomes; *Central Station*, by Walter Salles; *Gonzaga - from Father to Son*, Breno Silveira; *After the curve*, by Helton Paulino, *The Dog's plan*, by Arthur Lins and Ely Marques) - undermined in the foreground, larger than her.

In the process of adaptation between two different languages, from the short tale's literary text to the film script, some changes were inevitably made. One is the total absence of names for the film characters; in the written story, Maciel reveals to the reader Otilia's doubts (the wife) regarding whatever Gorgônio (the husband) does in his increasingly longer trips, by exposing literally the flow of her thoughts. The film's well written script by Bertrand Lira, with Di Moretti consulting, makes the character hardly exposes herself orally, revealing much more through *mise-en-scène* and fast soliloquies, at the table in mealtimes, between observations that sounds more like a pout, showing no hopes to make any conversation with her silent husband. As Brito says:

Both, story and film, conceal the wanderings of Gorgônio, the husband, and focus on the private life of Otilia, the wife, who stays at home. However, while the tale of Maciel dedi-

cated a lot of paragraphs to the thoughts of this woman, intrigued by the mysterious husband's behavior, the film hides much of such reflections that would not make an almost silent film (2012, web)

92 | The man is of very few words as well and more action-oriented. No answer to the woman's wishes, eats to restore the energy exhausted throughout his worldly search for answers, even if he does not know (and we the viewers, also do not know) what are the questions. This is irrelevant. What is important, even for him, is what his wife and we, as spectators do not witness, what in film language is called extra-field. In this film it translates in the search and the time it takes, the process of the husband's speculation; the time spent and distance traveled between departure and return to his backwoods Ithaca.

Dusting off the House-World

...a reading that forces the look backwards, not forward.

Carlos Skliar

Surprisingly, the field of the cinematic narrative *The Dust of Little Secrets* focuses on who stays behind: the woman. There is no movement here dedicated to follow the character who leaves, hoping to accompany him, identifying ourselves with him in his adventures, defeats and victories; to see finally, after overcoming numerous internal and external barriers, how he returns transformed into another (and often enhanced, edified). There is nothing extraordinary to register, on the contrary, it is through the spent woman's fingers in the mundane, everyday tasks that we slowly see the diegetic time draining. It is for her lost gaze in the horizon at the yard, on the threshold of the door and window that we measure the distance between her and the subject of her affection and desire. It's the undead time from everyday life that we witness morosely parading across the screen, as Certeau explains:

The everyday is what is given to us daily (or what belong to us by sharing), press and oppress us day after day, because there is an oppression of this. Every day, in the morning, whatever we assume, when we wake up is the weight of life, the difficulty of living, or living in this or another condition, with this fatigue and this desire. The everyday is what binds us intimately, from the inside. It is a story in the middle of ourselves, almost retreating, sometimes veiled. One should not forget this "world memory", according to Peguy expression. It is a world that we love deeply, smell memory, memory of childhood places, body memory, childhood gestures, pleasures. It may not be useless to underline the importance of mastery of this "irrational" history" or this "non-story", as yet said by A. Dupront. What matters to everyday historian is invisible (...). (CERTEAU 1996 , p. 31).

The fact that the film has few dialogues does not prevent the sound work to stands out; on the contrary, it even helps. The direct sound capture was carried out by Bruno de Sales, also a filmmaker; and the sound design and mixing, by Débora Opolski who brings to her resume works in the sound field of cinema and TV, in films such as *Elite Squad 1 and 2* and *City of men*.

Early in the film, we hear the greedy beats of a heart, wood creaks and/or metal friction and the clatter of a horse, while we see images recorded by a rear camera in a persecutory

movement to a man who runs in slow motion and despair, toward the open door of the room, until the door, man and external light merge on a great burst of white light when the title of the movie appears to the sound of a fiddle advertising the *aboio* (kind of a folk song), a theme that rocks some of the scenes. We hear the wind and realize that it is dragging the dust of their settlements. There is a cut and comes a frame of the man in front of the house (in a faded pink and marked by the shadow of an extra-field tree), peering through the boundaries of his yard, while some birds sing.

Soon after, the woman appears in the background and seems too small behind the half closed strip door-balcony of the house, crossing her arms while she watches the man. This scene reveals at once, a bit the personality of these characters: the man, as though absent at the time, projects his look at what we do not see, since it is outside the framework of the cut, announcing his discomfort with the boundaries that surround him; and the woman, framed in the present moment, staring at the subject in the field, in both directions here possible to be used - cinematic and spatial, foreshadowing the focus of its most interest.



Figure 3 - Frame of *The Dust of the Little Secrets* - External - Day - Reproduction

There is a new dry cut again, this time we see both in an indoor scene and darker room, to the sound of crickets. The woman's footsteps echoes through the house. She carries a bowl in her hands staring at the man, coming from the kitchen, which is at the bottom toward the camera. He seems gigantic in close and, once again, with his back to her and with a lost and distant look. She puts the bowl on the table, he turns toward the source of the sound that this gesture sends. The couple look to each other for a second and there is a new dry cut.



Figure 4 - Frame of *The Dust of Little Secrets* – Internal - Night- Reproduction

94 | One night the wife complains about the increasing delay of her husband in his travels around the world only to obtain, as an answer, his silence and the sound of a stronger wind blowing, swinging her hair. After the couple's night caresses presented to us in lateral traveling, comes a tree against the blue sky (and perhaps one that mark with it shadows the outer walls of the house), and we hear the cock crow, beyond the noise of others animals, announcing the dawn of a new day. There are several other interesting experiences about the sound work in this short film and we shall quote two more, involving horses. In one, the sound of galloping continues even when the man riding his horse has already left the scene, but all the way we realize that the sound is decreasing gradually, giving us the sound illusion of depth of field. In the second, the sound of horse's hooves grows and decreases gradually arriving before the husband appears at the ambient in which his wife has set in front of the dining table with two dishes. The sound serves both as diegetic narrative's records, linked to the actions that are presented like functions and as clues to render certain atmosphere and spatial depth to the film. "There is a choice in this work and this selection takes into account just the characteristics of each sound, its materiality and its uniqueness, besides all imagistic possibilities raised by them mentally." (Flores, 2013, p. 30)

Débora Opolski is also responsible for the original soundtrack of the short film along with William Romanelli, Luis Bourscheidt and Maracajá (who sings the aboio, the folk song, in the credits and also punctuates the whole movie). The music *Full Star Night* (in the credits, "*Full Moon Stars*") by Cândido das Neves, fulfills a little nocturnal solitude of the place, in the voice of Vicente Celestino, as the camera get closer in a front traveling of the woman, sitting alone in her pointless wait at the doorway.

The Longing for Ulysses

*Women are getting widows
before theirs husband died ...*
Folk song

The wife, our backlands Penelope, without any other suitor or interlocutor, waits the return of her curious husband/Ulysses to his home/Ithaca, once more in a speculative journey around the mystery of the world far beyond the borders of his small ranch.

What makes a simple man to leave some mornings and to walk paths and trails on his horse, trying to 'shake the dust of the world' and unlock its possible secrets? What force makes him up with increasing momentum to proceed further in this incessant search? Brito (2013) calls it "crude metaphysics". Neither the arms, affection, zeal, care nor gazes of the loved one change his mind. After all, the world and its mysteries are far more imperative and they call upon him! One must answer this call as the Siren's song: but it seems there is not enough wax to seal his ears and to prevent him to leave ...



Figure 5 - Frame of *The Dust of Little Secrets* - External - Day - Reproduction



Figure 6 - Frame of *The Dust of Little Secrets* - Internal - Night – Photo: Alexandre Soares

Upon one more of his returns, the husband's desires search for his wife. The love scenes between the couple are squalid and even in bed, the woman appears submissive to her partner. Timid, she covers herself after missionary-style sex. When she feels desire, in the absence of her man, in a true tribute to Onan, she seeks his scent through his pajamas in which she rubs herself and masturbates, looking for his touch until reaching momentary satisfaction in the lonely dark little world of her double room.

Hopeful, she does her daily chores, the ritual of food preparation, the house cleaning and the act of setting up the table because, when he is present, is possible to speculate in the gestures and features of her beloved, the growth of his anticipation longing for the moment of his new departure, never knowing the exact time of his return. Not even if he is ever coming back. The bet is blind. However, one must always renew it like the thread points of the carpet, woven and cut daily, as Penelope in the *Odyssey*.

The turning point of the film coincides with the movement of the wife's body upward on the bed, after the revelation of her husband over the infinitude of things and mysteries of the world: "We will never be able to shake off the dust that covers everything in this God's big world!"

The woman turns aside, for the first time she is the one who gives the back to her husband and like the Mona Lisa, smiles toward us enigmatically, an idea seems to light up her eyes...

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Figure 7 - Frame of *The Dust of Small Secrets* - Internal - Night - Reproduction

The intriguing parallel assembly that follows can offer the viewer a false clue. The gestures made by the husband before each departure, which we already watched before, are now focused on detail plan. Hands that operate some preparations: the making of the knapsack of meat and brown sugar and the horse sealing are shown pair wise, for a new journey.

The beginning and end join the points of this circular film. The first sequence, as said before, is mounted in objective camera that follows the male character, stricken, running through the rooms of the house and ends in a flash provided by the burst of sunlight, breaking through the door, the inside of the house and suggests *diving in or out* of a nightmare. Such movement reconfigures the scene of the end of the film, recorded in subjective camera that comes from the horizontal to a vertical position, representing someone who gets out of bed, passes close to the mosquito net and wrapped in a large node, points to all angles of the house as if looking for something or someone and leaves from the interior to the exterior of the private area, always accompanied by the distant sound of a horse's hoof beats and by a sound close to a wheezing. Only when it gets outside the house, the camera reveals that the previous plan was the husband's point of view who in the current plan comes outside in pajamas, still barely awake from sleep, breathless and in desperate search for his wife.



Figure 8 - Frame of *The Dust of Little Secrets* - External - Day - Reproduction

Although we do not see her in the frame, the sound of hoof beats that comes from the cinema speakers and by the man's look into the pathway he always takes when leaves, we conclude that now the woman takes the reins of the horse and of her own destiny, beginning to invent new ways of her own. As the man awakens, literally, from his dream of seeing the world, to the reality of small things around (there is only one plate on the table now, for example), for the first time the woman is the one who goes away from her man and her home/Ithaca, making up *her* time to go on, personally, shake the dust off the little secrets of the immense public world.

Conclusion

For all that we have been weaving about this film so far, we believe that *The Dust of Small Secrets* has an important potential circulation, not only in commercial cinemas and/or cultural centers, but also provides full and rich potential into the educational environment which is our performance space as educators. By sharpening and/or deepening questions about various themes, both in relation to the specificities of each language: literary, from the reading of the homonymous Geraldo Maciel tale that was the basis for Bertrand Lira's script and the film; from reading the script or the actual screening of the film, followed by a debate in which we seek to understand, discussing the options and choices that were made in the adaptation process between one language and another. Providing many other reflections, associated with the pre-production process, production and post-production of the film product itself (local, light, sound, costumes, direction, camera movement, angulation, acting, technical and artistic staff, set design, soundtrack, audiovisual policy development...) and those related to the themes that the film brings in the midst of his narrative: expected social roles performed by female and male; access and permanence in the public environment and private, from the notion of gender; the desire and sublimation; dreams and reality; the search and the wait ...

98 | We do not intend, nor should we here try to cover all the aspects of working this movie in class saying these would be the only and best ways to do it. We have just listed some possible examples, suggesting possibilities that can and must be expanded upon, changed and even discarded completely. The important thing here, in our view, is to consider the major force that the film presence has in the educational field to discuss urgent and necessary issues such as we weave in our article, in the light of the Work Group *Public Policy gender and agency: from body discipline to inclusion rights guarantees*, discovering, creating and inventing different ways of living with the art of cinema at school, not only using it to fulfill the class time of a particular discipline which has an absent teacher, for example.

Analyzed Film

THE DUST OF LITTLE DREAMS. Director: Bertrand Lira. Producer: Heleno Bernardo e José Dhiones Nunes dos Santos, Color., 21 min, HD, 2012.

Technical File

Director and Script – Bertrand Lira

Photography – João Carlos Beltrão

Camera Assistant – Luiz Augusto Barbosa

Atress – Verônica Sousa Cavalcanti

Actor – Nanego Lira

Assistent Director – Cristiane Fragoso

Direct Sound Technician – Bruno de Sales

Editing e Finalization - Ely Marques

Sound Design and Mixing – Débora Opolski

Original Soundtrack – Débora Opolski, Guilherme Romanelli (Viola e Rabeca), Luís Bourscheidt (Violencelo) e Maracajá (Aboio)

Executive Producer – Heleno Bernardo

Producer at Congo City – José Dhiones Nunes dos Santos

Awards

Best Actress – Verônica Sousa - I Festissauro – Festival de Audiovisual do Vale do Dinossauro - Sousa/PB - 26 a 30/05/2014.

Best Script award – I Festival de Cinema de Barra do Jacuípe/BA – 19 a 21/09/2013.

Best Make Up and Best Original or adapted Soundtrack – 8º Comunicurtas - Festival Audiovisual de Campina Grande/PB - 26 a 31/08/2013.

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MAPPING THE DISCUSSION OF GENDER IN BRAZIL: A DIVE IN THE CONTEMPORARY PANORAMA¹

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Fábio Pinto Gonçalves dos Reis³

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to map the gender discussion in Brazil in the last decade, through qualitative research and literature. Anchored in cultural and feminist studies together with a post-critical perspective in education, this article points out the intricacies in which the gender discussion has “navigated”, its achievements and the “storms” facing every day by means of the most diverse power relations, in order to establish a concrete and definite relation between the school and education for gender equity.

KEYWORDS

Gender; Public policy; education; gender ideology; sexuality (ies).

A dive in the waters of gender

The prospect of mapping⁴ that permeates this study is anchored in the work of Deleuze and Guattari (1995), in which the mapping has the role to map and territorialize the spaces, in which these discussions take place and forms are emerging according to the scenarios in which they are composed. The mapping assumes that we are in process, moving, working all the time. Mapping is to seek connection between the lines linked to the researched object or phenomenon, in search of processes or becomings. Mapping shows the processes in constant metamorphosis (Deleuze & Guattari, 1995). In order to map the discussion on gender in the last decade, it was necessary diving into waters⁵ that have “bubbled” these speeches, which draw routes on some ambiguous and different times.

Thus, we name ‘mapping’ the path walked in this study, giving its multifaceted context that also considers the various ways of looking at culture, the (im)possibilities and the unusual, cultural studies and the (de)construction of knowledge tangles that flow into a “sea” of discussions which “bubble” different speeches about gender.

¹ Study presented at the WG “Public policies for gender and agency: from the discipline of bodies to including the rights and guarantees” the V International Congress on Cultural Studies: Gender, Human Rights and Activism.

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⁴ In this article the term “mapping” goes further. It means unraveling, going through, sorting out, mapping the paths and routes of movements in which the discussion on gender has been built by Brazilian society. So, this term reflects and discusses all its forms and speeches, perceptions and concepts, possibilities of map change trajectories and drawings of the movements made by the authorities that appropriate the gender discourse.

⁵ The symbolism of water that permeates this study is based on studies by researcher Cláudia Maria Ribeiro (2001; 2013; 2015) that interlace rhizomatically the symbolism of water with gender and sexuality. Just as water takes many forms and states, it also brings calm the storms. The issues that permeate the gender and sexuality theme are also subject to different forms to be perceived according to each culture and the context in which they operate, and can be treated with lightness and simplicity and also as advertisements of storms.

In recent decades, the discussion regarding gender issues has gradually occupied a place of important reflection on the conditions of men and women and how they live their rights equally in Brazilian society. With the feminist movement advent, together with the strength of other social institutions, we have increasingly advanced in the achievement of women's rights. In this sense, gender discussion is very important to understanding this constant tension field that involves power games and disputes in the political and social sphere, noting that the term was raised in the mid-1970s and has been trivialized in the media environment and in the media and the several information dissemination and entertainment apparatuses

To work with the social marker of gender it is necessary to review its conceptual perspectives and its origins. Joan Scott (1989) argues that talking about gender requires a look at the history of how the concept was formed since the beginning of the feminist movement and the ways in which it was taking and being used in the context of political, economic and social forces, according to each historical time. Complementing this idea, Louro (2010), who has extensive and recognized work in Brazil on the subject, highlights that it is in the social relations that gender is built.

At a certain time, gender was considered by Biology as a way to differentiate the sexes, however, by Louro (2010) it is nothing more than the many ways of the individuals experiencing their femininity and their masculinity. In other words, the many arrangements and multiple ways to be a man or a woman in society according to each culture.

Navigations...

In Brazil the number of research groups that are discussing and researching gender relations in various academic areas and social arrangements are growing. Among these, we can mention the National Council for Scientific and Technological Development (CNPq) when it points out that "today more than 1.000 research groups have the term 'gender' registered as a research axis" (Brazil, 2015a). It should be noted that since 2004 it has been established at the National Association of Postgraduate studies and Research in Education (Anped), Working Group (WG) specific to research, discuss and articulate gender, sexuality and education, the WG 23.

From 2004 to 2010, all the studies received by Anped for its various Working Groups, "7.4% had gender and/or sexuality as discussion axis (p. 3)." In addition to the WG 23, other Working Groups (WG) received a significant demand for studies that had gender and/or sexuality as a primary or secondary factor in their researches. They are: WG 2 - History of Education; WG 3 - Social and Education Movements; WG 6 - Popular Education; WG 7 - Child Education 0-6 years; WG 8 - Teacher Training; WG 9 - Work and Education; WG 12 - Curriculum; WG 14 - Sociology of Education; WG 18 - Education Youth and Adults (Ferreira & Corroel, 2013).

According to the authors, in qualitative terms:

[...] we can register very quickly some objects of the studies presented in the WGs. In WG₃ there is the concern with the women social participation. In WG₁₄, most work studies discuss gender issues related to the school environment. Focused on the popular education,

WG₆ addresses the female knowledge and practices. However one of the interests of the WG₇ has been the identity of female teachers of Early Childhood Education, as well as the “gender production” along with the children. The Teacher Training WG₈ has been interested in questions about the training for gender and sexuality and the constitution of the teaching profession for women. The emphasis of the WG₉ focuses on the education of women and gender relations articulated to the working world. Finally, the WG₁₈ analyzes female education and gender relations within the Education for Youth and Adults; while number 12 has been working on sexual and gender identity and on the production of children and youth subjectivities (Ferreira & Coronel, 2013. p. 4-5).

All this movement and discussion has been carried out have generated new insights perspectives and practices around the theme. This has been reflected significantly in the gradual integration of the discussion about gender social relations, as well as education for sexuality(ies)⁶ in some graduation courses in numerous Brazilian public universities. This insert has been fulfilled in the establishment of elective or mandatory courses, among other actions, such as the Federal University of *Lavras* (UFLA), Federal University of *Juiz de Fora* (UFJF), Federal University of *Rio Grande do Sul* (UFRGS), and other initiatives across the country. It is worth to notice that these institutions have also discussed the gender marker beyond the school, in the context of research and extension projects with a broad repertoire of knowledge production in this area.

In activities related to education, beyond the creation of “discipline” that addresses gender and education to sexuality(ies) in graduation programs, Brazilian public universities, with the support of partnerships among the Ministry of Education (*MEC*), the Special Secretariat of Policies for Women (*SPM*), Special Secretariat for Racial Equality Promotion policies (*SEP-PIR*) and the Secretariat of Continuing Education, Literacy, Diversity and Inclusion (*SECADI*) since 2006 has offered courses in the extension modalities , development and specialization in Gender and Diversity in School (*GDE*).

At UFLA, the *GDE* is in its fourth offering, providing new looks for diversity in schools, from the concept of gender that crosses all the courses’ disciplines. Its main objective, to conduct a continuing education on gender, ethnic racial relations and education for sexuality(ies), is intended for Basic Education teachers and other education professionals. Furthermore, it also seeks to form teachers and education professionals able to understand the diversity issues, introducing them in school educational practice and face prejudices that are common in the school environment.

So this discussion is extending borders and entering the various areas of society, especially in schools. But do all these social agents and apparatus⁷ which society is composed have been receptive to this discussion? And what about the school, as a producer and re-producer of culture by means of the speeches that circulate in it, how has the school appropriated this discussion? Gender relations are also present in these spaces, regardless of how

⁶ We use the term “sexuality - in the plural, to demarcate the multiplicity, that is, focusing on the challenging issue that we are different, diverse and multiple, as people and, therefore, as men and women (Ribeiro & Silva, 2010 p. 147)

⁷ The apparatus concept is used by the French philosopher of the twentieth century, Michel Foucault, to refer to the different areas of social relations, such as family, church, law, education, media, and other social and cultural historical speeches that they were built, modified and multiplied and interfering in the formation of the identity of the individual.

schools deal with them. The fact is that, often, the team of professionals working there is not prepared to face this discussion. In relation to:

[...] pedagogical practices of teachers with small children. It is noteworthy, the study of Claudia Maria Ribeiro (2012), analyzing the narratives of teachers of this stage at continuing education, about the expressions of sexuality and gender of children. It argues that in the labyrinths of early childhood education, sexuality and gender are tangled in daily practices, but not always the professional working can talk openly and address the possibilities to include issues of sexuality, gender and diversity in curricula (Ribeiro & Xavier Filha, 2014, p. 13).

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Considering we are results of a sexist and patriarchal society, it is common to find sexist and exclusionary speeches that diminish and objectify women, putting them in unequal position when compared to men. Although many advances and achievements have been targeted in recent years in Brazil, such as the *Maria da Penha Law*⁸, the *Femicide Law*⁹ ... among other achievements, it is still prevalent the discourse of women as a mother figure, protective, delicate, fragile, vain and submissive to the opposite sex, and men are related to the conqueror, strong, brave, muscular and courageous. To deconstruct these speeches it is necessary to take this discussion into the school, so that:

Education, although is, in law, the instrument by means of which every individual (in a society like ours), may have access to any kind of discourse, follows in its distribution, which allows and prevents the lines that are marked by distance, opposition and social struggles. Every educational system is a political way of maintaining or modifying the appropriation of speeches, through the knowledge and power that they bring with them (Foucault, 1996, p. 43-44).

Therefore, the school, as a socializing instance, must provide access and deconstruction of the multiple speeches circulating to it, in order to show the intentions and the power relations established, considering that together with gender issues other fights that should be taken.

Gender ideology: the storms

In the year 2014, it was constituted collectively and approved by the government the National Education Plan (*PNE*) (Brazil, 2014). The *PNE* elaboration went through several stages, going through municipal, state and national education councils. Although the demands from the municipal and state levels have raised the importance of questions concerning gender relations and sexual orientation issues as necessary for national curriculum, these questions were rejected and excluded from *PNE*. This was due to strong pressure from the bench composed of conservative and religious lawmakers, who represent a majority in the Congress.

⁸ The *Maria da Penha Law* (Brazil, 2006) was created to combat a form of gender-based violence and protect women in this situation. The action of the feminist movement was extremely important in this process

⁹ Changes the art. 121 of Decree-Law No 2848 of December 7, 1940 - Penal Code to provide for femicide as a qualifying circumstance the crime of homicide, and art. 1 of Law No. 8,072, of July 25, 1990, to include femicide in the list of heinous crimes.

With this act, several religious leaders in the country, with great influence on the masses through TV, print and digital media, videos, radio programs and in the micro temples, gained strength and reinvented the concept of gender in a misrepresented and pretentious manner based upon their religious beliefs. We point out that Brazil is a secular State, guaranteed by the Constitution of the Republic (Brazil, 1988), a higher law that establishes rights and duties of/in Brazilian society. Hereby, if Brazil is a secular State, government decisions cannot be substantiated nor based on religious doctrines, not mattering if it is at a municipal, state, district and/or national level.

Still, a strong speech coming from the religious movement has been multiplied across the country, occupying the city councils and interfering in the production (mainly of municipal education plans) with shallow and tendentious arguments, in which it reinvented the gender concept, translating it disrespectfully to the term “gender ideology”. Disregarding all the research and scientific studies in the area, the work and funding that the federal government itself has invested in recent decades, either through research or finance courses of national and international events that have been established in Brazil, to discuss, produce and share knowledge on gender and education for sexuality(ies), such as the Making Gender¹⁰, that is a biennial event and reached, in 2013, its 10th edition, among others of equal importance.

After receiving numerous demands and repudiation notes of various movements, research groups, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and other groups, repudiating the exclusion of such concepts of education plans as a way of confrontation the distortion of gender concepts and sexual orientation, trying to include these concepts in education plans, the National Education Council (CNE) published through a public note, gathering documents and legislation that anchor, establish and legally justify the discussion of gender and sexual orientation in schools. Among such documents it can be cited:

The Brazilian *Magna Carta* provides in its article. 3, section IV, which are fundamental objectives of the Federative Republic of Brazil, among others, to promote the good for all, without prejudice origin, race, sex, color, age and any other forms of discrimination; art. 3, item IV of the Law of Guidelines and Bases of National Education, provides respect for freedom and appreciation to tolerance; Law No. 13.005 of June 25, 2014, which established the National Education Plan (2014-2024), determined in its art. 5, section III, that the National Education Council (CNE), together with other agencies, continuously monitor and periodically evaluate achieving the goals of the Plan and also in accordance with art. 8 of that Law, “the States, the Federal District and the Municipalities should develop their corresponding education plans, or adjust the plans already approved by law in accordance with the guidelines , goals and strategies set out in this PNE ...”; Opinion Number 8 of the Full National Council of Education approved on March 6, 2012 and approved by the Minister of Education (D.O.U., of 05/30/2012, Section 1, p. 33), considers that, according to “the founding principles of a modern society, the Human Rights have been converted into standards against situations of inequality of access to tangible and intangible assets, discrimination practiced on the

¹⁰ The Making Gender event aims to promote the articulation of gender studies with approaches involving other categories of analysis such as class, race, ethnicity and generations; create experience sharing spaces and dialogue among researchers / academic/ and those connected / the other entities and social movements; encourage the participation of graduate students and post-graduate in discussions in the field of feminist and gender studies, allowing a more qualified training in the area, and produce knowledge that can result in bibliographic material to be published in books and periodicals on theme. Event page: <http://www.fazendogenero.ufsc.br/site/capa>

socio-cultural diversity of (highlight of this Public note), ethnicity, race, sexual orientation, disabilities, among others, and in general, the oppressions related to the control of power by social minorities “; finally, the National Council of Education is responsible for developing National Guidelines in Educational field, and, therefore, believes that legislative and generic normative provisions, such as “combat all and any form of discrimination” do not help, especially in field of education, to overcome discrimination to certain social segments that for their specific identity, were secularly invisible and, in consequence, were prevented, in the construction and enjoyment of the rights arising from their own citizenship (Brazil, 2015b)

In addition to the *CNE, MEC* also manifested through a Technical Note (2015a), which rescues and highlights the concepts of gender and sexual orientation, and internationally recognized scientific terms, who settled in Brazil in the mid-1970s explaining the scope and historical, social and cultural construction that make these fundamental concepts to understand and reflect on the relations and human rights. It also shows its relation to education and its presence in various social spaces, which often establishes exclusionary and discriminatory manners.

The issues of discrimination and prejudice according to the Federal Constitution (Articles 3 and 5) and Guidelines and Bases Law - *LDB* (article 2 - principles and purposes of national education, section IV - respect for freedom and appreciation for tolerance), and the National, District, State and Municipal Education Plans explain about the eradication of all discrimination forms. Question: How to eradicate discrimination without discussing its origins, causes and consequences? How to face sexism, homophobia and violence against women without discussing the relations of power that “navigate” the intricacies of these relations?

Final considerations

In the presented mapping here, one can see how gender relations and sexuality(ies) are “navigating for several waters and sometimes, dispersed water”. This discussion has “flooded” the individuals in an attempt to “control the bodies and behaviors”, establishing a control dictatorship. But, as Foucault teaches us: where there is power, there are forms of resistance. And resistance is to play, creating strategies. In this game of power/knowledge/truth, there is creativity, resistance strategies to deconstruct truths taken as absolute and build new practices.

There are no totalitarian system of containment of bodies, unless own death. But even death, in its loud silence, in the accumulation of numbers, that denounce, talk, shout their own deaths (Ribeiro & Silva, 2010, p. 153).

“As the waters, that can be sources of pleasure and may also bring storms”, the discussion on gender follows “navigating” through the daily life of schools, academy and the different social spaces. With many “seas breaking new”, in this fight for equality, let us resist and extend the frontiers of knowledge, “whether in calm waters or in the midst of storms”.

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ADDRESSING MODES THROUGH IMAGES: THINKING GENDER AND SCIENCE FROM THE “FOR WOMEN IN SCIENCE” AWARD¹

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ABSTRACT

This article aims to analyze the images of the award winners contained in the video of the 10th anniversary of the Brazilian “For Women in Science” Award. This research is based on the theoretical field of cultural, feminist and gender studies in their post-structuralist approach and on some concepts of Michel Foucault. The data will be produced through the analysis of scenes in the video provided by the award on YouTube. In the analysis we discuss addressing modes present in such videos, and how they represent and reproduce the award-winning women scientists. The images in the videos allowed us to perform some problematizations about the representation of women in science.

KEYWORDS

Gender; science; awards; artifacts; images.

Study’s Text

The article aims to make several problematizations of gender and science from the video “10 years of the Award: For Women in Science”, which concerns the award “For Women in Science” in Brazil. In Brazil this award emerges through a partnership between the Brazilian Academy of Sciences (ABC), L’Oréal and the United Nations Union for Education and Culture (UNESCO). We share with the readers the theoretical basis, as well as some authors who have transited within this theme, and that enable us to think about the presence of women in science. Later, we will present the data production and analysis methodologies, as well as several analyzes woven in this article. Finally, we weave some considerations regarding this issue.

We will consider the video analyzed in this article as a cultural artifact, because we understand it, as well as other productions - magazines, websites, advertisements, movies, cartoons, among others - as “cultural productions permeated with values, representations, knowledges and meanings of a given time and a given society [...] artifacts that contain cultural pedagogies that teach us ways of being in the world, building and reproducing meanings” (Magalhães, 2012, p. 36-37).

In contemporary times, these artifacts available in the media most often can be accessed through networking technology devices - smartphones, tablets, computers, etc. - which enable us to transit through different themes, break geographical barriers, inform and be informed, know and be known (Magalhães, 2012).

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According to Daniel Ripoll (2007) from the perspective of cultural studies, the media has become a powerful mediator of speeches across multiple languages - words, sounds, images, etc. - that can not be considered neutral, since these practices print and record desires, feelings, ways to position and to perceive as a subject.

Elizabeth Ellsworth (2001), argues that the artifacts are made for someone. They aim and imagine a certain public. The addressing modes would be the speeches present in films/videos, and that somehow act upon the viewers.

In order for a movie to work for a particular audience, in order for it to make sense to a spectator, or to make her laugh, in order for it to make her root for a character, suspend your disbelief [in the "reality" of the film], cry, scream, feel happy at the end - the viewer must enter into a special relationship with the history and the imaging system of the film (Ellsworth, 2001, p. 14)

Therefore, in order to understand a film/video it is important to build knowledge from a political, social and economic point of view which corresponds to the interests of the film. "The film addressing mode has to do, therefore, with the need to address any communication, text or action to someone" (Ellsworth, 2001, p. 24).

Through these understandings of how cultural artifacts educate us and challenge us, we will discuss the presence/absence of women in science throughout history and in the current context of Brazil. According to Ilana Lowy (2014, p.40) the "relationship between science and gender began in the 1970s, in close liaison with the feminist movement and the cultural and social studies of science. Studying gender and science has enabled us to think that the production of scientific knowledge for a long time "was shaped by the existence of a fundamental dichotomy between male and female in society, and by the fact that, for most of history, research science was undertaken by and for male individuals" (Lowy, 2014, p.40).

According to Londa Schiebinger (2001), for a long time women were "excluded" from the history of science. With the institutionalization and professionalization of science, women were restricted to the private area of the home, and men to the public space of production - the universities. According to the author, some women, in an attempt to participate in the production of knowledge, have used male pseudonyms or worked with their husbands as auxiliaries in their laboratories.

In this sense, since the creation of universities, "in the twelfth century until the late nineteenth century and, in some cases, until the early twentieth century, women were excluded from the study. Few women, however, studied and taught in universities from the thirteenth century" (Schiebinger, 2001, p. 61). Hildete Melo (2013), argues that at present there have been some changes, but still there are many challenges. This participation has taken place very slowly, especially in certain areas, such as the hard Sciences, such as mathematics, engineering and physics.

For some time, it became a legitimate practice to assign the biological characteristics as a justification for the absence of women in the production of science. To Fabiola Rohden (2001, p.15) "physical difference between the sexes is expressed from the bones to the brain, through the skin, the muscles and the fibers. The male body is often described as superior to the female body." This, according to the author, is due to the fact that "the female body would be molded for pregnancy and birth."

By bringing explanations guided by the biological materiality and attributing characteristics to the female body – such as, delicate, maternal, reproductive, devoid of intelligence, among others – there was an attempt to justify women’s absence in the history of science. That is because, according to Sandra Sardenberg (2001), the concepts of subject, mind, reason, objectivity, transcendence, rationality, among others that shape the principles of modern science, were identified as of the “male” universe.

In an attempt to break with this biological materiality that determines attributes and subject positions, emerges the gender concept. For Joan Scott (1995) the term “gender” seeks to reject biological explanations used to justify the positions occupied by men and women in society. Instead, it seeks to show these positions as cultural constructions. This term has become a “central conceptual, political and educational [tool] when you want to design and implement projects that put into question both the forms of current social organization and the hierarchies and inequalities arising therefrom” (MEYER, 2003, p.10) .

In this sense, in order to investigate the contemporary issues of gender and science involving the speeches made about the women scientists from the awards “For Women in Science”, we use some speech analysis tools in Foucault as our data analysis methodology. Thus, we sought through the analyzed videos to make some problematizations about the representations of women in science that have been produced in some cultural artifacts.

Paths and methodological choices: exploring the toolbox

For the production of data for analysis, we used an artifact available on YouTube, a video entitled “10 years of the Award: For Women in Science” (<http://www.paramulheresnaciencia.com.br/para-mulheres-na-ciencia-10-anos-2015/>). This video shows the ten years of the awards “For Women in Science” in Brazil.

According to L’Oréal (2015), this award was initiated in 1998 through a partnership between L’Oréal and UNESCO, and was called “For Women in Science”. It was the first program dedicated to women scientists in the world, aiming each year to identify, reward, encourage and put under the spotlight exceptional scientists from all continents. Later this program began developing awards in different countries, aiming to promote gender equality and to reward each year 7 women scientists in each country of the awards, being the prize winners from the country they resided in and where they were competing.

This award, according to L’Oreal (2015), in 2015 completes ten years of its operations in Brazil. In addition to being known in Brazil, it is also known worldwide in different countries. It features a wide availability of materials, and has reached a large number of winning women - when compared to other awards for women scientists. The award has also reached subjects who had the opportunity to know it through cultural artifacts such as the video analyzed in this work, which can be accessed via the internet, and provides an overview of the ten years of this award in Brazil, as well as refers to the other awards of this program in other regions of the world. In this context, we identified in this cultural artifact - “10 years of the Award: For Women in Science” - several speeches about women scientists.

Therefore, we seek with this research to make some problematizations on the images present in this device. From the understanding of Maria Schwengber (2012, p.265), we comprehend these images “as a discursive and declarative text, visible, which also tells the con-

temporary story." We understand the speech as a cultural construction, in which forms of enunciation produce subjectivities, which call into question our certainties, and transience of our convictions (Xavier, 2009). In this sense, we use some speech analysis tools for the analysis of this artifact.

In this sense, we believe that the speech not only describes the objects that it speaks of, but that when it speaks it also constitutes these objects (Foucault, 2004). Through cultural analysis, we consider that the discourses construct, "systematically, versions of social and natural world and position the individuals in relations of power " (Fischer, 2002, p. 86). When working with the analysis of discourse in this perspective we sought to:

problematize the fragile simplification in the act of assigning this or that meaning to words, symbols or images; and, more than that, to complexify the supposedly clear link between what is said and what is meant, besides questioning the linearity of the very explanation, present in what is communicated. (Fischer, 2013, p.125)

In addition, to carry out this research it is necessary to trace paths through the concepts that Foucault (2004) presents us, with the understanding that every epoch produces its truths and the conditions of its utterances. When analyzing, we sought to stay in the level of what was said in a given period/time. Since that which is "said can be understood or called enunciation. Thus, the enunciations are all the things said about something" (Henning, 2014, p.846), in the case of our research, what is said about women in science. In this article, we restrict ourselves to the utterances present in the video about the tenth anniversary of the awards for women in science in Brazil. To this end, to analyze the utterances, we seek to present the social, historical, political and economic context, as well as some conditions of possibility for something to be said at that time and not at another.

Weaving some analysis: 10 years of the program "For Women in Science"

Looking at the video of the ten years of the awards "For Women in Science" of Brazil enabled us to question some truths and discourses that are being posed in relation to women in science, as well as to think some ruptures. What is the condition of the contemporary woman scientist, as evidenced by this award? In this sense, we try to weave an analysis on this award.



Figure 1 - Woman: mother, wife and scientist

Source: <http://www.paramulheresnaciencia.com.br/para-mulheres-na-ciencia-10-anos-2015/>

From the picture in Figure 1 we can see that there is a proposed set of values and pedagogies. It is visible how much this issue of the woman being a mother is embedded in the image, perhaps by the naturalization of the mother-woman in our society. This representation of the woman linked to the private, i.e. the children, the husband and the home, is very present throughout our society. The doubled load of female labor has, in a way, marked our society, since men who perform household chores are doing a favor, as this would still be a task of women.

To Fabiane Silva (2013, p.6)

It is important to consider that the entry of women in science, public sphere, necessarily does not have them relieved of responsibilities with the care of home and children, since the traditional sexual division of labor persists. Thus, the mother-woman researcher is faced with an excessive work load in which she needs to cope with the demands of academic life and family responsibilities.

In this sense, women besides being full-time scientists still have household tasks, such as being a mother and take care of the house. These are obligations that have been built through the sexual division of labor, which resulted in doubled work load and ultimately characterize the daily lives of many women. According to Fanny Tabak (2002), the relations that are present between women and science point out some challenges that women still have faced, seeking explanations in political and cultural roots to these difficulties. In the book, the author and founder in the early 80s, of the Women's Studies Center at the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro (PUC-RJ), points out some movements and affirmative action policies, which were discussed in round tables, symposia and seminars, as a measure to seek alternatives to promote actions that visibilize the female figure in science.

Women, many times, to become visibilized voices in science, end up taking a “male” production model. This scientific productivity model is closely related to the academic research and some scientific positions to obtain resources. In the next picture we can see these postures.



Figures 2 - To be a scientist, some attitudes are necessary

<http://www.paramulheresnaciencia.com.br/para-mulheres-na-ciencia-10-anos-2015/>

Academic production is still the current way of quantifying a researcher. In order to achieve high productivity, it is necessary to perform researches, which imposes certain habits called “scientific” such as the use of a lab coat and some laboratory instruments, for example, the test tube shown in Figure 2. Such representations still appear because it was the image made for years in society, and (re)produced and taught through cultural pedagogies, and this

represented a construction that crosses different educational spaces “where power is organized and distributed, including libraries, TV, movies, newspapers, magazines, toys, advertisements, video games, books, sports, etc”. (Steinberg, 2001, p.14). According to Claudia Vianna (2013, 171)

Our socialization interferes with the way we - men and women – relate, in the professions we choose and the way we operate. That is not to say that it was always like this, or that it is characteristic of our “nature”, but that the expressions of masculinity and femininity are historically constructed and refer to the culturally available symbols in a given social organization.

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In this sense, we see how society affects the way we are made, and the subject positions we take as true, and how much we interfere in it. Also through Figure 3 you can see a “super scientist” that needs to perform great researches.



Figure 3 - Super Scientist

<http://www.paramulheresnaciencia.com.br/para-mulheres-na-ciencia-10-anos-2015/>

Through the image, we can see what Londa Schiebinger (2001) called “female Einsteins”, which was an attempt by women in the 1970s to produce big-name scientists to counteract the stereotypes of great scientists males.

The search of the scientists to be known and recognized for Ferreira (2013, p.6) has as “its merit, the recognition and respect. In meritocratic logic, each subject is in the position it deserves due to the effort, dedication and individual capacity”. We can think about this discussion through Figure 4.



Figure 4: Night of laureates

<http://www.paramulheresnaciencia.com.br/para-mulheres-na-ciencia-10-anos-2015/>

The award takes place through a ceremony, featuring the presence of the current winners, winners from other issues, the family of the current winners, friends, journalists, representatives of scientific institutions of the country, among other personalities. In Figure 4 we can see some representatives of the Brazilian Academy of Science (ABC), and some laureates of 2015. Through these aspects, we realize that those who do not meet these criteria of productivity, which represents only one type of woman and some areas present in this award, are not scientists worthy of this award.

We note from the edict that, through one of its criteria - areas of knowledge - in a way, occurs the “exclusion” of the Humanities and Social Sciences as an area of science. When looking at this absence as a data that also produces meanings, we can discuss the representation that the area of Humanities is not considered a science that deserves awards, unlike many areas of science covered by the award, or the fact that it is only considered as an award-worthy woman scientist the one who operates in the areas identified in these materials. Regarding the addressing modes of this artifact, it seeks a certain audience, in this case women scientists of the areas highlighted by this award, or that somehow are captured by the discourses present in these works.

Some considerations

Transiting through the images present in this artifact with regard to women in science has enabled us to discuss representations and discourses that have been evidenced on women scientists within the historical, political and cultural setting of contemporary Brazil, which was produced in the midst of many cultural, economic and scientific discourses, and that are somehow linked to each other. We also notice how some artifacts produce and reproduce certain representations, which have been socially constructed.

Through the analysis, it was possible to reflect on the doubled work load - being a mother, scientist and wife – as well as some stereotypes in our society regarding scientists, the need to have a good academic performance in terms of productivity - being a “super scientist” - and the merit of women who achieve to be a “super scientist.”

We know that the discussions and problematizations that we develop throughout this article are not definitive and unquestionable, but present several reflections on women in science from an uneasy look that destabilized our certainties and caused us to question and discuss some standards and speeches that are present in relation to women in science.

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A LEGAL LOOK FROM THE MULTIDISCIPLINARY COMPREHENSIVE ATTENTION RESIDENCY TO WOMEN, GENDER POLICY AND HUMAN RIGHTS — UFRJ — BRASIL

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ABSTRACT

Considering the experiences in the assistance given to women - especially those victims of violence - under the *senso latu* specialization course, in the form of a Multidisciplinary Comprehensive Care Residency to Women, the Center for Public Policy on Human Rights - Suely Souza Almeida - NEPP- DH and the Women's Reference Centre of Maré - Carminha Rosa - CRMM, both agencies of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro - UFRJ, it was acknowledged an urgent need for a cross-training of judicial officers, bearers and spreaders of the human rights achievements when it comes to The Policy on Violence against Women.

KEYWORDS

Gender violence; Judicial power; Public policies; Confronting; Human rights.

Introduction

The consolidation of a public policy to fight violence against women requires, as a guideline for Human Rights, with the popular and institutional culture of a country, at least an effective practice of all those involved in the process, whether it is civil society or The Public entities. In Brazil, it should be noted that the Executive and Legislative branches have pro-

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duced important interventions that give visibility to the issue, even though a complete effectiveness has not yet been achieved. However, the situation proves to be yet more onerous when it comes to the behavior of the Judiciary, which remains immersed in routine practices that trivialize the peculiarities of gender issue, hampering the access to justice and the promotion of equality.

Considering the experiences in the assistance given to women - especially those victims of violence - under the *senso latu* specialization course, in the form of a Multidisciplinary Comprehensive Care Residency to Women, the Center for Public Policy on Human Rights - Suely Souza Almeida¹ - NEPP- DH and the Women's Reference Centre of Maré - Carminha Rosa - CRMM, both agencies of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro - UFRJ, it was acknowledged an urgent need for a cross-training of judicial officers, bearers and spreaders of the human rights achievements when it comes to The Policy on Violence against Women - especially the judges - so that strategies to consolidate other "ethos" in the judiciary branch can be generated. Thus, we will present our "look" on the debate.

A brief description of the structure of the Specialization Course in the form of Multidisciplinary Residency in Comprehensive Attention to Women, Gender Policy and Human Rights - UFRJ.

The program is a post-graduate *latu sensu* course in the form of a multidisciplinary residency and has been approved under UFRJ through an autonomous administrative process.¹ It is aligned with the proposal for a formal education on Human Rights, under the National Plan for Human Rights Education (PNEDH) in force in the country. It is a multi-unit enterprise and multi-centers initiative as it involves various faculties and centers of the University, for instance: the Center of Philosophy and Human Sciences (CFCH), the Center for Legal and Economic Sciences (CCJE) and the Health Sciences center (CCS), with their respective units: the center for Public Policy Studies in Human rights (NEPP-DH), the School of Social Service (ESS), the Institute of Psychology (IP), the National School of Law (FND) and the Institute for Community Health Studies (IESC).

The General Coordinator, main founder and promoter of the first training initiative was the professor Lilia Guimarães Pougy, member of the School of Social Service of UFRJ, which, among many other entries, is also Coordinator and Researcher at the Interdisciplinary Studies and Intervention Laboratory in Gender Public Policy - LIEIG / NEPP-DH / UFRJ.

In February 2013, the first selection notice was released for resident students for a period of two years. Aiming candidates were students in the areas of social work, psychology and law, which included a significant number of people. However, not rarely, several candidates would decline participation in the program once informed that the activities would take place in the poor neighborhood of Maré, more specifically in Favela Vila do João, which is a territory under armed dispute, considered to be violent and dangerous, being under continuous military intervention against other local forces, such as drug trafficking and militia.

Everyone involved underwent a UFRJ security protocol, which includes logistics and shifting strategies in institutional vehicle, operating hours, among other peculiarities related to the CRMM-CR territory.

The activities of the course took place within 900 hours per semester, including 720 hours of practical activities (in-service training), 90 hours of theoretical and practical activities and 90 hours of theoretical activities, resulting in a total workload of 3428 hours. The distribution of the mentioned activities was operated as follows: Training Service at CRMM-CR, Theoretical Disciplines (which represented about 1/3 of the residency's workload), Activities / theoretical disciplines/ractical (on disciplinary supervision, general interdisciplinary meetings and case studies). The legal supervisions and the general meetings/study of cases occurred in alternate months. They were conducted with the participation of all members of the program: professors, technical staff, residents and interns involved in CRMM-CR.

The experience on the field, considering the practices and theoretical activities developed in the territory of the Maré Women Reference Center, gives us the outlines on the following reflections, which has as its most challenging point the construction of alternatives to domestic violence through women marked by the living in territories where urban violence is ever present, with no establishment of limits, borders or dissociation between the most various actions and violations.

Data on Maré Women Reference Center Carminha Rosa - located at Vila do João - Rio de Janeiro.

The Maré Women Reference Center Carminha Rosa (CRMM-CR) is located at Vila do João, neighborhood of Maré, Municipality of Rio de Janeiro. It has among its objectives, from the interdisciplinary exercise: meet and provide psychosocial and legal advice, provide guidance on gender inequality and strengthen citizenship for women undergoing domestic violence; promote debates, studies and proposals on the Brazilian social reality, produce social indicators, develop and test innovative methodologies of formulation, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of social policies and carry out prospective studies.

Maré neighborhood was established in 1994 and belongs to the 30th Administrative Region of the City of Rio de Janeiro. It is made up of 23 micro-neighborhoods, among them Vila do João, where CRMM-CR is located.

The "Project-Rio", in 1982, built a housing complex at Vila do João, consisting of 2,600 houses, occupied by locals that once lived in small wooden homes on stilts extended along the Guanabara Bay.

The census conducted in 2000 by the Center for Studies and Solidarity Actions of Maré - CEASM 2 - found that Vila do João had about 4,000 households and 10,700 residents. Vila do João was the third in population density and fourth in number of dwellings, in the set that integrates the neighborhood Maré III.³

The CRMM-CR was established in 2000 as a result of an agreement between the Special Secretariat for Human Rights (SEDH) and the NGO Citizenship, Study, Research, Information and Action (CEPIA), which received funding from the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) and the United Nations Fund for Women (UNIFEM), in order to stimulate, support and expand the initiatives and alternatives to ensure proper conditions to the exercise of citizenship of women in that poor neighborhood.

³ <http://www.nepp-dh.ufjr.br/crmm> in 10-09-2015.

The Center has among its missions the goal to expand and consolidate the assistance and psychological support, social and legal advice to women undergoing gender-based violence in its domestic expression, invest in staff training (undergraduate), research and extension of the area of human rights public policies for women. Among its objectives, it seeks to: receive female victims of gender violence in its domestic expression; guide assisted women when it comes to the provision of care services; ensure social, legal and psychological support to assisted women residents of Maré; provide the means for legal and psychological support to assisted women; promote reflection on gender relations, involving both affected women as well as professionals participating in the project; improve the project's registration and information system, especially the database; promote participation of women in groups with the goal of improving their self-esteem and educating them about their rights; invest in the construction of a network of social facilities for the prevention and confrontation of gender violence by optimizing referral and follow-up procedures.

The everyday life of the residents involved in the project does not differ from the reality of peripheral neighborhoods in large urban centers, marked by deep gender, social and ethnic inequalities.

As major themes, allowing the definition of basic guiding principles of public policies aimed at women, we can highlight the dimensions of empowerment, autonomy and strengthening of citizenship, in order to provide access to knowledge of the existing set of rights and their exercise, recognizing the specificities involved in the different groups and processes and personal skills to achieve the freedom of decision.

The action plan, implemented at the Maré Women Reference Center in December 2004, was developed in three organizational pillars: management, technical activities and services. Thus, it has been proposed to: encourage the creation of a service network and guidance to women in order to build inter-institutional relations and improve the standard of assistance for the users of this Center. The prospect is that the network be integrated with the services directed to women victims of gender-based violence; provide emergency assistance to women and refer them to specialized services; organize and maintain the system of monitoring and evaluation of services; train, on an ongoing basis, the technical team in order to ensure the quality of assistance provided to women; create a specialized permanent staff, with a psychologist, a social worker and a lawyer; create a support team, integrated by field assistants and computer support; articulate the Center with different entities and neighborhood institutions, especially with the Vila do João Health Center, which is located in the same area of the CRMM.

The CRMM-CR, like any other Reference Center for Human Rights in Brazil, is attached to the Secretariat of the Technical Notice on Human Rights of the Presidency of the Brazilian Republic (Brazil, 2006). But note that it is a specific reference center, focused on Women, and a unique experience in the country for it is a Women Reference Centre under a Public Federal University.

Also, note that the general profile of the assisted is of poor, black women (thus well characterizing the intersectionality between class / gender / race), over 40 years old, separated, divorced, single or widowed; in conclusion women who no longer live under marital or similar relationships and who lived and/or live, some since early childhood, with the peculiar structural violence of big cities peripheries, such as Rio de Janeiro, and the family domestic violence.

The National Policy on Violence against Women in Brazil.

118 | The year of 2003 marks the beginning of broader, more structured and organized actions within public policies for women in Brazil. From then on, several legal texts were published containing concepts, principles and guidelines for assisting against, combating and preventing violence, securing rights, creating new institutions and specialized services, way beyond the mechanisms of integration between actors working with gender issues, in a vision of public policies on human rights.

Illustrating this chapter of the Brazilian history, we have, for example, the National Plans of Policies for Women, the Maria da Penha Law (Law 11340/06), the National Pact to Combat Violence against Women and the Guidelines for The Sheltering of Women undergoing situations of Violence/some sort of Violent situation .

As can be read in the presentation of the document that instituted the National Policy to Combat Violence against Women, produced in 2011, from the Secretariat on Policies for Women of the Presidency of Brazil:

Since the creation of the Secretariat on Policies for Women, in 2003, public policies for combating violence against women have been strengthened through the development of concepts, guidelines, standards, defining actions and management strategies and monitoring subjects/issues related to the theme. Until then, initiatives to cope with violence against women constituted generally of isolated actions and referred to two strategies mainly: the training of professionals assisting women in situation of violence and the creation of specialized services, more specifically specialized shelter homes and Police Departments for Assistance to Women. Since 2003, public policies for combating violence against women have been expanded and now include integrated actions, such as: creation of norms and standards of assistance, improvements in legislation, incentives to the creation of service networks, support for educational and cultural projects for prevention of violence and expansion of women's access to justice and public safety services. (Brasil, 2011: 7-8)

Hence, it is clear that there is a significant commitment of the Executive and Legislative branches to the prevention and assistance of cases of violence against women, which meets the demands of feminist movements in the country.

Specifically with regards to Criminal Policy, these demands reflect the longing in the sense to regulate and criminalize domestic gender-based violence and sexual nature through qualifying, aggravating or upper bounds sentence.⁴ In contrast, the same movement seeks the decriminalization of current criminal behaviors, such as abortion, revealing to us a crisis of legitimacy and a permanent tension between a minimum state and the maximization of the punitive system (decriminalize vs. criminalize).

The contributions of Brazilian feminism are indisputable, eg, the creation in 1984 of the Police Stations for Women, which brought up a huge range of female victimization, especially of sexual nature, perpetrated in family relationships, friendships or professional relationships. Violence, hitherto considered a private matter, became a public and criminal problem.

⁴ Femicídios on 03/09/2015 . See http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_Ato2015-2018/2015/Lei/L13104.htm , accessed 3/20/2015

But some questions remain unanswered: What can be expected of the Brazilian penal system? The punishment? The punishment for the use of violence? To what extent the existence of criminal types neutralizes offenses?

Such a stance leads us to the legal monistic model – now mostly considered in a crisis – which identifies Law with the law and Norm, with the Positive State Law and deposits in it the belief in solving problems, including social ones. And yet, such a situation creates the paradox of a progressive movement, such as the Women’s, lining up with one of the most conservative movements that is reduced to comply with the law and to the “fetish” of deprivation of liberty. Solidifying the gear of criminal policy, social fruits are not harvested, because what we have identified is that

the criminal justice system is ineffective to protect women against violence because, among other arguments, it does not prevent further violence, does not hear the distinct interests of the victims, does not contribute to the understanding of one’s sexual violence and the management of the conflict and, much less, for the transformation of gender relations (Andrade, s/d: 6).

This system, on the other hand, doubles violence against women, in the sense that it selects authors and victims, often ranking women as “honest” or “dishonest”, imposing standards derived from patriarchy as to morals and sexual behavior, for the social conduct etc. Well, the penal system is a trajectory of risk because it can stage recreations of inequalities and social prejudices:

This private punitive power - that in certain levels crumbles as public - is the same that affected women; if it lasted, as a practice and as a cultural heritage (in the manner of a technique of self-indulgent macho neutralization) beyond the abolition of slavery, why would it stop by facing the gradual evolution of women’s recognition of their rights? If this peculiarity did not contribute anything to our reflection, we would have to admit at least that, to deposit all hopes in the punitive power for dealing with domestic violence, women would find in its aid the same poison that submits, mutilates and kills them. (Batista, s/d: 14)

It is obvious that women are historical victims in social and domestic relations, given the dominance of patriarchy, and it must not be forgotten the legitimizing speech of the general power of caution right as to prevent the occurrence of crimes, given its theoretical function, which is also pedagogical and limiting of said violent behavior. But are women being assisted in their claims and appeals when turning to the State through the judicial and penal system we have?

The Women Police Departments (DEAMs) and the Courts for Domestic and Family Violence against Women.

Identified officially as the first public policy to fight violence against women implemented in Brazil (Brazil, 2010), the Special Police Departments for Assistance to Women (DEAMs) have matured and spread across the country. Judicial Police being its key function - investigation of reported criminal acts -, its assignment included measures involving the

police protection of women, referral to hospitals, health centers or to the Institute of Forensic Medicine, shelter, provide information about the rights and the services available to women (art. 11, Law 11340/06), request the urgent protective measures to the judge (arts. 22-24, Law 11340/06), among others.

120 | Integrating the National Policy on Prevention, Coping and Eradication of Violence against Women through the State Departments of Public Safety, the DEAMs are incumbent to prevent and punish gender-based violence, regardless of it being (or not) domestic or family violence. Thus, even the cases that fall under the area of adjudication of the ordinary criminal court - not the Specialized Courts - can be investigated by DEAMs, which incidentally have concurrent jurisdiction with the local Police Stations.

The principles guiding its activities include: the principle of primacy of human rights, the non-discrimination principle, the principle of equality, the principle of diligence and the principle of access to justice. Not to mention the right to a life without violence, whether it is physical, emotional, moral, proprietary, sexual and, furthermore, the right to live free from symbolic, ethnic-racial, classist and institutional violence.

The Courts of Domestic and Family Violence against Women, established by Law 11.340 / 06, have jurisdiction to adjudicate criminal offenses based on gender, when committed within the household, family or intimate relationship. In fact, this exclusive criminal jurisdiction was built pragmatically, because of structural difficulties alleged by the Courts of Justice of most Brazilian states, although the legal provision expressly refers to the hybrid competence:

Art. 14, Law 11.340/06 - The Courts of Domestic and Family Violence against Women, institutions? from of the Ordinary Justice with civil and criminal competence, may be created by the Federal Government in the Federal District and in the Territories, and by the States, to the process, trial and execution of causes arising from the practice of domestic and family violence against women.

The institutional response to the matter was to deal with it in a criminal way⁵. Reducing such a complex matter to this reductionist way of handling it results in the same way, in the election of a legal response restricted to conviction or acquittal, punishment or termination of punishment.

The alternatives are even smaller due to the ban on non-penalizing measures of Law 9099/ 95. No doubt that the movement to end the conciliatory model, a model that handled so-called conciliations by having the aggressor get away with the crime through the payment of fines or donation of food baskets was extremely relevant.⁶ The heritage character of these measures, relating to disengagement with attention to the condition of historical social inferiority of women, beyond absence of a coherent policy approach to the notion of gender violence and disrespect for human rights - so incompatible with the nature of "offenses of lower offensive potential" - questioned the applicability of the rules of the Special Criminal

⁵ Not unknown to the award on the grant or revocation of security measures (or other extrapenais determinations). Although there is disagreement as to its legal nature, the fact is that its highly protective character excludes the assessment of the merits as well as its execution.

⁶ For example, see OBSERVATORY Maria da Penha Law . Identifying barriers in the joint care services to women victims of domestic violence and family in five capitals. Salvador: Note, 2011 in http://www.observe.ufba.br/_-ARQ/relatorio_final_redes%5B1%5D%20%281%29.pdf ; and Report of the Joint Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry in <http://www.senado.gov.br/atividade/materia/getPDF.asp?t=133656&>

Courts (JECrims) rightly. They questioned because the stimulus to reconciliation often urged the victim to the non-representation, leading (the victim/the system) to refrain from establishing a criminal case and thus becoming a space of re-privatization of gender violence.

It was clear then, that the efforts of police activity through the JECrims found in its merely conciliatory function - little credible and ineffective - the denouncing incompatibility of a disbelief of the population in state mechanisms of access to justice. This disbelief/lack of faith/trust in criminal justice, which was reinforced by the distance between the submission of violence cases and a judiciary unprepared to deal with the issues of gender violence, would have been one of the reasons why the relationship of the Women Police Stations with the feminist movement, yet strong at the beginning, weakened over time.

Thus, one does not disagree with the need for legal guidelines to prevent the reducibility of this phenomenon to the compensation of purely equity measures. However, the solutions currently encountered by legal professionals to deal with the complexity of the issues of domestic violence within the Courts still show lack of assistance and poor quality service.

Empirical research in the field of humanities and social sciences demonstrate the many obstacles to access to justice that have not yet been overcome. Succinctly, we can identify certain structural aspects (such as the large number of cases, reduced number of Courts, poor infrastructure, reduced number of professionals, inhospitable atmosphere, etc.), historical and cultural features (such as the difference between official legal culture and popular legal culture, the persistence of a patriarchal pattern of interpretation of conflicts, cases of victim blaming, the tendency to speeches of protection of the “family”, language technicalities etc.) and political-legal problems (such as the scarcity of a network, the lack of vision of judicial activity as being integrated into a larger project of Public Policy, the absence of training qualitatively consistent with this same design, the ancient and contradictory legislation, the lack of implementation of conditions for the fulfillment of the Maria da Penha Law in full etc.) (Augusto 2015)⁷

In view of such institutional issues, how then internalize in the victims - and in society as a whole - the feminist conceptions/ideas/notions and values, when what is offered to them are merely time-consuming bureaucratic decisions that do not always correspond to social reality and with a segregated and stigmatizing prison system? How to reconcile the existing paradox between the insertion of postmodern feminist strand that holds a thought so socially revolutionary, progressive and contemporary, through a wayward Criminal Code with misguided ideology - to say the least - and totally contrary to the values preached/perpetrated by such feminist thoughts? How to prevent that the Maria da Penha Law be seen and function as a simple response to international pressure, just masking the violence by acting on its criminal repression to the detriment of its civil measures and the logic of prevention? This attitude is dangerous, and as it turns out women end up getting driven even more away from the JVFDMs system, a system that should, in theory, protect them, but instead proceeds to internalize a “lack of solution” to the problem of gender violence and almost to “legitimize” a lower status to women. Thus, it naturalizes and trivializes the problem.

Especially in the experiences acquired through the calls in CRMM-CR, we can see a collective immobilization through the official repressive bodies. The reality marked by the con-

⁷ Final Report of the research coordinated by Cristiane Brandão Augusto entitled “ Violence against Women and Institutional Practices “, included in the project “ Thinking the Law and Penal Reform in Brazil,” initiative and promoting the Institute of Applied Economic Research (IPEA) in partnership with the Ministry of Justice of Brazil (in press).

trol of drug trafficking, and ratified by the state's absence in the community, increases the distance of the victim to the pre-judicial and judicial instruments, strengthening the informal (not always legal) mechanisms of conflict resolution.⁸

When, on the other hand, the initial hurdle is surpassed and the victim reaches out to a unit/an agency/a component of the penal system (DEAM, police station, prosecution, Courts), not rarely, we witness testimonies depicting a double victimization: violence omissions of public officials that do not fulfill their responsibilities, and that do not call out on the offender for being prevented from entering that territory, with such a unique "political and legal" organization.

That's what happened to Suzana, in a case collected by a CRMM-CR professional:

Suzana [not her real name], a woman in her 40s, divorced, mother of a six-year-old daughter and a businesswoman at Maré. This case caught our attention for it involves a woman who was assaulted by her ex-partner and sought help in a common police department, being referred to this center by the policemen. One of her main concerns was related to her fear that reporting her ex-husband could bring unwanted consequences inside the community by arising dissatisfaction of the drug traffickers should the police enter the favela to secure her rights. Suzana was advised by friends and neighbors to seek the traffickers before (or instead) of the police to denounce her former companion. In addition to Suzana, other service users report difficulty in settling gender-issues due to the presence of drug traffickers in the favelas and the conflicting relationship between them and the police. (Santiago e Gonçalves, 2013: 2).

Indeed, it is shared between the Reference Center users and service professionals (technicians, residents and interns), a sense of frustration by the limitations inherent to the access to justice, not only by barriers in access to courts – a stormy, expensive, multi-sector, bureaucratic and slow path - but also the barriers in access to fair legal system, the intricate patriarchal legal interpretations that perpetuate a traditional dominant culture:

Thus the construction that has been carried out around a formalized framework of law through the judicial branch has constituted a way of formalizing the access to rights that are not always consistent with the full exercise of citizenship. (Matos e Rifiotis, 2010: 253)

The risk of placing blind trust in the judicial remedies - as would be expected when exercising citizenship - is the frustration over the own legal responses tied to the patriarchal-positivist legalistic traditionalism.

Conclusion

The question is especially important considering the political and ideological structure of western international society, where human rights are consolidated as an instrument of

⁸ "Failing to report, one of the strategies used by the residents to solve their problems, is known as unroll . Unwinding in the jargon of the slum relates to a form of negotiation between different actors, functions as an informal mechanism to do justice . Here , we refer to the negotiations between the residents and the owners of trafficking to resolve conflicts, justify or explain a situation or ask a favor . Through trafficking mediation solution is sought for individual and private problems that legal institutions do not realize solve " (Santiago and Gonçalves, 2013 : 7).

defense, safeguarding and promotion of both public freedoms and essential material conditions of existence and dignity. The public idea and imagination - including that of victimized women - holds the judiciary system as being the last hope of guarding and protecting their (the public's) rights. So, too, it is essential to understand the degree of effectiveness and justiciability in the judicial protection of such human rights.

It seems clear to us that judges, even those presiding the Courts for Domestic and Family Violence against Women, are not ideally familiar/ show little familiarity with the general concept and standards of human rights and policy combating gender violence, in addition to the Maria da Penha Law and other criminal legislation. This prevents, or hinders at least, the perception of the cases in which an existentially subjective situation of a woman who is at risk can and should take cover under the umbrella of the Human Rights of Women.

Still, we know that is not enough to equip, inform or empower the judiciary or the other Powers formally constituted in our "Democratic State". We need to go further in the pursuit of various expertises promoting the structuring of the victimized individual, or in the present case, the woman, with all her peculiarities, which are inherent to women, and with the involvement and participation of all civil society. The transversal and multidisciplinary approach is utterly important as, in our view, it legitimates and enhances spaces and productions such as the Women's Reference Center and the Multidisciplinary Residency Program for Integral Attention to Women, as initiatives that, in addition to training, set out to rethink and recreate rights and alternatives to dealing with? violence, considering the serious obstacles of public administration to be overcome in the pursuit of the realization of women's achievements. The CRMM-CR is an example of Human Rights Reference Center which features the "subsides for building innovative methodologies" (Pougy, 2010: 80).

In this sense we glimpse and signal the resource management for human rights, with its mainstreaming of knowledge and expertise and human dignity as a possible way and perhaps more effective for structuring our women as subjects of rights, as opposed to mere penalty to men, via the monistic model of Rights.

The protection network for women has been, and continues to be built through a lot of political struggle. Despite our lament/sorrow, we will continue to fight.

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THE BLACK WOMAN INSIDE A BLACK SOCIAL CLUB: THE PARTY AS A PLACE OF SOCIABILITY, RIGIDITY, MORALITY, AND POWER RELATIONS¹

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ABSTRACT

This article presents some reports of women who attended the Treze de Maio, a black social club founded in 1903, and the power relations established during its existence in the city of Santa Maria, Rio Grande do Sul, in southern Brazil. However, it questions the presence of what Raymond Williams (2003) calls effectively lived culture and the representations of what would be the ideal patterns of behavior, aesthetics, and sexuality, which should be constantly watched, repressed, and denied.

KEYWORDS

black woman; black social club; lived culture; power; representation.

A black social club, its queens, and effectively lived culture

This article presents the discussion of partial results of an ongoing research⁴ focused on narratives and life stories of queens and princesses of beauty contests promoted by the Treze de Maio (Thirteen of May) Club as part of its black visibility project in the city of Santa Maria, amidst a racist, segregationist, and sexist society in southern Brazil.

We have analyzed some extracts of interviews given by black women who won beauty contests promoted by the Treze de Maio Club, the “Treze”, during its heyday, between 1960 and 1980: Alcione Flores do Amaral (70), Queen of Carnival in 1970; Célia Claro (69), Queen of the New Building Opening Festival in 1966; Izoete Soares Ribeiro (70), Queen of the Party in 1966. We have also analyzed the report of a Treze President, Maria Emery Santos Lopes (94). In the scope of this article, we articulate gender, social class, and power in order to carry out a cultural analysis whose bases are connected to reflections aligned with Cultural Studies, particularly Raymond Williams’ (2003) work on selective traditions.

We have chosen the notion of cultural analysis recommended by Williams, especially in the second chapter of *The Long Revolution* (2003), in which he distinguishes three levels of culture: 1) culture lived in a particular time and place, which is only fully accessible for those who live or have lived in that space-time; 2) recorded culture, from art to the most ev-

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eryday events, i.e., the documented culture of a certain period; and 3) the culture of selective tradition, a binding factor between lived culture and recorded culture at different times.

Williams (2003) notes that when the culture of a particular period no longer exists, or is no longer a lived culture, the past survives, albeit in a more restricted way, in the documents left by and/or about that culture. And, through recorded culture, one can have a fairly clear idea of the cultural heritage, general patterns of activity and values of such period. However, there are selections permeating the survival of the culture of a particular period. These selections (for example of what constitutes heritage and which are the actual standards and cultural values) occur at the very moment this culture is lived, but also during its following periods, gradually forming a tradition in a process of continuities and ruptures that take place in each subsequent season.

It is very important to try to understand how a selective tradition works. To some extent, the selection begins within the same period; certain things are selected from the whole mass of activities, and are given value and emphasis. In general, this selection will reflect the organization of the period as a whole, although this does not mean values and emphases will be confirmed further along (WILLIAMS, 2003, p. 59)⁵.

Consulting documentary data on newspapers collections will provide an example of such process, seeing that if lived culture is matched by the events that were going on at any given time and place, the scheduling of what and who is news at the time these facts were registered, that is, when they acquired news status, was already a first selection. Furthermore, when the search for records of these sources takes place, it will likely be guided by the current purposes of the research that led to the consultation, thus establishing selective tradition. “Theoretically, a period is documented; in practice, this documentation is absorbed by a selective tradition, and both are different from lived culture” (Williams, 2003, p. 59).

For this reason, we have chosen to highlight and discuss these women’s reports as places of continuous selection and interpretation of the traditions of effectively lived culture.

Presenting the reports and discussion of the lived culture data

The appeal to orderly behavior and manners as the desired images of black people about themselves and their ethnic/racial group has a long history (GOMES, 2008). According to Nilma Lino Gomes (2008, p. 143) it is in that social mirror that black Brazilian people see themselves. The author points out they thus construct themselves as subjects immersed in tension between a socially constructed image in a process of domination and the struggle to build a positive self-image. Not allowing such social image to destroy one’s self-image is a challenge.

Consequently, it is easy to understand the huge challenges faced by organizers in black social clubs: their aim was to deconstruct centuries of negative and stigmatizing images of black people, or build a self-image, “a new black”, according to Gomes (2008, p. 143).

Among the women interviewed for this research, reports of the rigid control over the bodies of girls and boys are common, although stating different degrees, more severely di-

⁵ All quotes in this article have been translated from Portuguese by the authors.

rected at women. Hall directors, club directors and their wives controlled what to wear, how to wear it, how to behave, who could and could not enter the Treze, as explained Alcione:

(...) I got from my mother, for Christmas, a strapless jumpsuit, bought at Elegância Feminina [Female Elegance], and there was a party here. And I wore the jumpsuit. I stood there on the sidewalk. Because the person at the door said to me: Alcione, you can't come in! And I said: Why? Because you're wearing a jumpsuit. And it was a dress party. So I went home, changed clothes, and then came back and got in to the ball. But, you know, this here didn't really bother me. But, I hear, today, my friends saying, for example, that a person who was in the military, who came from Porto Alegre, and didn't bring the suit. Men could only get in here wearing a full suit. Then a few years later, they broadened to a jacket, in one color and pants in another. And sometimes, even to popped collars, no tie, which became fashionable. But at that time, he came to Santa Maria, and only brought the clothes, it was a gala outfit of the quarters he belonged to, and could not attend that ball that was happening here. And he came and they didn't allow him to come in. Then he went home, put on the quarters' gala outfit and came. And still today he complains about that with much sorrow. I didn't have that kind of feeling. (AMARAL, 2013. Interview granted to Giane Vargas Escobar).

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According to Ilza, the youths complained about older people's attitudes, but she took some "heat" when she was approached at a ball for daring to wear a lower-cut outfit.

(...) we complained. Girls hugged their boyfriends and we really couldn't. One day I made a dress with a slightly lower back, and then I don't remember if it was Alcione's mother who complained that the dress was too low-cut. Back then it was daring. This was in a Spring Ball. She told me directly, but I took it as a joke. (MOREIRA, 2013. Interview granted to Giane Vargas Escobar).

As Alcione reports, inside the Treze, during the ball, the minimum display of intimacy was contained, surveillance was constant and, consequently, those who dared to break the rules were asked to leave the room, going to a little room for a private "conversation" with one of the directors.

(...) No. We couldn't even dance cheek to cheek. Let alone anything more, like kissing. And if they did, and of course, there were people who tried to do. But these people were... I had said there were those people who were hall directors. Then they came and said, look, you're misbehaving ... Usually they called the boy, and they brought him back to this small room, the small room that you use today for the computers, there. So, in that room they were invited to sit down and they said: look you are misbehaving, if the thing was regarded as very serious they were punished and could not come to the club's upcoming promotions, for a certain time (AMARAL, 2013. Interview granted to Giane Vargas Escobar).

Although adults were rigid and controlled the youth, for some of these women, such as Izoete, these repressive actions served to help them in their personal growth and in knowing right from wrong.

I remember one time when the lights went out, it was a ball, the lights went out and someone spoke, there up on the stage someone told the girls to stay up there and the guys should all

go down! (Laughs) (...) at the time, you know, all this, it's like I told you, it helped to shape us. We knew what was right, what was wrong, right? We only made mistakes if we wanted to (RIBEIRO, 2013. Interview granted to Giane Vargas Escobar).

128 | Besides being a place for sociability, leisure, and strategy towards black visibility, the party was a place of borders, where power relations between men and women, young and old, single and married were emphasized, and where there was a paradoxical female empowerment through male power, after all “the president’s wife is president as well”:

(...) My husband was president and so was I! Dejanira was also president because Sadi Vasconcelos was president... she was his wife, right, she was in charge. The female wing was up to us! The way they danced, when they did something kind of wrong... we... just by looking... I just made a signal like this (laughs)... they got it! At that time they wanted to dance cheek to cheek (laughs)... I just did this, look, look! They got it! This way it didn't raise people's attention, you know! I just made a signal (laughs)! But it was very good, you know! Bah! But they were very good, the boys never did anything! There was a gentleman who was on the Financial Advisory Board, he was a director, but he was very serious, and he would stand like this, look, so close to the wall or by a table and he was very serious! The youths were dancing all around, but no one lost their pace! Because he was intimidating, his gaze alone and his stance was intimidating! (LOPES, 2015. Interview to Giane Vargas Escobar).

Maria Emery Santos Lopes was married to Antônio Lopes, former President of the Treze de Maio Club. She explained that one of her responsibilities as “co-president” was preventing couples from getting too close and, with the authority bestowed upon her, “tap on the shoulder” of couples who “misbehaved”, as confirmed by Célia Claro.

He called people and they had to go to the office. (...) Then the youths said that only the old, only old folks ran this club! And then came younger people and it only went bad! The youths complained about old people and said there were only old people in charge. And then everything in society disappeared. We do not forget the good things! I like to remember the past! I like it so much! And then Antônio left the board and did not want to come back! (LOPES, 2015. Interview granted to Giane Vargas Escobar).

(...) Even my mother who was the on board, was on the board. Often ladies had these tasks of not letting couples get too close! And mother tapped on the shoulder a lot... “hey, you're too close”, you know? My mother was one of them! “Can't you step back a little?”. But it was a good time! (CLARO, 2015. Interview granted to Giane Vargas Escobar).

According to Giacomini (2006, p. 143) the party is an important divisor. A quintessential moment for sociability, group meeting, enjoyment of others and of the self, it plays a central role in collective life and individual growth. So it was through the party, in their careful and impeccable attires, with gloves, lace, satin, sparkles, and pearls, that black women represented themselves within the Treze. The club remained a place for sociability for nearly a century. Its membership was different than that of another black club, the União Familiar (Family Union), located on the outskirts of the city. That is, even if they descended from the black people who came to Brazil as slaves after being captured in Africa, the regulars of these two black social clubs had different positions in Santa Maria's society: “a group of individuals

originally occupying a similar social position are separated in the course of time by differences related to the changes in volume and structure of their capital” (Bourdieu, 1979 p.124).

Treze’s women were part of a “black elite” in Santa Maria. But, according to Alcione, that required abiding by certain norms of behavior inside the club, which for that society’s lived culture included different values, behaviors, and privileges for men and women.

I was part of that period. For me, all things were normal. I do not remember, like, getting mad at the Treze because of some rules. But we were, the balls were very brightly lit. Our parents chaperoned us at parties, at dances. I mean in our adolescence, right. And there were the hall directors. They checked if you were behaving in a way they found improper for that party. For example, you couldn’t dance cheek to cheek with a boy, that was unseemly. And we went with our parents, or someone responsible. You didn’t leave here to step outside and come right back in. These things do not hit me, as well. I obeyed, I had no problem. My mother was always watching, watching who I danced with, how I danced... (AMARAL, 2013 Interview granted to Giane Vargas Escobar).

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Thus, the “desirable female” formed through a process of gender role socialization that occurred first within the family, but the club provided the ambience for crystallization of selective traditions associating social roles to each sex, determining the differences in the behavior of men and women (AMÂNCIO, 1994).

Within the Treze, selective tradition of members led to identity constructions “marked by difference” because it was not “any black person” who could attend the club, and white people were not allowed in. According to Woodward (2000), identity is relational and marked by symbols. There is an association between a person’s identity and the things they use. Thus, the construction of identity is both symbolic and social.

In relation to black women, selective tradition forms on a moral plane, as not every black woman could attend the Treze de Maio Club. In addition to power relations legitimized by the choices of black man, that is, the board of directors (always men) who defined who could and could not stay in the club, they also needed to pass the probing of well-married women or girls “who hadn’t strayed” to be able to attend the club. That is, the club did not admit separated women, widows, single mothers or those living with their partners out of wedlock.

[...] Now, single mothers, separated women. It’s a thing of that time, it’s not a Treze de Maio thing. It’s a thing of society in general. The same was true in Caixerai, in Comercial. I now feel some guilt towards some of my friends who had children then, out of wedlock, and that my family would say: look, from now on, you’d better not hang with that girl. I find it awful today, but it’s how it was, right? You don’t choose the time you live in. You know? I lived in that time. And at that time you couldn’t. Today, I have a sort of debt to these friends who were, I don’t know, unfortunate, I don’t know. And these things, they said: “the girl is damaged goods”. You see? When she had sexual intercourse before marriage. But at the same time I feel uncomfortable with it, I understand that’s how it was then. (AMARAL, 2013 Interview granted to Giane Vargas Escobar).

In this interviewee’s speech, you can recognize another selective tradition, as she blames the *Zeitgeist* for the discrimination of women whose behavior did not abide by the rules and

standards that attest profound gender inequalities perpetrated in equal parts by that black social club and by white society. She appeals to the nature of the time to explain inequalities that were being combated, especially since the late 1960s, by women and black civil rights groups. Although such movements had more visibility in the United States, aiming to abolish discrimination and racial segregation and recognize gender equality in the country, the impact they had on the world, including Brazil, is undeniable. In Brazil, the feminist movement had media exponents such as Heloneida Studart (Manchete magazine) and Carmen da Silva (Cláudia magazine).

Conclusion

This short analysis made it possible to identify some levels of selection that ultimately form a tradition regarding black women. In lived culture, a social selection was already in place towards who was allowed to join the Treze de Maio Club: a “black elite” that excluded black people from the periphery. We also pointed to a selection of a “desirable female”, which operated in accordance with moral standards that segregated “damaged goods”.

The patterns that shaped social practices in that particular time and in the club’s particular formation, as well as how they were lived, experienced, and sometimes reinvented by the interviewed women in order to turn them into “their social practices”, became part of the organization. That is, to peer into the cultural patterns by which the Treze operated as a place of sociability, rigidity, morality, and power relations, the analytical process of this article traced regularities and breaks, considering the accounts of what was actually lived by women.

Thus, traditions of gender, power, and class inequality were formed, in several layers of selection, within the Treze de Maio Club, the third oldest black social club of Rio Grande do Sul.

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CONVERSATIONS WITH TEACHERS ON GENDER AND RACE IN BRAZIL: A PLURAL PERSPECTIVE IN SCHOOL EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this article is to review the gender discourse and race of teachers of Basic Education in the State of Paraná, Brazil, between 2008 and 2014. In view of this, we question: what do teachers understand of gender and race? How to contribute to the discussions of these topics in education? Therefore, we collected data during the course of conversation groups conducted with teachers in order to hear how these subjects operate these concepts in their teaching practice. We adopted their speeches during the dialogue process as a data source. We characterize this analysis as a participant action research comprising horizontally the relationship between the subject and the person talking. As a theoretical framework, we chose the Cultural Studies that allowed the questioning and deconstruction of normative and biologist discourses. The survey results indicate the occurrence of a continuous and conflicting movement of views on gender and race by teachers during the group discussions. We believe that these results provide understand the anchoring of the speeches of these teachers in their life stories, their personal values and beliefs.

KEYWORDS

Education; Genre; Race, Cultural Studies.

Introduction

Although Brazil is known internationally as the country of racial democracy and harmony between groups, when we look closely we see that Brazilian society is marked by marginalization processes that were and are produced and reproduced resulting from existing power relations in its history. And to understand schools as movement of social discourse space, we established the objective of this article is to analyze the discourses of gender and race of teachers from the cities of Maringá, Sarandi, Campo Mourão e Boa Esperança in the State of Parana - Brazil, between 2008 and 2014. The period was marked by the concerns we had before the laws were passed and the controversial discussions about the National Plans, State and Municipal Education which had the horizon theories involving gender and race. The selection of cities is due to the fact that there are schools located where we do short-term extension courses (eight to forty hours) discussing the implications of race and gender discussions at school.

We chose to work with teachers because of the role they play in shaping the identity of their students with regard to the various themes. A dialogical process on gender and race would therefore be a way to reflect on the production of their speeches.

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The production of gender and racial inequality is due to broader social processes designating the positions of the subjects in relation to their body, their sexuality, race, ethnicity, social class, religion, among others. Because of the political and social importance of the discussion on gender and race, as well as the results of contemporary studies aimed at the educational institution, the following issues were raised: what do teachers understand of gender and race and how to contribute to the discussions of these topics in school education?

Therefore, we conducted focus group discussions in order to rethink the concepts that teachers have of gender and race in a socio-historical context that produces power relations. In this text we analyze the speeches that were collected from these subjects from the reference framework of Participatory Action Research to consider that “not all the voices that speak in a group carry the same legitimacy, security and power to be heard and welcome” (COSTA, 2002, p. 92). Therefore, based on the literature of cultural studies, we believe that the power and knowledge circulating in all interpersonal and group relations are not fixed at a single point, which enabled us to understand the meanings of speeches over the existence and experience the subjects of research on gender and race.

The discussions held during the meetings with the teachers allowed us to rethink the issue through other perspectives, and thus, questioning paradigms such as inequality between men and women, white and black, rich and poor, based on the biological differences and the consequent recognition of female and male identities as impregnated social constructions of power relations. Some of the partners of this discussion were: Michel Foucault (1984, 1988), Henry Giroux (2003); Stuart Hall (2009), Guacira Lopes Louro (1997, 2007), Marisa Vorraber Costa (1999, 2002), among other authors.

Gender and race in education: a perspective of power relations in schools

Gender and race are understood here as elements that have common potentials. Anchored in social, historical, political, economic and cultural relations these categories problematize relations of power, privileges, hierarchies and inequalities maintained by natural speech, biological, universal and essentialist in order to deconstruct them to show the historical production of social identities of men and women, black men and women, among others.

The problematizations are necessary in all instances, and teachers at school, as mediators of knowledge and exchange of knowledge, have the ability to take the fight for the recognition of cultural diversity as a productive force for the recreation of social contexts in interface with everyday life. As argued by Giroux (2003, p. 85)

At the same time, these intellectuals can play an important role not only challenging culture uses that are sanctioned by the state to play and regular hierarchies and race inequality, class and gender, and also producing new spaces in which teachers and students can re-imagine their sense of self and their relationship with others in a more radical democratic social order where social injustices lose their determining force as the “fundamental category for the distribution of power, material resources and privileges”.

Taking on the challenge, disseminate research related to the diversity of gender and race in schools that indicate the need to recognize the differences in school spaces, after all, “recognize the difference is to question the homogeneous, stable and permanent concepts that exclude different from certain standard established socially” (FELIPE; FRANÇA, 2014, p. 52).

134 | The idea of the recognition of differences is the need of understanding the production of speeches. Understanding this premise - discourse - is anchored in Foucault’s research, discussion source also Cultural Studies.

For Foucault (1980) the production of truth is related to the concept of power that must be understood as a tactic and not a privilege that one has or which “appropriates”. The power appears as a network of conflictual relations that makes docile bodies and reduces the contesting political actions of individuals, since it is a function of “disciplinary power” to keep the individual and group practices under social control and increase their economic utility. An example of this process are conservatives to claim that “race identity concerns, gender and sexual orientation represent largely the bombastic speeches of specific groups, whose main purpose is to sabotage the traditions of Western culture” (GIROUX, 2003, p. 83).

However, it is important to remember that the identities of black men and black women, for example, are built not only through repression structures, as the capillarity and the power of the movement allow them and are “invented” through practices, gestures, ways of being and acting non-hegemonic. In this sense, they are the effects of the current power that produce legitimate truths and not legitimated socially.

Based on Foucault studies and Cultural Studies, we understand gender and race as a source of micro-power producing groups coping strategies and not privileges of these groups. When there is no individual or group condition resistance of black women and black men, there is no exercise of power, but a relationship of violence, physical or symbolic. However, as expressed by Louro (1997) these social practices are not reducible to fixed explanatory schemes, because they themselves are intrinsically unstable.

These changes cause conflicts and resistance to the existence of the “other” who is different. In this sense, Louro (1997) indicates that it is necessary to discuss the social representations of gender and sexuality, add race, including those presented in the school context through a deconstructive process that implies questioning the identity of individuals with regard to values and norms. A deconstructive procedure does not eliminate the hierarchical thinking historically constructed in relation to gender and race, however, seeks to insert them in existing power relations and analyze them critically in order not to be played attitudes that legitimize inequalities of any kind between individuals.

Identities are constructed in multiple institutions that produce and reproduce differences. Among these institutions stand out from the school, family, the media, despite the social and individual resistance movements, impose models of conduct in accordance with the dominant social practices aimed at the consumer and producer market.

In this sense, based on the bibliography, we assume that results as necessary to the school the task of questioning the “manufacturing” of subjectivities, the feelings, desires and conflicts arising from differences in gender, race, ethnicity and class. The school not only “makes” individuals who attend it is also produced by them and by the representations and

meanings that circulate it. Teachers must think about the concept in other prospects to promote to their students the opportunity to share this movement.

Understanding of gender and race building as a collective and individual process: the “I” and the “other”

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Given the theoretical framework of the research, in the course of the meetings, the different concepts of gender and race present in the discourse of the teachers and provided by the survey have undergone a process of “questioning”, which meant to question the historical condition, social, cultural and power of their personal and institutional training. To encourage group discussions, present problem situations through movies, music, images and events in the school space that would allow exploration of the issues and encourage the formulation of hypotheses, explanations, arguments and counterarguments about situations.

In the speeches of the teachers we noticed some patterns of femininity and masculinity constructed by social institutions, such as: Boys are messy, like mathematics lessons and do better in sports. Girls are organized in English, Languages, Arts and have more discipline. How many times have you said or thought of these phrases? We emphasize the speech of teacher José³;

I think I disagree with parts of some of the statements, because I do not like sports, I was never good in mathematics, always came on top, my room is organized, always had a plump letter, very beautiful and I do not have a different sexual orientation.

The statement of teacher José demonstrates an awareness of the contradictions in society, social paradigms for gender. By questioning the girl and boy models tied to standards created by social institutions like family and school, we noticed a deconstruction process which is apparently natural by discourses that circulate about the identities of boys and girls.

Referring to the speech of José, teacher Joana pointed out, “look, teacher, you’re putting the boy in doubt about his sexuality” (everyone laughs). Though in jest, Joana’s speech shows a resistance to the work of gender and sexuality concepts. After all, the game is a product of values and habits of a particular society, and can expose sexism, gender, among others. The reaction of others also points to a lack of preparation to work these concepts in class, after all, and the jokes, laughter can foster prejudicial attitudes.

And working with the difference? The question arose as a result of discussions held during other ongoing meetings. Teacher Maria responds:

They (referring to students) treat this difference very superficially, they do not show the situation with feeling, but they have. If you give the opportunity, if you throw the question: “why do you only talk with John and not talk with Joseph? Why Jesse is isolated from the room? Because is he chubby?”

³ All the subjects are presented with fictitious names given to ethical terms

Her comment caused laughter, because it suggested discrimination and prejudice within the group of teachers. Her attitude brought into the group a situation that was being discussed as something related to others, both as detailed as discriminators. Maria continued:

Jesse is chubby because he wants? So you have to put the problems into the living room to see it differently. A situation that I was very shocked to see was with an afternoon class, an obese girl, she said the biggest trauma of her life was when she came in the room, sat up, and everyone stood up, as if it were inflatable. It was something very marked her life [...]. So I think it is up to us in every situation put the why. I am so because I want to? No! Each has its nature!

The verbalization brought the group the possibility of exercising the process of otherness and reflection on the contradictions between his speech and his actions. In addition, the teacher Maria gave the group the perception that social prejudice is associated not only to gender and sexual orientation, but also the body. For the teacher, the difference has been treated superficially in school and it is up to teachers - educators - to question why this happens.

Their placements have led the group to wonder about the real possibilities of the individual to assume identities that are socially stigmatized for not fit the hegemonic patterns. We inquired about the possibilities of social groups accept this subject with different identities, including school. In this sense, the teachers mentioned the difficulty of dealing with aggressive and the retaliatory conduct of students who consider themselves “normal” on those who consider themselves “different”.

As argued by Louro (1997), these trends say the genders in their training and their acceptance, or not, are the result of cultural processes permeated by social interests and power relations of collective order and not restricted to individual attitudes and options, although these latter ones are always present.

The individual movement of each teacher was perceived by the group at various times. Teacher José, for example, expressed earlier this route to share with the group their experiences. He revealed that, as a child, was not “accepted” by a group being black.

This happened to me too, it was not because I was fat or thin: but because I’m black. When I was a kid, I remember, I was from there in Rio Grande, [...] And then in June parties, when it came time to pair up, I saw that the teacher was there and said, “You make a pair with him,” “No, teacher, with the Neguinho (little black boy) I will not! “.

The teacher noted further: “it took time, but I came to believe that I’m black, I’m beautiful.” After his speech, his colleagues felt free to comment similar situations of prejudice and discrimination. Black representations similar to that teacher were also mentioned in the second course.

During the course on race, teachers and the participating teachers also expressed their opinions and perceptions with the growing presence of ethnic and racial issues in Brazilian education. Participants realized the dilemmas regarding the new guidelines aimed at teaching history and African-Brazilian culture. At different times, this audience spoke their views on the Law 10.639 / 2003. The dilemmas about their training and theoretical tensions in their

teaching practices before possible ethnic and racial conflicts in school and in particular in the classroom were highlighted in the speeches of teachers.

The teaching of history and African-Brazilian culture by organizing as a strategy is that it involves understanding how the discourse on miscegenation operates in our society. And it is necessary to look at social relations through the eyes of this, questioning the national integration of speeches from the tutelage of one group over another. Questioning national integration speeches from the tutelage of one group over another. And revealing the integration of speeches coated 'we artificial, as of miscegenation in Brazil. It is necessary to reflect on the alert that Apple makes (2001, p.65): "The bleaching policy has been huge and sometimes terribly efficient at forming coalitions that unite people across cultural, class relations and gender, even against their interests."

Understanding why the discourse of mixed-races is so present in the narratives of teachers, it is necessary to bridge past diagnosis without proper cultural mediations, such that states that "Brazil is a mix and cannot know who's who". As Foucault (2008) states, to admit that the discourses and educational practices of today are historical and discursive constructions gleaned from the depreciation of the black people and their cultures, it is necessary to analyze the present marks in school education. When we think of blacks in education, we cannot reveal the historical features that have been assigned to these subjects.

However, visualize miscegenation does not ratify the aggression and the devaluation of the being and action of blacks. The miscegenation speech points to an invisibility of social analysis, cultural and political on the physical, verbal and psychological violence against black men and women in our country.

Thus, other than to suggest the interbreeding of speeches conveyed in the course: The cinema in the teaching of history and African-Brazilian and African culture in basic education on the education for the black population, recognizing that race as a set of attitudes, values, experiences and affective identifications became a defining aspect of Brazilian life. We argue that it is essential for any pedagogical approach that wants to work black culture not only as a celebration of difference, but to understand what the power games involving the classification of that difference as inequality. We understand, as Giroux (1999) warns that the concept of race, and the race is arbitrary and mythical, dangerous and variable, but racial categories exist and shape unlike the lives of people before power and wealth inequalities.

It is this concept that makes her question the speeches as: "Who is black in Brazil, we are all a mixture"; "I have no black students in my class, I have *moreninhos* (brown), so I do not need to work with the law? "; "There is no teacher race, we are human race"; "Everyone in Brazil has black, white and Indian blood "; "We are all a mixture that does not define who or what", "black is discriminated against, but we all suffer, I say to students is just not pay attention to it." Therefore, to highlight the discourse of mixed-races, teacher deny the discourse of race and only use a biological view. This discourse does not take into account that race is a way to meet and organize the social world and is subject to challenge and continuous reinterpretation, but it is so unlikely to disappear as any other forms of inequality and human differences. Ignoring this concept is not a form of racism extinction but maintaining its bases and its historical formulations.

Pedagogical working of the concept of race in a polysemic sense means to provide conditions for students to think about how build the social subjects and because the color of

the skin acts as a historical marker of privilege and power in Brazil. The concept of race can be used “as a condition to expand the ideological realities and matters of democratic public life” (GIROUX, 1999, p.110).

To work with social relations of gender and race is to show that people, cultures, realities are different and need to be considered within the school context.

138 | Considerations

The school may favor more elaborate understandings of conflicts and tensions of gender and race that pervade the power relations of society. From this perspective, even with limitations, the school environment can provide questions about the concepts considered natural that individuals bring their different backgrounds and experiences.

We consider the meetings with teachers groups as a learning resource capable of favoring a plurality of views of points on the concept of gender and race on the part of teachers, especially through raised problematizations group.

We aim to make the subjects questioned all the time and leave each meeting with more questions than when they arrived. It was emphasized that this process would not work for the preparation of a recipe and for ready-made answers about working gender and race in the classroom; on the contrary, in group discussions, what possibilities would be raised for the teachers to reflect and allow themselves and their students do the same, to rethink their attitudes and values.

Although proposals like these, among others, present limitations, the comments of the teachers pointed out the need to bring to the school context: events, debates, projects and studies to confront prejudiced attitudes, discriminatory and sexist, which hurt the integrity of identities fleeing the hegemonic standard. This kind of approach is far from the only, nor the best, but allows other looks to the teaching practice.

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FEAR AND DESIRE: THE IMAGE OF JOSEPHINE BAKER AND THE IN-CORPO-RATED AESTHETIC OF JAZZ

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ABSTRACT

This article draws on images from the *Revue Nègre*, and the protagonism of Josephine Baker (1906-1975) in these images and in the universe of revue, to demonstrate the clash between Eurocentric representation of Afro-descendants and the affirmative, positive Black representativeness. Authors cited include Frantz Fanon (1975), Stuart Hall (1996; 1997; 2013) and Oliveira Neto (2005). We draw parallels between representations of the Black body in Brazilian paintings in the 17th Century, the representation and violence projected on and applied to Sarah Baartman, and the similarly hypersexualized body of Baker from the Eurocentric perspective. We emphasize three forms of violence. The first is the negligence of the suffering to which Black bodies are submitted. Second: the violence of dehumanizing. Third: the violence of silencing strategies for survival, resistance, re-existence and resilience by propagating domination as if it were total and absolute. Through a discussion of processes of animalization, Foucault's "apparatuses of power", and the psyche and fears of White privilege, we build paths to conclude how pejorative, and how effective as instruments for maintaining racism, were the practices of those groups of Blacks who feigned subordination.

KEY WORDS

Josephine Baker; Black women; racism; resistance; ethno-racial relations.

Introduction

Josephine Baker's body should be understood as one of many African objects which suddenly seemed beautiful to a Parisian avant-garde whose enthusiasm for African art had been developing for two decades. The story of how such objects – for years viewed as curiosities at best – all of a sudden moved into the category of art is fascinating . . . (ROSE, 1989, p. 40).

Starting from the assumption that the voice speaking to you is that of a Black woman who has exercised, academically and artistically, the imposition of Blackness in the process of positivation, empowerment, autonomy and subversion of the social order that upholds Whiteness to silently maintain racisms and epistemicides, I am faced with the paradoxical complexity of introducing a text about images of *Josephine Baker* that will have two com-

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peting readings. The first, wrapped in passion and representativeness, in which the woman, Black, artist observes *Baker* as a reference of artistic representativeness imbued with the force of someone who imposes her presence on the Parisian elite and inspired them to applaud her on their feet, transforming her into the most celebrated millionaire of the celebrities. The second reading is through the perspective of a historical process of dehumanization of the image of Black bodies to perpetuate Eurocentric relations of power and order and murderous and imperialistic policies.

In the year 1990, *Phyllis Rose* (1942 -) who was a professor at *Wesleyan University*, published the book *“The Cleopatra of Jazz: Josephine Baker and her time”*. This book provides the basis for our article with its vast biographical, historical-analytical content which is such an important source for researchers of the history of jazz, dance, and vaudeville.

In her book, *Rose* refers to the change in view of the European vanguard and intellectual elite at the end of the 19th Century, when African Art “suddenly began to be seen as beautiful”. But is this really the correct adjective? *Rose* ends her comment by describing as “fascinating” this “sudden” transformation of what was once spurned as primitive into an object of status in the art world.

Fascinating, with a twinkle in the eye, perhaps³, because this rich biography possesses a White phenotype; for Black interlocutors, the passage from “vulgar” and “primitive” to “Art” provokes a bitter enthusiasm, dampened by the tears of continued social exclusion and unfaithful evaluation of Black Art.

Josephine Baker (1906- 1975) born in the state of *Missouri*, in the heart of the USA, probably had revue in her family history, since her father, who abandoned her mother, was a drummer in musical shows. Prior to adopting her artistic name, she was *Freda Josephine Mcdonald*. With her childhood surrounded by the recurrent harshness of the life of Black men and women of the diaspora, the young *Josephine* worked as a maid and danced in the streets until, as a young teenager in New York City, during the period of the potent *Harlem Renaissance*, she acted in successful Black musical revues like *Shuffle Along* (1921) and *The Chocolate Dandies* (1924).

But her conquest of stardom, fortune, protagonism, success and prestige began in 1925 in Paris when she made a name for herself in *La Revue Nègre*, with runs at the charming and renowned *Théâtre des Champs-Élysées* and the *Folies Bergère*.

To those who were aware of cultural history, the appearance of the *Revue Nègre* on the stage of the *Théâtre des Champs-Élysées* might have seemed particularly appropriate: if the building epitomized prewar modernism, the black revue came to symbolize postwar modernism - the new, Cubist sensibility which savored angles and fragments rather than curvilinear forms, juxtaposition rather than fluidity as a principle of coherence, frenetic energy rather than graceful lyricism. Isadora Duncan had refreshed European culture by bringing it the spirit of an Americanized Greece. **Josephine Baker would refresh it by bringing the spirit of an Americanized Africa.** (ROSE, 1989, p. 18, our emphasis)

In elegant, artistic Paris with its assiduous show-goers, the presence of Black artists was nothing new, but the quantity of performers, script and theatrical proposal were part of what

³ We say “maybe”, as the text is in fact extremely valuable and clearly reveals the author to be a great fan of *Josephine Baker*.

would later be recognized as a revolutionary and unexpected moment in the history of the-
atrical arts. Thus, on the night of October 2, 1925, at approximately 10:30pm, the show
began that would create a stir of Nijinskian proportions.

When the audience was somewhat settled, the regular music-hall orchestra stopped playing,
and the black musicians, led by Claude Hopkins, filed onto the stage, playing, and took up
positions at the side before a striking curtain: a black man dancing on checkerboard squares.
There was a drummer, a saxophonist, a trombonist, and a tuba player, in addition to Hopkins
on the piano. When they reached the end of their first number and began the next, the
curtain rose to reveal a backdrop of steamboats on the Mississippi at night, a levee, with
cargo on the dock waiting to be loaded. Dressed in colorful plaids, men sat on bales, talking,
listening to the music. Women strolled on stage in dresses that had been enlivened with
ribbons and feathers. Maud de Forest, bizarrely outfitted in a pink dress and feathered hat,
sang the blues and the women started to dance. (ROSE, 1989, p. 18-19)

But what most perturbed and excited the audience was the smiling audacity and semi-
nudeness of *Josephine*, who “bare-breasted, wore a satin bikini with a skirt of feathers over
it and a collar of feathers around her neck” (ROSE, 1989, p. 20).

In the face of these representations of the woman, of the Black body, of Africa as a
single heterogenous entity, idealized and mythical, as *Stuart Hall* (2013) ponders, stereotypes
were socially established that focused on limiting characteristics, such as hypersexualization,
infantilization, irrationality, and psychological imbalance. These stereotypes are expressed
fictitiously in the exaggerated facial expressions, crooked legs, frenetic swing, inexhaustible
physical energy, dance gestures and ways of pronouncing words executed by the performers
and by *Baker*. Eurocentric strategies of domination reside in these expressions, materialized
in Dance, signified by the choice of gesture, strengthening the need to consume Black Art,
framed as being exotic and reproducing this gestural/symbolic pattern alone.

Conscious of this disparagement by the West, evident during *Baker’s* golden years yet
preceding her, and motivated to counter this stereotype by identifying specific aspects of
artistic bodies from the African diaspora, we reflect on these tensions through an analysis
of posters made by *Paul Colin* (1892- 1985)⁴; guided by a socio-political-economic and cul-
turally contextualized reading, we examine the images and the world, and the imagery that
shaped opinions (media, visual arts, cinema, televisions).



Figure A



Figure B

⁴ *Paul Colin*, was a French designer of theatrical sets and costumes, recognized for being one of the great poster
artists, particularly known for the posters he designed for the *Revue Nègre*.

Regarding how Blacks were once portrayed . . .

Long before Baker hit Paris, the dancing black female body was associated in the French imagination with lewd invitation. From the earliest exploration of Africa, European travelers had been struck by African dances, and the dancing black come to hold a particular grip on the European imagination. To European observers, these dances expressed such indecency, such unbridled sensuality that they could only imagine them resulting from primitive inferiority – or, in kinder versions, primitive innocence. (ROSE, 1989, p.28)

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To bring the discussion to the Brazilian and Latin American context, we turn to studies by Marcelino G. de Oliveira Neto (2015) and Rafael Cardoso (2015) who, in their evaluation of art, and Brazilian paintings of Black bodies in particular, observe nationalistic and/or modernistic aims. Their studies contribute to build our argument about the representation of Black people whose ethnic-racial reach acquires greater political and symbolic representativeness invested with positivated subjectivities.

Oliveira Neto's (2015) discussion in his article entitled "*Between the grotesque and the laughable: the place of Black women in cartoons in Brazil*" is situated approximately one hundred and forty years after the supposed discovery of the land colonized by Portugal, with slavery still in force, and in a time of strong need to build an identity to show to the outside world. These needs, these political agendas, conferred upon *Frans Post (1612-1680)* the title of he who "inaugurates at the same time profane art and the afro-Brazilian iconography" (OLIVEIRA NETO, 2015, p. 65).

Frans Post was in the country between 1637 and 1644 as part of the Dutch Artistic and Scientific Mission, contracted by Maurício de Nassau, governor of the territory occupied by Holland in northeastern Brazil. Post's main function was to record the national landscape. And that is how the Black population is first portrayed, as part of the urban and rural landscape. Black men and women are depicted carrying out a variety of functions, giving the impression that they compose a homogenous, linear society devoid of differences or conflicts. Everyone seems resigned to their situation of enslavement and uses similar clothing, as if in uniform (OLIVEIRA NETO, 2015, p. 65, our translation).

In counterpoint to this falsified context "devoid of conflicts" into which Black people are inserted in *Post's* landscapes, the author cites the paintings of *Albert Eckhout (1610-1666)* (who also composed the missions contracted by *Maurício de Nassau*) to observe that even when differences between oppression and resistance were evidenced, the truths about the blood, beatings, humiliation, mistreatment, punishment, rapes and assassination were not quite portrayed. All the more reason to highlight the violence of the negligence, the violation of the right to historical knowledge of those portrayed as co-actors or losers; the invisible violence of suffering of the enslaved people of the African diaspora is one more form of violence added to *Post's* implicit hypocrisy when he sees only the suffering felt by white skin as truly painful and legitimate.

We cite Oliveira Neto (2015) again to show the counterpoint in the painting that portrayed the visual universe in Brazil in the 17th Century.

The oil paintings introduced by the Dutch artists also record numerically many more Blacks than Whites, but opt to ignore the subhuman conditions and mistreatment to which the enslaved Black population was submitted at that time. The violence they recorded presents itself precisely in the form of hierarchization of the cultures, where European culture configures the model for the others (OLIVEIRA NETO, 2015, p. 65- 66, our translation).

144 | The relevance of this debate about the formation of the symbolic imagery tied to the Black body can be observed in the contemporary world in other artistic fields. In contemporary Brazilian music, the demand to give greater visibility to the violence of ethnocentric representations as a factor of civilizing oppression regarding the Black *cor/po* are expressed in lyrics such as “*a dor dos judeus choca/a nossa gera piada*” (the pain of the Jews shocks while ours is the brunt of jokes), in the song “Bang!” from the album by Emicida (*O glorioso retorno de quem nunca esteve aqui*, Laboratório Fantasma, 2013).

From the dehumanization of the body or the fear announced by Fanon

Oliveira Neto’s (2015) examination of records made by “Zacharias Wagener (1614-1668) who arrived in Recife (PE) as a soldier of the West Indian Company even before Maurício de Nassau” (IDEM, p. 66), provide important evidence of the continuous physiological and phenotypical arguments, and those linked to eugenic studies in the biological and medical sciences, drawing on Darwinist ideas which strongly supported discriminatory, racist and anti-Black notions (IDEM, p. 66).

Wagener dedicated himself to recording the Black population in the majority of his paintings. In them, Black people seem to have trouble maintaining an erect posture, with short necks, elongated arms, and in many situations, their clothing is limited to pieces of cloth tied around their wastes. In this case, the absence of clothing seeks to confirm the condition of savage of the enslaved Black population, since the use of clothing not only speaks to decency, good manners and discretion, but encompasses the very civilizing process itself, from the European view (Santos, 1997 *apud* OLIVEIRA NETO, 2015, p. 66, our translation).

On our proposed path, to observe the continuity that resulted in the posters created by *Colin*, drawing parallels with the representation of Black bodies in Brazilian imagery, it is worth not losing sight of the racialization of those enslaved men, women and children, torn from their territories which were later divided up and called States to geopolitically compose the African continent. Centuries after the expeditions to the New World and these images by *Post*, *Euckhout* and *Wagener* aimed at maintaining enslavement and later colonizing Africa, Europeans and North Americans sought to sustain racism scientifically through policies of State/Nation/Empire based on theories of biological phenotypes of savages and “others” to prove the supposed inferiority of, and to objectify, the Black body.

Frantz Fanon (1925 – 1961) produced the great canon on the psyche of Black men and women challenged by the assumed White supremacy that rejects any and all diversity as strange (in relation to the norm, Whiteness), even when Black expressions come from the qualitative-quantitative majority, vested with objective, courageous, honest, self-reflective arguments. The approach of the Martinique-born Afro-Caribbean *Frantz Fanon*, is categorical

and committed to exposing racisms and Whitenesses. In his classic *“Black Skin, White Masks”*, published in the 1970s, he presents case studies, reports on medical consultations, exposes the very wounds and “clarifies the point of view that I am defending here. It proves that, **at its extreme, the myth of the Negro, the idea of the Negro, can become the decisive factor of an authentic alienation**” (FANON, 2008, p. 158; our emphasis). The conclusion of the following account about a patient in a neurotic state points to the impregnated presence of racism and the naturalized discrimination:

Even when one concedes a constitutional factor here, it is clear that her alienation is the result of a fear of the Negro, a fear aggravated by determining circumstances. Although the patient had made considerable progress, it was doubtful whether she would soon be able to resume a normal life in society. (FANON, 2008, p. 162)

Following this line of thinking, we can see violent and racist Eurocentric attitudes as being processes of alienation and extreme discomfort of cosmovisions permeated by Whiteness, above all, when they encounter Black *cor/pos* that evoke fear in them, while at the same time establishing their *negrAttitude* and absence of similarity, causing estrangement and fascination. Thus, the body of the Afro-American *Josephine*, Jazz as the syncopated heir of the African Diaspore, *Funk* from Rio de Janeiro and its debauched version, contemporary R.A.P., among other manifestations of Black, African, and Afro-descendent populations are vehicles of fear, from the abysmal cosmovision of Whiteness.

Between Representation and Representativeness

Imbued with hegemonic ethnicity and the normative standard of Whiteness, White *cor/pos* are fearful in the face of Black *cor/pos*. This is how the historicity of the White *cor/pos* in the face of the Black *cor/pos* produces wars, massacres, exterminations, the construction of racist and eugenic theories, among other processes of exploitation of non-White territories/bodies/minds. This process of fear of ethnicities promoted by Whiteness results from the appropriation of the practices and worldviews of non-White ethnicities by Whites, who then construct their own “true” representations of these groups, aiming to maintain their own hegemonic position. The representations promoted by Whiteness seek covertly to represent the other in such a way as to guarantee for themselves the false production of superiority. The paradigm of Whiteness and, its opposite/negative, the Black *cor/pos*, is intensely strange and necessary.

How do we represent people and places which are significantly different from us? Why is ‘difference’ so compelling a theme, so contested an area of representation? What is the secret fascination of ‘otherness’, and why is popular representation so frequently drawn to it? What are the typical forms and representational practices which are used to represent ‘difference’ in popular culture today, and where did these popular figures and stereotypes come from? (HALL, 1997, p. 22).

In his work entitled *“The Spectacle of the ‘Other’”*, Stuart Hall (1932-2014) confronts the questions raised at the beginning of this section and broadens the discussion further

with the questions in the above quote, bringing to mind *Colin's* lithographs from the end of the 1920s. Jamaican-born and educated in England, *Stuart Hall* built his studies based on the experience of the colonized, of the diaspora and of auto-declaration and valorization of Blackness convoked not only by his voice, which reveals lived experiences similar to those of *Fanon*, but by virtue of being an intellectual of the African diaspora, activist, university professor active in founding the Cultural Studies of England, and director of the *Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies* (CCCS) from 1968 to 1979 (HALL, 2013, p. 10); he went beyond paintings to scrutinize the images, and materialized them in bodies in movement and highlighted in the media.

Returning to our central dialogue and its link with the Visual Arts in Brazil, one notes that the apparent agency of Black women in 17th Century paintings in fact announces prescribed inequalities in the very way they are conceived and portrayed in the visual arts in the country:

As they acquire more space, the stereotyped way their bodies are represented also increases, with repeated images in which they appear subjugated, sitting or lying on the ground, resigned to their poverty, carrying out functions considered to be of lesser importance (Christo, 2009), or even semi-nude or dancing out of step, as if they had no self-control. (OLIVEIRA NETO, 2015, p. 66, our translation)

For a closer analysis and/or search for justifications for this stereotyped representation, we return to *Stuart Hall's* (1996; 2013) discussion of the collaborative conception of a post-colonial attitude, supported by elements that can contribute to this impasse between representation and representativeness.

Whereas, under the universalizing panoptic eye of the Enlightenment, all forms of human life were brought within the universal scope of a single order of being, so that difference had to be re-cast into the constant marking and re-marling of positions within a single discursive system (*différance*). This process was organized by those shifting mechanisms of 'otherness', alterity and exclusion and the tropes of fetishism and pathologisation, which were required if 'difference' was ever to be fixed and consolidated within a 'unified' discourse of *civilisation*. They were constitutive in the symbolic production of a constitutive outside [...] (HALL, 1996, p. 252; 2013, p.128).

The subordinating difference of the "other", of Blacks, was socially consolidated through paintings, photographs and spectacles. Dialoguing with the notion of the "other", unknown and thus revealing the fear that inhabits the body of he/she who does not recognize him/herself in that which is considered foreign, alien, *jeje*⁵, outsider, of the fear of the White *cor/po* which sees itself as the norm in relation to the "other", the Black *cor/po* outsider.

Oliveira Neto (2015), drawing on studies by the Black Brazilian researcher, Janaína Damasceno, writes succinctly and insightfully of the stereotypes that are born of the feelings of discomfort, exoticism, fetishism and irrationality provoked by fear.

⁵ Jeje, relative to foreign populations. In Brazil it is also the generic term for people from the ancient kingdom of Dahomey. (SOUSA JUNIOR, 2014).

The stereotypes, as Janaína Damaceno explains (2001, p. 3; emphasis in the original), have the “character of reducing, essentializing, naturalizing and fixing the difference of the Other”, as according to Hall (1997, p. 258), “it divides the normal and acceptable from the unacceptable” at the same it seeks to maintain the social and symbolic order of society. Regarding the ways Black women are represented, the stereotypes contribute to scrutinizing and classifying every part of their bodies, so as to leave no doubt just how “different” they are. Thus, specific denominations are used, such as nappy afros in place of hair, an exaggerated mouth in place of lips (Gouvêa, 2005, p. 88 *apud* OLIVEIRA NETO, 2015, p. 67, our translation).

The construction of the distance from the other, when constructing the other as the negative of how one desires to construct oneself, that is, an effort to construct a White, rational, beautiful, good, intelligent, powerful, masculine norm through the constitution and restriction of the other as ugly, pathological, animal-like, aggressive, bad, dirty. Subjectivities defined by exaggeration of the negative formed for and about the Other. Considering that the non-representativeness of ‘others’, ‘negatives’, ‘invisible’, favors the maintenance of privilege, the visible, represented with certified dignity to give access to power in its many facets (economic, political, cultural, symbolic). Power which is material, territorial, and mainly symbolic.

In the section that follows, we draw on Oliveira Neto’s (2015) discussions of *Foucault’s* writings on “apparatuses of power” to shed further light on how relations of power are reproduced.

Using fear to maintain relationships of power

In an impasse intersected by an accumulation of diverse socially discriminatory elements, we turn again to Oliveira Neto (2015) who refers to *Michael Foucault* when he writes: “this definition of ‘apparatus’ provides important theoretical elements to discuss racial relations and their intersection with gender, to argue that the changes that occurred during the 20th Century did not significantly affect the way Black women are seen and treated.” (OLIVEIRA NETO, 2015, p. 69):

[...] a thoroughly heterogeneous ensemble consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions - in short, the said as much as the unsaid. Such are the elements of the apparatus. The apparatus itself is the system of relations that can be established between these elements. Secondly, what I am trying to identify in this apparatus is precisely the nature of the connection that can exist between these heterogeneous elements. Thus, a particular discourse can figure at one time as the programme of an institution, and at another it can function as a means of justifying or masking a practice which itself remains silent, or as a secondary re-interpretation of this practice, opening out for it a new field of rationality. In short, between these elements, whether discursive or non-discursive, there is a sort of interplay of shifts of position and modifications of function which can also vary very widely. Thirdly, I understand by the term ‘apparatus’ a sort of shall we say formation which has as its major function at a given historical moment that of responding to an *urgent need*. The apparatus thus has a dominant strategic function. (FOUCAULT, 1980, p. 194-195).

Thus, that which was dressed in the guise of fear, disgust, dehumanization, violence, historical context, cultural juncture, innocent unpreparedness in the face of difference, absence of empathy for congenital heterogeneities, was – IS – nothing more than (un)conscious institutional exercise, strategic for domination; where these recognized “apparatuses of power” operate silently, often as resonant as the gunshots that exterminate our young Black men, aimed at maintaining privileges/powers, fully reproduced and, yes, activated by fear, but maintained by the comfort enjoyed by certain groups in society. So we ask: Is it better to leave the Black, as *Fanon* would say, “locked up in his body” (FANON, 1975, p. 235), or see him unleash himself from the symbolic chains, from the binding apparatuses of power, subverting the established order to produce, conquer, build fame and fortune, success, militancy, in other words, anything else understood as “freedom”, like that forged by *Josephine Baker*?

Animal-like Deform-a(c)tion

Baker made her entrance - clowning. Like a strange creature from a distant world, she walked or rather waddled in, her knees bent and spread apart. Her stomach was sucked in, her body contorted. She looked more like an animal than a human being, a weird cross between a kangaroo, a bicyclist, and machine gun. She was dressed in a torn shirt and ragged shorts. Her lips were painted large in the style of blackface. Her skin seemed to be the color of bananas. Her hair, short to begin with, looked as if it had been plastered down on her head with caviar. She screwed up her face, crossed her eyes, puffed out her cheeks, and made noises in a high-pitched voice. [...] Finally, she left the stage on all fours, legs stiff, rear end in the air, higher than her head, looking as awkward as a young giraffe (ROSE, 1989, p. 19).



Figure C

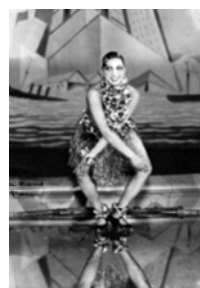


Figure D

Was it this dancer, described above, that *Josephine* dreamed of becoming when she was a child? Is this merely a comical action, deform-a(c)tion? Was she truly happy, at the peak of her fame, representing these scenes? Is it possible that *Caryl Phillips*⁶ poetic assumption, in his fictional autobiography of *Bert Williams*, might apply to *Josephine*, and that like the famous *blackface* cited, she may have also suffered from deep depression for having

⁶ *Caryl Phillips*, in his book “Dancing in the Dark”, poetically reconstructs the life of the first millionaire *blackface* in the USA, *Bert Williams*, with a sensitive portrait of depression, resistance, and victorious life of a talented Black man playing to White audiences.

characterized her own people in this joking manner? The doubt remains, in these artistic times characterized by the second enslavement of Black men and women through their theatrical performances. Weary, we ask: which is more representative, being yourself, or being who others expect you to be?

Besides the lips and the hair, their buttocks are highlighted and were, and continue to be, used: “big butts, prominent buttocks, upright behinds, fat buttocks, pushed-up rears, among others” (Braga, 2011, p. 5). If, on the one hand, these terms contribute to shape and disseminate ideas and images that confirm the supposed deformation of the female Black body, on the other hand, by emphasizing the shape and size of their hips, they attribute characteristics to this same body that accentuate the “sexual content present in them”. (Braga, 2011, p. 4, *apud* OLIVEIRA NETO, p. 67, our translation).

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The constant caricaturization of Black *cor/pos* is used here to serve the strategies of segregation and self-affirmation of the state of privilege and to safeguard pure White ideas, reproducing the horrors in the above popular expressions, controversially with the status of legitimate argument, supported by scientific sampling. For example, the physical abilities of Blacks, “moved by instincts, revealing great initiative and boundless energy”, have been studied exhaustively (Cardoso, 2005, p. 11, in: OLIVEIRA NETO, p. 73)

Attentive to this transformation of biological racism into scientific characteristics, and in answer to the last provocation, we would say that representativeness, from our 21st Century perspective, would not be the most adequate term. The difference between representation and representativeness must be questioned.

Nevertheless, considering the difficulties of social relations permeated by racism, and the accentuation of such practices in the last Century, we would easily affirm that *performance*, even in negotiation with the cultural industry, is indeed imbued with political framing when characterized as positivized representativeness, capable of presenting sincere dialogues inside the relations among subordinated subjects who do business with the mainstream, rather than simply being seen as subjugated representation at the exotic and fetishistic whims of White audiences who become the slave owners of entertainment.

Nevertheless, even when trying to approaching it from a positive perspective, when this animal-like body is exhibited to provoke laughter and to entertain, it reminds us of the horrors and cruelty experienced by *Saartjie Sarah Baartman* (1789- 1815), as pointed out by Janaína Damaceno:

In 1810, at the age of 21, Sarah was taken to London by the English surgeon William Dunlop who exhibited her in circus shows, through which she came to be known as Hottentot Venus. She remained in the English capital until 1814, when she “was sold to a French animal exhibitor and moved from the English capital to the capital of France, where she lived for one year until she died.” (DAMACENO, 2001, p. 1, our translation).



Figure E

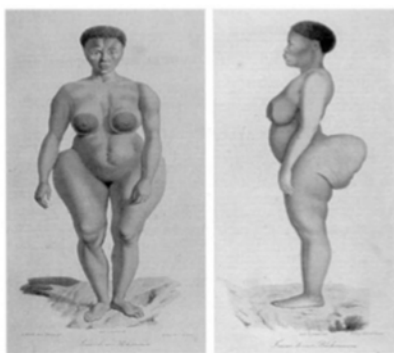


Figure F

100 years of Hottentot Venus: hyper-sexualization of the Black woman's body

In a cage, "Saartjie appeared bound in chains (nude, but with her vagina covered) and walked on all fours in a way that highlighted her behind and emphasized an animal-like nature which, at that time, tended to be attributed to sensuality" (Pellegrini, 2009 *apud* OLIVEIRA NETO, 2015, p. 68, our translation).

We cite the horrendous, violent scene described above separately, as it cannot be avoided or even neglected, in relation to our discussion of Black suffering. The situation, which reveals similarities with the prisons and psychiatric hospitals of today in Brazil, may appear distant and an obvious expression of Eurocentric racist practices. However, as Black women intellectuals, one of us an artist, we assure the reader that we continue to experience the painful results of the apparatuses that perpetuate a mistaken view of the Black female body, beyond being associated with the animal-like, like all Black bodies, pretentiously hypersexualized and purportedly controllable. Oliveira Neto notes that:

After her death, her body was dissected by the scientist George Cuvier and her genitals were put on public display at the Museum of Man in Paris until 1985 (Damaceno, 2001, p. 4). Transformed into an object, her body was used by science to construct "a concept of Blackness and of racism based on the differentiation of the female Black body considered abnormal, a deviation, in relation to the male European body" (Damaceno, 2001, p. 2), giving meaning to the concept of Whiteness. (OLIVEIRA NETO, 2015, p. 68, our translation)

The above excerpt is revealing for three reasons: first, the presence of strategies of a biological nature; second, the exoticization and objectification of the *cor/po*; and lastly, the animalization of the Black's *cor/po*, extending the condition to an entire race/ethnicity, whose bearers are the Africans and their diasporic descendants.

In addition to these apparatuses of power that appear in *Paul Colin's* posters, and other materials of representation that serve the interests of the State/Empire/Nation through the hegemony of Whiteness, other notions were contained in the sketches and paint strokes, such as ugly, bad, disgusting, childish, intellectually incompetent, innocent, grotesque and comical.

The grotesque sketches highlighting the ugliness of the characters, inscribed in the logic of this racism and in the attacks on skin color, use “the body [as] the true battleground” (Souza, 1983, p. 5), with the deliberate intention of showing how repulsive the Black body is. Thus, one of the few spaces left for them in the public sphere is that of parody and the laughable (OLIVEIRA NETO, 2015, p. 71, our translation).

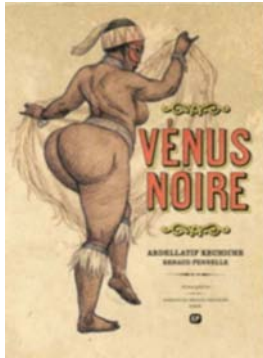


Figure G. Sarah Baartman



Figure H. Cartaz Revue Nègre

The “image of the lascivious Black woman, corrupting element of the Family order, represented in almost animal form” (Coutinho, 2010, p. 68-9 *apud* OLIVEIRA NETO, p. 67) is disseminated, supported by the idea that Black women have an insatiable sexual appetite, attracting and poisoning “the minds and bodies of men” and “complicit or somehow responsible for their own sexual exploitation” (IDEM, p. 68).

The next really stunning moment – like Baker’s first entrance – came in the last scene, set in a Harlem nightclub. There was some singing, one-stepping, tap dancing, and Josephine Baker and Joe Alex, her partner, as though performing on the stage of the nightclub, did their *Danse Sauvage* (ROSE, 1989, p. 20).

As proof of this hypersexualization, which has been maintained since before the violent excesses committed against *Sarah Baartman*, and countless other Black women in and out of the spotlight, we present one more description of a fictional scene from *Josephine’s* opening night as great star at the *Revue Nègre*. It attests to Black artists’ capacity to understand what the White audience desires and expects of them.

Fear and desire: Josephine Baker, the in-corporated aesthetic of Jazz

The black body in 20s Paris was an ideological artifact. The enthusiasm wasn’t just for art; it was for race. (ROSE, 1989, p. 43)

There is a tension in this equation, however, between the dominator(s) versus the dominated, a conflict of the colonized between allowing him/herself be dominated and creating the appearance of being dominated. Dismantling the simple analysis of Black victimization

and/or subservience, we note that the expressions of Black men and women artists are realized with full awareness of what was/is socio-culturally valued, as well as knowledge of what the audience is like, i.e. aware of the racism, discrimination, and deprecation established toward them by the consumers of their artistic products.

152 | The threshold between fear and desire represents the place of the exotic. And the specificities of this category within racism, this mechanism of domination, this apparatus of power should be shared, given its strong presence when we observe the thundering success of *Josephine*, as well as *Sarah*. Thus we refer again to *Phyllis Rose's* biography of *Baker*:

Compared with racism, exoticism is merely decorative and superficial. It doesn't build death camps. It doesn't exterminate. Exoticism cares mostly about its own amusement and tends to find differences of color amusing where racism finds them threatening. Exoticism is frivolous, hangs out in nightclubs, will pay anything to have the black singer or pianist sit at its table. [...] Exoticism grew up rich, and a little bored. The racist is hedged around by dangers, the exoticist by used-up toys. (ROSE, 1989, p. 44).

It is this consumable "toy" that *Josephine* represented in the enlightened Paris of the 20th Century, impregnated in her dance, her singing, her gestures, her way of life, the incarnate image of Blackness, that we revealed in the preceding pages, that activates deep and alienating fears of such dimensions that they are a threaten to civilization.

Here was no order, no beauty, no luxury, no calm. Josephine Baker was the high priestess of ugliness. She put her body into awful contortions, deformed her cheeks and eyes, and delighted her admirers – deluded fools who would bring about the end of European civilization. Not without a sense of humor, de Flers said he was willing to bet that she had never thought of founding a **new aesthetic based on the mobility of her rear end**. (ROSE, 1989, p. 42; our emphasis).

The phrase highlighted in the excerpt above may seem inappropriate. However, if we consider the poetic aesthetic characteristics of Afro-diasporic manifestations such as syncope, energy, muscular tone, isolation of body parts, pauses, rhythm, percussive melody, breaks, polyphony, pluralism, among other strategies, observing diverse manifestations like jazz dance, tango, funk, break-dancing, samba, swing, and funk from Rio de Janeiro, we recognize aesthetics based on Afro-descendent ways that do not attribute sinfulness to the "behind". In fact these sounds and dances originate from the hips and indeed carry artistic, poetic, aesthetic, intellectual, fictional and creative complexity. The subversion occurs when the sexualized, sensuous, caricaturized, comic forms are interpreted through the lens of difference as being strategies of resistance. Such practices act as subliminal languages where the domination of Whiteness is present but is not effective or absolute.

The gyrations of this cynical yet merry mountebank, the good-natured grin on her large mouth, suddenly give way to visions from which good humor is entirely absent. In the short *pas de deux* of the savages, which came as the finale of the *Revue Nègre*, there was a wild splendor and magnificent animality. Certain of Miss Baker's poses, back arched, haunches protruding, arms entwined and uplifted in a phallic symbol, had the compelling potency of the finest examples of Negro sculpture. The plastic sense of a race of sculptors came to life

and the frenzy of African Eros swept over the audience. It was no longer a grotesque dancing girl that stood before them, but the black Venus that haunted Baudelaire. (LEVINSON *apud* ROSE, 1989, p. 31)

The comments of the critic *Levinson* (1887 – 1933)⁷ include points that are relevant to us because they present a synthesis of the paradoxes of representation and representativeness that we have addressed throughout our proposed dialogue. They highlight the need to focus once again on the consciousness of the protagonist, which results in literal moments of subversion of socio-cultural position, as well as the political power of speech. This was exemplified when, during a visit to Buenos Aires, *Josephine Baker* used the voice allowed her by her social status and sent an “uncharacteristically angry letter back to newspapers in Paris saying that she was going to give up dancing ‘which practiced by a white woman is moral, and by a black one transgresses’” (ROSE, 1989, p. 133-4).

Final considerations

Êta nega tu é feia que parece macaquinha.
Olhei pra ela e disse: Vai já pra cozinha.
Dei um murro nela e joguei ela dentro da pia.
Quem foi que disse que essa nega não cabia?⁸

Hey nigger lady, you so ugly, look like a monkey.
I looked at her and said: go right to the kitchen.
I punched her and tossed her in the sink.
Who said this nigger didn't fit?

It has been more than five centuries of dissemination, propagation and maintenance of dehumanization, mistreatment, disgusted looks and hypersexualization of our black bodies. And yes, we use the first person now in order to activate and use subjective and emotional elements, aiming to expose a specific type of violence that is applied to an entire collective of women, almost imperceptibly, rendering it invisible.

We sought to achieve this through the lens of *Josephine Baker*, *Sarah Baartman*, *Claudia Ferreira Silva*⁹, and images in Brazilian paintings, to demonstrate the construction of the Black female body as a strategy to fulfill the needs of a society that is patriarchal, chauvinistic, hetero-normative, capitalistic, imperialistic, and oppressive of minorities (even when they are the demographic majority), and where, paradoxically, as White feminist women¹⁰ struggled

⁷ “The man who looked the hardest and most knowledgeably at Josephine Baker dancing in 1925 was the distinguished dance critic André Levinson, no fan of black dancing, indeed a man of almost flamboyant ethnocentricity in his view of art” (ROSE, 1989, p. 29).

⁸ Germano Mathias é parceiro de Doca em “Minha nega na Janela”, gravada na voz de Germano em 1956 pela Polydor. Em 1978, a composição é interpretada por Gilberto Gil em parceria com Germano em “Antologia do Samba-Choro” lançado pela Warner.

⁹ Em 16 de março de 2014, Cláudia Silva Ferreira (1976-2014) teve seu corpo de mulher negra arrastado por aproximados 350m por um carro da Polícia Militar do Rio de Janeiro enquanto era supostamente “socorrida” pela PM após ter sido alvo de tiros.

¹⁰ Vide Bell HOOKS, “Mulheres Negras: moldando a teoria feminista”...

for a more just society for women, Black women – who worked outside the home out of necessity - cleaned their houses and cared for their children, in an arrangement that sustained White privilege.

As an effective and valuable conclusion, the benefits of drawing on academic, scientific, militant, activist and artistic studies of post-colonial re-signification of history – of the discourses, representations, and memories - are obvious; studies written by researchers, men and women, who made clear where they were speaking from, and their continual efforts to fight racism, promote equal rights, and seek ethno-racial and religious respect and recognition, as well as the protest that this struggle instills to bring down hierarchies of class, race, gender and sexual diversity, and subvert pre-established protagonisms¹¹, as described by Janaína Damaceno (2001), Amanda Braga (2011) and Rosane da Silva Borges (2012).

Nomes como os de Luiza Bairros, Beatriz Nascimento, Lélia Gonzalez, Sueli Carneiro, Edna Roland, Jurema Werneck, Nilza Iraci e Matilde Ribeiro, entre outros, ganham notoriedade “contribuindo para o aprofundamento dos debates internos sobre a importância de se pensar gênero articulado ao pertencimento racial, apontando que racismo e sexismo devem ser trabalhados juntos” (Rodrigues, 2013, p. 3, *apud* OLIVEIRA NETO, p. 78).

To this list we add *bell hooks*, *Angela Davis*, *Maya Angelou*, Luaciane O. Rocha and reaffirm the importance of knowing the canon of anti-racist studies written from Black perspectives, such as *Frantz Fanon*, *Stuart Hall* and many others, including *Appiah*, *Diop*, *Munanga*, CUTI.

The verses of the song at the beginning of this section express the importance of considering the historical context. Nowadays, politicized people and the pressures of Black movements would likely prevent the propagation of racist artistic objects. However, this does not prevent an entire contingent of people from continuing to maintain systems, gestures, epistemes, sayings and other devices and acts that collaborate to perpetuate Black anti-body racism.

Racism is still vastly reproduced and transmitted through visual, media, auditory, written, discursive and artistic representations in broad sectors of Brazilian society, despite having arrived at an historical moment when we should have moved beyond such Eurocentric judgments.

We return to using the first person to affirm our desire for a “full existence” of Black bodies like our own and those of other women who declare themselves Black. We want psychological complexity of the Black characters in shows/artistic performances and in all forms of artistic-discursive-media representation, among other languages. And above all, we respect and struggle for equal access to socio-cultural products in our society. The appeal for empowerment, positivation and autonomy clamored for in this article denies conciliation precisely because of all the problematization realized to this point.

¹¹ “Protagonismos preestabelecidos”: neste texto relacionam-se com os cargos de poder e acesso a profissões permeados por uma expectativa não-expressa, mas impregnada no imaginário social com determinações do tipo: médicos são sempre homens brancos, enquanto faxineiras são sempre mulheres negras e/ou não-brancas.



Figure 1

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TUCUJÚ NARRATIVES IN THE MIDDLE OF THE WORLD: BODY USE ON THE AMAZON BORDER¹

Ana Cristina de Paula Maués Soares²

Francisca de Paula de Oliveira³

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ABSTRACT

This paper was developed from the experiences lived by lesbian women who work as sex workers in the city of Oiapoque considering the relationship, established in 2008, with managers of public policy and organized civil society. We seek to conduct a reflection of the narratives to understand the complaints about the adverse effects of public policies on health actions implemented in the municipality. The “Operação Turé”, a partnership between the Government of Amapá, the Brazilian Air Force, the NGO named GHATA (Grupo das Homossexuais Thildes do Amapá) and the Federal University of Amapá (UNIFAP), was taken as an empirical analysis milestone. By the interpretation of the empirical data, we observed how these women perceive themselves in conflict with public policy managers. The methodology included the application of forms and open interviews with significant actors of the mentioned municipality on the emphasized theme.

KEYWORDS

Public policy; sex workers; Oiapoque; GHATA.

Introduction

In this article we analyze experiences of the “sex workers” in the border regions - Brazil and France - based on narratives of women who identify themselves as lesbian, and their inclusion in the scope of health public policies, which culminated in a conflict of interests.

Initially, a brief presentation of the non-governmental organization named GHATA is exposed, which arises in the Amapá society as a main actor whose purpose is to build jointly with one another, in this case with the lesbian prostitutes in the city of Oiapoque. The GHATA representative points out that the experiences of women who work as prostitutes are shared in the group. The GHATA group develops a work in defense of human rights, striving to build partnerships with managers of public policies and other social institutions in the city of Macapá.

¹ Paper presented by the WG “Usos do corpo; comportamentos e quotidianos pós-gênero como estratégias de agenciamento” at the Fifth International Congress on Cultural Studies: Gender, Human Rights and Activisms.

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Those women who contributed with the gathered information in this article carry out their activities in different places, public and private. We identified some of these places such as cabarets which function in bars, nightclubs, and in the central square of the municipality. The choice of these places is related to the fact that the affiliated lesbians of the GHATA group had some contacts in the referred territory.

From the empirical research held in this border city, the Amazon region, strategies and approaches used by GHATA's leaders to establish dialogue with the "Oiapoque girls" were observed. They gradually evidenced the problems that aroused due to the exercise of the profession. During this research, the inclusion in the empirical field was through the sensitization process. The presence of the Anti-Homophobia Reference Center (Portuguese: *Núcleo de Referência Anti-Homofobia* - NRAH) Coordinator of UNIFAP helped in this process.

How it all began is present in the investigated narratives. According to reports of women who work as prostitutes, the county of "Oiapoque is the result of corruption of gold miners and hookers". It is understood that the relationship network established between gold miners and prostitutes gives the tone to the social order in which men and women live, constrained by gold mining. These women, gradually, put themselves in this relation in the following way: "During the time, our bodies were used as a space for recreation; and the gold mining was the space of production".

Amapá, regarding the binational border, has always been linked to conflicts in which power relations with France prevail, thereby, such relationships redirect the behavior of individuals and interfere with the ways of subjectivity, triggering debates and controversies about prostitution.

Since this study also involves the dimension of gender social relations - that occur both in private and in the public sphere, responsible for the existing asymmetries in the places occupied by men and women in social life - we used the Critical Theory of Joan Scott (1993). This theory elaborates on gender as a relational analysis category, highlighting the power relations, political organization and social subject.

Next we will present the structure of the article into three parts: in the first part we look to trace the struggle of the LGBT movement in Amapá, using as an empirical reference the GHATA NGO; in the second part we exhibit speeches of social actors involved, the main points that outline the subjectivities of lesbians tucujús in this border region; and in the third part, the final considerations giving voice to lesbians who work as "sex workers" in the border region - Brazil and France.

In contemporary times, it is common to hear great debates about the Amazon, many authors dealing with this issue seem concerned about the fate of the region, which ends up feeling as if the Amazon is a thing or an evaluative object. Thus, in addition to the discussion of issues that, on one hand, reflect the environmental issue, global warming, and specific aspects of economic development of this region of the planet, on the other hand, there are theorists that seem concerned with human development of the people who live there.

Facing this debate, Amapá⁴ seems invisible because, despite being one of the states of the Amazon region that enchants for its historical peculiarities, geographical location, bio-

⁴ Geographical location: South - Amazon River (Macapá); West - Jarí River (Laranjal do Jarí); East - Atlantic Ocean; North - French Guiana (Oiapoque River and Tumucumaque National Park). It is worth mentioning that the city of Macapá is the only city in Brazil cut by the Equator imaginary line. This specific characteristic of Amapá leads to

logical diversity, percentage of protected areas, this region also hides the violation of human rights, however, it is normally assumed that whole region is marked by many conflicts of interest (RÜCKERT, A.; CAMPOS, H. A.; SUPERTI, E.; PORTO, J. L. R, 2014) arising from power relations (FOUCAULT, 1997).

In this scenario, a fact that calls attention refers to the violation of human rights by public policy managers. This state seems to have more committed to political agreements that emphasize and enhance international investors⁵ rather than efforts to promote public policies for its population such as: children, teenagers and young people; traditional and LGBT women; Indigenous people; African descendants - black and maroons; migrants; fishermen and fisherwomen; disabled people; homeless and incarcerated.

However, social dissatisfaction is silenced in front of rhetorical and ideological discourses that come together with iconic slogans such as: “The Amapá entrepreneur”, “Amapá: Feet in the present and looking to the future”. This last slogan seems to point to a future that is distant to what Amapá’s population so badly needs at the present. In this context, some differentiation indicators such as gender, sexual orientation, violation of human rights, and discrimination should be highlighted as leading exponents.

Concerning these Amazonian women, it is clear that when these managers intervene in the ways of subjectivity they emphasize negative aspects, so that “sex workers”, when stigmatized and violated, are taken to act on their own, in defense of their life. In addition, this article also highlights the relevance of Tucujú⁶ subjectivity, emphasizing the universe of practices and social representations that involve their sexuality.

In this Amazonian culture scenario, speeches are made to neutralize the participation of these “sex workers” from the benefits to which they have rights. To avoid misunderstanding, it is worth noting that these women are rights holders who want respect and want to be treated with such. However, they show, in a higher or lower degree, the discomfort of being thrown into the different⁷ roll. By understanding that, because of their subjective singularity and the work that they do, the difference produces inequality. In this sense, we found strong narratives about violation of rights, lack of public policies, negative conceptualizations about prostitution, and assigning marginality regarding the activity they perform.

the period in which it was a Federal Territory. With the promulgation of the 1988 Constitution, the then territory is transformed into state. Following the modernity rhythm, this new state seems to arise committed only to the “economic policy” at the expense of the “social” and “cultural”. Moreover, Amapá faced the challenge of leaving the protection of the Federal Government to promote, autonomously, economic development, the base of which is seated in the extractive, industrial and commercial activities, and administrative services.

⁵ The *Jarí Celulose* manufacturing facility was a pulp mill, as well as other materials. The ICOMI was a mining company that explored iron ore and manganese mining.

⁶ Name of the indigenous people of Tupi origin that inhabited the Macapá region, and also refers to Amapá’s population.

⁷ Among the different are those who are tolerable and others that are intolerable; depending on the developed action and the roles played, the different are rated as tolerable or intolerable. Affirmative policies that arise in the Lula Government are also called tolerance policies. Narratives of the conference: “*Although you are woman, black, indigenous, and with special needs, I tolerate you*”; “*But you as part of the LGBTT movement, that’s asking too much, I cannot stand you*”... This was evident when, at the time of the 1st Statewide Conference, a representative of Oiapoque asked to speak and blurted out: “*You are not kicked out home for being poor, for being a woman, black, etc., but for being LGBT*”.

GHATAS! YES SIR: the subversion of identity

160 | Initially, we intend to present how partnerships with the GHATA group were established, based on the relationship with the representative of the Anti-Homophobia Reference Center (NRAH) of the Federal University of Amapá in 2007. There was talk about leadership by the militants of the GHATA group, during the 1st Lesbian, Gays, Bisexuals and Transsexuals Conference (LGBT⁸), of the State of Amapá, moment on which it was appropriate to establish dialogues with the representatives of the Amapá LGBT segment. The delegations of the 16 municipalities that make up this state attended the Conference.

Then, during the realization of the Conference, to make a brief assessment of the events, we observed weakness in the relationship of social actors that were present, since they were representing leaders of gays, bisexuals, transvestites and transsexuals. By participating effectively in the organizing committee, a larger approximation of social actors represented there was possible. So, other leaders were questioned regarding the reasons of lack of women and lesbian representation, in that historical context, since it was considered that the guarantees of the rights claimed there would only be ensured if there was a collective action, a joint struggle. Thus, the information of the refusal of lesbian participation in the Conference was received with disappointment.

However, for the first time, sexual orientation was being linked to a right, but even so, it was possible to see during the National Conference, a specific type of irrational stubbornness of the LGBT segment, as some individual interests were trying to override the collective interests. During the days that the National Conference took place the LGBTT community appeared to be in a state of grace, that is, a state of collective spirit which surfaced repeatedly during that historical moment.

Thus, during the conference, in the moments leading up to the debates, speakers and representatives of the delegations of RJ (Rio de Janeiro) and RS (Rio Grande do Sul) referred to the “Thildes”⁹ of Amapá, considering them as a good example of civil organization, which over more than a decade, although in an incipient way, fought for the rights of these minorities. There, it was also possible to recognize the NGO led by the *Thildes*, legally called GHATA¹⁰.

However, in a type of society such as Amapá, it is complicated to find people with availability and interest in working the legal grounds that support the understanding of the rights to sexual dignity of the actors represented by each acronym letter LGBTT, since, these movements are marked by stigma and violence, which often occurs in a “symbolic” way, according to Bourdieu (2003), oppressing smoothly and invisibly people who transgress the established heteronormative standard.

The groups that fight for the exercise of full citizenship in Amapá try to break the invisibility imposed by those who rely on archaic and burdened values of prejudice. It is in this bias that the desire to supplant values like these function as a kind of “leverage” that unlocks

⁸ The objective of this 1st Statewide GLBTT Conference: “to open paths and guarantees for the exercise of full citizenship of Amapá GLBTT community.”

⁹ Name given to the Amapá lesbians. According to information from representatives of these Lesbians, the origin of the name derives from Matilde, a lady, owner of a bar that welcomed the young lesbians when they were expelled by their families. The place became known as the home of the Thildes. In honor of this lady, the representatives of the lesbians created, in 2001, the NGO named GHATA.

¹⁰ Thildes of Amapá Gay Group (Portuguese: Grupo das Homossexuais Thildes do Amapá).

the struggle for recognition of sexual diversity in the Amapá society. For this reason, there are only a few people who are willing to play this role.

Upon this, the NRAH received, not infrequently, invitations of the representatives of the civil society, who worked with human rights, to create partnerships, which were important and appropriate to approach the core coordination with representatives of the GHATA group. All of this was a key to open up a space for dialogue with Ivana¹¹, one of the representatives of the Thildes lesbians, absent in the National and State Conferences.

However, despite all this, we understand that such an approach was fundamental to build up new social partnerships with those civil society representatives, as it seemed to be an opportunity to clarify many curiosities such as: why was the GHATA group countersigned by two lecturers at the National Conference? Why do they recognize themselves as Thildes? What are the guidelines of the NGO that they represent? Was there a political unit in that group? How were they organized and clustered? After all, what was sought to be understood at first was how the LGBTT segment acted, especially when faced with speeches burdened by three watchwords: *naturalization*, *universalization* and *perpetuation* in the state of Amapá. Did this segment follow a national guidance? To answer these questions, these representatives reported and presented fragments of their actions in the struggle for human rights throughout their careers as activists of the cause.

A few times GHATA's leaders left evident the discontentment towards the leaderships of the Amapá gay movement. The analysis of the gay movement leaders was formed in criticism of chauvinism. On the other hand, Ivana herself was the first to recognize the unequal power relations between gays and lesbians, which hampered the joint efforts in favor of the recognition of LGBT rights. This issue was the access way to create an understanding concerning the specific context of unequal gender relations production.

In this sense, the understanding of gender by Scott is useful since he conceives this concept as social relations between men and women, culturally constructed and established from anatomical differences between gender, which defines and establishes the male and female: "*gender is an constitutive element of social relations based on perceived differences between the sexes, and gender is a first way of signifying the social relations of power*" (SCOTT, 1993: 86). The author also points out that her analytical proposal fits in the examination of other categories such as social class and race, but warns that studies along these lines requires, from the intellectuals, the commitment to socially excluded segments, called "social minorities"¹², which is not always due to lack of parity between the three categories: "*the litany 'class, race and gender' suggests a parity between the three terms, but actually they do not have an equal status*". While the "class" category has its foundation in the Marxist theory (...), "race" and gender do not carry similar associations (SCOTT, 1993:73).

Summing up, it can be stated as follows: chauvinism is also embodied in homosexual relations, given that if the gay movement reproduces gender discrimination, the LGBT group

¹¹ Ivana Maria Antunes Moreira, legal representative of GHATA, said the refusal to participate in the said Conference came from a collective decision of all the NGO members. She also alleged difficulty of dialogue with representatives of the Association of Gays and Transvestites of Amapá (Portuguese: Associação dos Gays e Travestis do Amapá - AGTAP). It is worth noting that the GHATA group is sympathetic to the Senator João Capiberibe and his wife, the Congresswoman Janet Capiberibe; The AGTAP group is sympathetic to the current Governor Waldez Góes. It is clear that tackling these two groups lock to maintain political empowerment.

¹² Social minorities are social groups that were on the margins of society, and minorities in power structures.

takes a step back from the construction of LGBT citizens. In the wake of this understanding we saw multiple attempts to build policies that recognize these identities, which led to unravel the historical events leading up to the first Amazon Lesbian Institution, which began the struggle to secure the sexual diversity rights in Amapá.

162 | According to the information of women leaders, in the seventies, inside the then territory, it was compromising to emerge or bring out your sexual orientation. Thus, lesbians in Amapá created codes to communicate, protecting themselves from danger, a characteristic of the dictatorial period since the classical patriarchal organization that provides and guides secularly both sexes, settled in the Amazon region under form of domination (ÁLVARES, 1994).

Later, with the process of political opening and democratization of the country, it is possible to evaluate more forcefully in the LGBT view, because, in certain public places, it was possible to hold meetings. So, Thildes who gathered in ghettos began to find in bars and nightclubs favorable spaces to reconstruct new identities.

However, even with the advances of the democratization process and new LGBT socializing spaces, the Amapá society still stigmatized and condemned homosexuality in the 1990s; context responsible for the departure of lesbians of their original location in search of survival opportunity. So they go to the border towns such as Oiapoque and Laranjal do Jarí, just like the gold miners, location of mineral exploration - Serra do Navio; free trade zones - Santana (the harbor area).

Body use in the border region

The municipality of Oiapoque is located in the northern Brazilian Amazon and is limited to the north of French Guiana. It is originated from the address of a mixed-race, called Emile Martinic, which was initially termed as “Martinica” and transformed into territory in 1907 with the purpose of demarcating the Brazilian territory because of the Franco-Brazilian defense (National Confederation of Municipalities of Brazil).

However, the origin concept of this municipality changes in the speech of informants, the sex workers. Contradicting the official story of the emergence of this municipality, they report that it “[...] was born of corruption located around a gold mine”, and gathered gold-diggers and women, “us, whores”¹³. It is also noteworthy that mining represents the space of production and those women’s bodies represent, in this context, a place for recreation.

In this manner, the term “sex workers” is a modern appellation. In Brazil, it emerges as a political category that gives legitimacy to this occupation, and enables the empowerment of women prostitutes. However, it is known that their permanence is assured in the Brazilian Classification of Occupation Code (Portuguese: *Código de Classificação Brasileira de Ocupação*), since in Brazil prostitution is not considered a crime. Nonetheless, the multiple dimensions of social reality in Oiapoque, regarding the occupation of prostitution, involves third-party agency, making this activity illegal under Brazilian law (PAZZINI, 2014).

¹³ Narratives collected with lesbians who work as sex workers in the city of Oiapoque (26/27 of August of 2008). During the occasion of the Human Rights Conversation Circle (Portuguese: Roda de Conversa sobre Direitos Humanos). At the time, they questioned the following: “*human rights for whom, if we live every day with violence*”?

Then, on August 25th of 2008, the Operation “Turé”¹⁴ occurred in the city of Oiapoque, which turned out to be a partnership between the State Government and the Brazilian Air Force (Portuguese: *Força Aérea Brasileira* - FAB), and had the main objective to promote health care for the local population, between 26 and 30 of August of 2008. As part of this operation, services were provided in the medical specialties of gynecology, orthopedics, pediatrics, dentistry, medical clinic and general surgery and, since FABs medical staff had developed a new technique to identify gynecological problems and could diagnose sexually transmitted diseases on the same day - which usually took 15 to 20 days - there was the proper place to perform this technique.

As Ivana, representative of GHATA, participated in the Women’s Health Council (Portuguese: *Conselho de Saúde da Mulher*), she was convened to participate in the operation. Her role would be to mobilize lesbian women who work as sex workers in Oiapoque. The Federal University of Amapá, through NRAH, was invited to contribute to the process of mobilizing and sensitizing those women who disbelieved the public policy managers.

During the implementation of this joint action, GHATA and NRAH representatives visited sex workers homes, their work spaces such as bars and clubs, as well as the streets. This first contact was marked by mistrust and disbelief by the sex workers concerning the performance of public health agencies.

However, to create a more favorable climate for dialogue, local public executives were requested to grant a neutral space for the realization and awareness, being given a room at the Museum of Indigenous Peoples (Portuguese: *Museu dos Povos Indígenas*), where they managed to gather about 10 women and initiated the activities proposed in the *Operação Turé*.

During the debate on human rights, what drew most attention was the fact that there were, at that moment, contradictory discourses: the Brazilian Air Force, concerning the cleansing and hygiene, raised the interpretation as if the sex workers were responsible for spreading STDs & AIDS in the municipality.

On the other hand, the speeches of GHATA group and NRAH highlighted human rights as an alternative to better public policies access, particularly health. Even though it was made clear that they would be entitled to special services concerning health, many still disbelieved that possibility. But still, there was interaction between the various subjects involved in the action by talking about human rights, addressing issues such as the use of condoms and the need to periodically take the HIV¹⁵ test. From that moment, with access to an open dialogue space these women seemed to regain lost credibility. It was through a conversation circle on the subject which brought to us the possibility of listening to life experiences and cases of violation of these women’s rights. The phrase with most impact was: **“The power is in the hands of one who shoots the first bullet of the gun”!**

Regarding this problematic context in which Oiapoque faces, it is proven that many of the “sex workers” that live there are lesbians. These women, most of the time, support their partners, coming from broken homes, fleeing the violence of their former partners.

¹⁴ Indigenous dance.

¹⁵ The Health Secretary of Oiapoque transmitted a cause that concerned us regarding a survey that was held in the city. Out of 200 people examined, 20 were HIV-positive. This called our attention to the gravity of the situation in this municipality. This index is worrisome, since there does not exist a public policy for the effective care of this population, which would make the numbers much smaller than those presented.

Finally, this joint action - UNIFAP / GHATA / Health Department / Aeronautics - enabled the opening of dialogue between government executives, social movements and the Federal University in the extreme north of Brazil. Revisiting this reality, it was found that few changes have occurred concerning public health policies.

The sex workers are still in a situation of social vulnerability, especially when their clients refuse to pay for the service. Some said that, in this case, they search for the local police station to press charges; however, they also face the negligence of the station manager who, in addition to ignoring the reports of these women, often threatens them. In another situation, when it came to a foreign customer, the same station manager charged fees and let him cross the border. All this expresses the violation of human rights of women working as sex workers in this border region.

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NOTES ON A GAUCHO SCANDAL: THE MARRIAGE BETWEEN TWO WOMEN AT A GAUCHO TRADITIONS CENTRE (CENTRO DE TRADIÇÕES GAUCHO - CTG)¹

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ABSTRACT

This article is an excerpt of a Master's degree dissertation, which looked at civil union partnerships among non-heterosexual couples in a widely broadcast online Brazilian newspaper - the "*Folha de São Paulo*" [The São Paulo Paper]. In this excerpt we focus on a homophobic event that took place in the city of Santana do Livramento, Rio Grande do Sul, which culminated in the burning down of a Gaucho Traditions Centre (CTG), a place of worship and where certain traditions are restored and are reinvented, combining them and building them as if part of the culture of this region, usually designated as Gaucho culture. What was pointed out as being the catalyst to the occurrence was the announcement that a non-heterosexual union was to be celebrated at this CTG. This announcement caused great tension in traditionalistic wings of the Santanense society, causing this violent reaction, which echoed across both regional and national media. Two events reported in the "*Folha de São Paulo*" are being discussed in order to analyse the tension between a culture that is deeply marked by heteronormativity (the Gaucho culture) and the possibility of celebrating a marriage between two women in a place that has such a heterosexual representation of masculinity. This representation is based on the expectation of a heterosexual masculinity, whilst at the same time, repelling, expelling, denying, repudiating and rather erasing any other non-heterosexual sexualities. To retell the event that we have used as basis to the development of this study, we set out the concepts of identity, culture and representation proposed by Cultural Studies, according to Stuart Hall (1997) and that of heteronormativity, as used by Guacira Louro (2004; cf. Butler, 1999).

KEYWORDS

Gaucho masculinity; heteronormativity; regional culture; homophobia.

Notes on "the Gaucho culture"

Rio Grande do Sul (RS) is the southernmost State of Brazil, which borders Argentina and Uruguay. In 1835 the State gave rise to a separatist conflict called the Ragamuffin War (Portuguese: *Guerra dos Farrapos* or, more commonly known as *Revolução Farroupilha*),⁵ which envisaged independence from the then Brazilian Empire. This did not happen given that the move was stifled. However, remnants of this dissident intention do still echo in the current regional discourse. This quest for independence, which ended up not occurring, is therefore

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⁵ Also known as the "Ragamuffin War", the revolution was a regional conflict of a Republican nature, fought by the State against the Brazilian Imperial Government. It lasted 10 years, having ended in 1845.

often associated with a Gaucho identity, established in representations that highlight values, such as “bravery”, “manliness”, “virility” and heterosexuality, qualities that lend a peculiar - heterosexual, “rustic”, “countryman” and manly masculinity, to the RS Gaucho figure. It is worth mentioning that the Gaucho figure is established as a typical character of both countryside and pampas landscapes of Southern Brazil, Uruguay and Argentina.

166 | However, over time, peculiar meanings have been given to the Gaucho term: in Rio Grande do Sul, for example, it has become the ethnics of its natives, in addition to being a reference to a cult identity that is exercised throughout the State. The Gaucho figure is heterosexuality incontestable, represented by clothing, costumes, dances and customs that emphasise the characteristics configured as regional, put into the spotlight, in particular since 1945, when in RS, regional cultural movements emerge. These groups began to give prominence to a country-landowner past, recounting it in an idealised manner, as highlighted by the Rio Grande do Sul historian Mário Maestri (2003).

The organisation of a first Gaucho Traditions Centre (CTGs) dates back to 1946 and was coordinated by the sons and daughters of landowners. This initiative derived from the creation of a Gaucho Traditions Department, in a then traditional Gaucho secondary school, the Julio de Castilhos College⁶, located in the capital city of the State of Rio Grande do Sul, Porto Alegre. One of the students attending this school, Paixão Cortes, who was later consecrated as an important militant of the cultural Gaucho reinvention, was one of the founders of this Centre, which was named “35 CTG”, so as to mention the year of said Revolution (1835). From hence on, a series of other CTGs were created, initially within the State, and later in the country and even in other countries, following emigration from RS inhabitants to countries such as Spain, Portugal and others.

It is important to note that, over time, CTGs have become spaces of materialisation of the regional culture of Rio Grande do Sul, where the practice and reiteration of a particular identity towards the Gaucho takes place. Such spaces are linked to another major regionalist institution, the Traditionalist Gaucho Movement, MTG, created in order to centralise the content and aesthetics that represent the regional Gaucho culture. The content and rules of this movement are a mandatory reference to all CTGs and operate in the aforementioned reinvention of the Gaucho, from the consecration of a set of identities and representations of heteronormativity built upon political clashes, literary representations, social practices and cultural traditions that have been waged over time.⁷ We argue that through the Gaucho persona and its customs, and the manner in which this is portrayed by such institutions, a specific representation of being a man is imposed, based on an expectation of heterosexuality: the Gaucho male must be manly and must, above all, enter in and conform to an ideal of masculinity that is not flexible, that is strict and entrenched within the mandatory norm of heterosexuality.

⁶ Honoured by the college, Júlio Prates de Castilhos he was a Gaucho journalist and politician. He ruled Rio Grande do Sul in the late nineteenth century, where he became known as the Leader of Positivism. He was Director of “The Federation” newspaper between 1884 and 1889. He died in October 1903.

⁷ Many Brazilian writers, such as José de Alencar (“The Gaucho”, 1870), and South Rio Grande writers, such as Simoes Lopes Neto (“Gauchesque Tales”, 1912) and Erico Verissimo (“The Continent”, 1949), all focused on the Gaucho history, having thus also recreated it. This content can be found at the MTG library, which regards it as being the official story regarding South Rio Grande.

The values and principles outlined by the MTG, cultured at CTGs gained the respect of the Rio Grande do Sul society, despite the conservative stands that characterise the same. The history and culture of Rio Grande do Sul have thus received special attention on behalf of MTGs and CTGs, being thus retold by these and materialised into practices that make the people of Rio Grande do Sul loyal to a given invented tradition. Once again, we stress that an expectation of heterosexuality is strongly maintained by this culture, who paid little attention to the female figure until the late 40s (Dutra, 2002), although, today, among traditionalists, women are represented as key elements in maintaining the values and customs cultured by them, given that they are held responsible taking care of the home and raising children. Incidentally, this tradition has given birth to the figures “prenda”⁸ and “peão” [the gift and the pawn]. The “prenda” [gift] is the woman endowed with qualities, such as kindness and sensitivity, whilst the “peão” [pawn] is the male nineteenth century Gaucho⁹, the pastoralist and manly warrior. It was only from 1949 that the Ragamuffin traditionalism incorporated the female figure. The gift is thus born from the pawn. The figure of the gift arises out of the need to articulate with the figure of the pawn, the male predominant, these therefore complementing each other. In fact, such identities - as are the “Gaucho pawn” and the “Gaucho gift” - connect and complement each other precisely through mandatory heterosexuality. A “pawn” is intended to spouse “a gift” in a heterosexual union that will be the family core. Under the Gaucho culture that is being analysed, both the “pawn” as well as the “gift” are mandatorily heterosexual, and the traditions of this culture (that materialise within Gaucho Tradition Centres) act towards preserving and maintaining such normalising and normalised sexuality.

With the knowledge that traditionalist views operate in the transmission of values and principles, and that the worship of a Gaucho traditionalism still echoes in postulate representations within institutions organised around the cult of tradition, how can one imagine that a marriage ritual between two people of the same sex could ever be performed at a Gaucho Traditions Centre?

Notes about a fire

On September 13, 2014 a collective wedding event of 28 couples took place at the Gaucho Traditions Centre (CTG) Sentinelas do Planalto, located in the city of Santana do Livramento, Rio Grande do Sul. Among these couples, one was formed by two women. The announcement of this event caused plenty of tension between conservative groups of the Gaucho culture, in particular as regards those who attended or were supporters of the traditions of the CTG’s. In the dawn of September 11, 2014, two days before the ceremony, the CTG was set on fire.

⁸ The term means “object that is given to someone as a treat; a pampering, a gift, a present; a skill, ability and/or knowledge in any field of activity; predicate, quality, dowry”. Definition taken from the virtual Michaelis dictionary. Available at: <http://michaelis.uol.com.br/moderno/portugues/index.php?lingua=portugues-portugues&palavra=prenda>. Accessed on: 23/09/2015.

⁹ The term means “good rider, good pampas; rural worker, at the estates”⁹, thus representing the Gaucho warrior, the shepherd provider of the nineteenth century”. Definition taken from the virtual Michaelis dictionary. Available at: http://michaelis.uol.com.br/moderno/portugues/definicao/peao%20_1017958.html. Accessed on: 23/09/2015.

One must note that no other CTG on the border town had agreed to perform this ceremony, because this would involve the marriage of two women. The reason for such refusal was based on the denial of non-heterosexual sexuality within the traditionalist movement. A state of great tension emerged due to the understanding that this would be defying traditions that encompass a set of values articulated towards a setting of gender relations guided by mandatory heterosexuality.

As shown in Figure 1, the newspaper *Folha de São Paulo* reported the event, as follows:

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Figure 1: reproduction of the article published by the *Folha de São Paulo* newspaper, advertising the fire at the CTG Sentinelas do Planalto.

The article shown in Figure 1 announces the fire at the Santanense CTG. In the text, statements made by the president of the city's traditionalist association (also advisor of the MTG), Rui Rodrigues, and by the person responsible for the torched CTG, Gilbert Gisler, were transcribed. The first named stated that "This gay marriage falls outside of our reality. Our goal has always been to maintain the traditional family. What is happening is a change", thus linking the idea of "change" in a tradition to the joining of two women - which indicates that such tradition aims towards maintaining the heterosexual sexuality. The quote made by Rodrigues was followed by that of Gisler, who evoked an article of the main regulatory document of the MTG, stating "to be honouring Article 9 of the Charter of Principles of the Traditionalist Gaucho movement¹⁰: to fight for the human rights related to freedom, equality and humanity". It should therefore be noted that a worsening in the dispute over the meaning of the very tradition on which is based the Gaucho culture: on the one hand, there is the voice of "legitimate" tradition, embodied by the President of the traditionalist association in the city of Santana do Livramento, who reinforces "to maintain the traditional family" (i.e., heterosexual); on the other hand, we have the voice of the person responsible for the torched CTG, also legitimate enunciator of the values of the Gaucho tradition, who evokes the principle of Human Rights (absorbed and incorporated into the Charter of Principles of the Gau-

¹⁰ Approved at the VIII Traditionalist Congress in July 1961, in the city of Taquara, RS, the "Charter of Principles" is an official MTG document that sets forth the principles of the movement.

cho Traditionalist Movement), so as to defend the undertaking of the marriage ceremony between two women at the CTG.

Rodrigues, in his statement, demonstrates the tension when faced with what could represent the acceptance by CTG of a marriage ritual between two people of the same gender. Quoting the centre's objective "to maintain the traditional family", the MTG counsellor justifies its denial, showing the heteronormative force that structures such institution, in which tradition is closely linked to mandatory heterosexuality. Despite Article IX of the MTG Charter stating that one should fight for human rights, for freedom and equality, as invoked by Gisler, one can, in the words of Rodrigues, see the characteristic Gaucho inflexibility that makes all non-heterosexual sexuality non-viable. It is worth noting that both Gisler as Rodrigues are guided by the rules of that institution, however it is evident that the understanding of the second is that marriage between two women is a "change", a perversion, a deviation. Thus, freedom and equality to be defended by Article IX, on the understanding of Rodrigues, do not refer to these subjects.

The matter is further illustrated by the image of what remains of the CTG after the fire. Wooden wreckage and a lot of ash indicate the destruction of the Traditions Centre Building. The ashes represent the destruction, not only of the physical CTG space, but also of the possibility of a marriage between two women taking place there, which would ruin or to the very least, challenge, the mandatory heterosexual Gaucho identity - both of the "pawns" as well as the "gifts". They represent, above all, the destruction of the threat to heteronormative stability worshiped by traditionalist culture in these centres, which strongly reacts against the risk of maintaining masculinity.

As has been mentioned earlier, the prohibition of marriage between two persons of the same gender in the CTG had the support of the MTG spokesmen and of traditionalist representatives - although the official representative of the CTG Sentinelas do Planalto having enlisted the very principles of the Traditionalist Movement, so as to defend the union between the two women. However, as shown in the news bulletin below, published in that same newspaper, the ceremony took place a few days after the malicious event. The Santana do Livramento Forum was the chosen space for the event. Holding the ceremony in a laicised space, that is Republican, where justice is exercised (the Forum), legitimises the union between the two women, thus opposing the fire event, which represented the repudiation of marital unions of non-heterosexual people. In the Forum space, secular legality of the union between the two women is materialised, while exercising citizenship. It is of importance to note that elements of regional culture, such as men and women's clothing, as well as the flag of the State of Rio Grande do Sul, were placed in the space marking it as a "Gaucho" space. The article shown below demonstrates this integration:



Figure 2: reproduction of the content of the *Folha de São Paulo* newspaper that reports the undertaking of a marriage between two women in Santana do Livramento / RS.

The article announces the undertaking of the ceremony at the city Forum. It reports the controversy that arose regarding this event, which resulted in the burning down of the CTG. It also shows the statement made by one of the bride's, who admits to "having been a little scared" of going forward with the ceremony, given the tension caused by the criminal offence, only days before. It also draws the attention to the maintenance of traditionalist elements, despite the marriage having been held in an area other than the CTG. The publication also mentions the participation of Gilberto and Deise Gisler (person responsible for the burnt-down CTG) at the ceremony, who both appear wearing the traditional costumes. In addition, there is report that to the side of the Rio Grande do Sul flag, the rainbow banner was also laid out, this being a symbol of the LGBT community (lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender).

Maintaining the elements of regional culture, such as "mixing the flags" in the marriage ceremony demonstrates the incorporation of a non-heterosexual wedding into the Gaucha culture, which opened to other forms of sexuality in this emblematic case of cultural hybridisation (Canclini, 2008). However, despite representing a major shift in heteronormativity, which is the basis of traditional Gaucha culture, in analysing the image one can also see its reiteration. The bride, who is to the left side of the image wears a suit, a typical male attire. Whereas, the bride to the right, is shown in a white dress, a typical feminine attire for this type of ceremony. Such ways of representing confirm and reproduce the binary logic of gender identities and give continuity to a given heteronormative representation of some couple: even if this consists of two women, one embodies the male position and the other, the female.

The title of the article, "Gay marriage with typical attire [*bombacha*]", also reiterates its heteronormative representation of a union between two people. The "*bombacha*" is a male attire, characteristic of the Gaucha culture, typically used by pawns. When the *Folha de São Paulo* newspaper chooses to mention the "*bombacha*" instead of the "gift's dress", in order

to characterise the union between the two women, it is evoking the male “trademark” of this culture to characterise the ceremony. In the image that is used to illustrate the story, you cannot visually check if the bride wearing the suit is also wearing a typical attire; however, thanks to the article headline, we can infer that it is, rather, using in a symbolic manner, the pawn’s dress code. This symbolic division of one of the brides to a male position - either by using a suit as opposed to a wedding dress, or by using the term “gay “*bombacha*” marriage” - reiterates the heterosexual male-female binomial created by the heteronormativity action.

Endnotes

Therefore, this emblematic Gaucho scandal challenges the heteronormativity of the Gaucho culture, whilst at the same time strengthening it. The fire event at the Santana do Livramento CTG shows that, despite the efforts to deconstruct heteronormative rationality, this is again taken up and reconstituted within the very acts that challenge it. This is because, according to Judith Butler (2012), we are active against a standard that gives us intelligibility (the heterosexual binary standard), we invest against a gender and sexuality ordination that constitutes us. We are the product and the producers of heteronormativity, which in part, explains the events of the Sentinelas de Planalto Gaucho Traditions Centre fire. Thus, a conservative regional culture, driven by and a preserver of heterosexuality, may be fertile ground for feelings and discriminatory acts, such as homophobia.

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MADONNA QUEER: QUEER THEORY AND LGBT REPRESENTATION IN THE BIOGRAPHY OF FIFTY YEARS OF THE GREATEST POP MUSIC IDOL

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ABSTRACT

Creating a connection between Queer Theory, the LGBT community and the emergence of the greatest idol of pop music, Madonna, requires an analytical look at a biographical work about the artist and a survey of ownership, representation and Queer Theory. This work was written seeking the possibilities of necessary approaches and the need to revisit the 80s to understand the relationships and existing contamination between the three objects of analysis.

KEYWORDS

Madonna; queer; LGBT community; appropriation; representation.

Establishing a look at the process of building a character that became an icon of the pop music world, such as the Madonna character, namesake of its creator, Madonna Ciccone, runs through some biographical questions that need to be revisited and analyzed. This look has a Queer approach, establishing a connection between the aspects of the Queer Theory and the events that were important to the construction of the Madonna character in the 80's. To make this possible, this work is based on the biography written by Lucy O'Brien in 2008, entitled "Madonna 50 years: Like an icon. The definitive biography."

In the biographical work, the author Lucy O'Brien (2008) builds her narrative using the artistic career of the singer until 2006 as a guide, relating the events of her personal, professional and social life. This biography shows us Madonna's story before and after becoming the pop music idol, her childhood in a small North American town, her mother's loss, which became one of the inspirations when creating her character, the distant relationship and conflict with family, career in the dance world and the discovery of pop music, becoming an artist known worldwide as a singer, performer, actress, director, writer and entrepreneur.

Thinking about the biographical analysis as a way to strengthen the interpretation and investigation of building the character appears to be relevant once, according to Arfuch (2010), it is possible to approximate the subject of the study, as well as his/her life story narrated by events, interviews, own words or / the other / the other biographer, which brings the feel of a real event. Thus, one can make the necessary inquiries and approaches once one is in contact with a story that actually happened.

It is also important to note that the Madonna character is constituted as a musical and a performative influence, because she represents a movement that opens a new way of thinking about music, performances, shows, video clips and all artistic expression involved

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in this business. Such a character and her biography, agreeing with Culler (1999), are a cultural patrimony, an artifact that needs to be read and not only counted, thus need to be analyzed.

Queer Theory is the approach used for the analysis aimed at understanding the building of a character that seeks to subvert the existing rules in society regarding gender, sexuality, pleasure and dictated behavior standards at the time. It is also relevant since it has the 80s as starting point, coinciding with the beginning of the performative construction process of this artist, besides having in its genesis a close relationship of the LGBT community, especially with the gays, who were quite vulnerable at the time.

In the analyzed biographical work one can see the political relationship of Madonna with social groups such as the feminist movement, African American and the LGBT communities, as it “struggled for years by causes and issues such as safe sex and HIV, and always opposed to race and gender unfair discrimination.” (O’BRIEN, 2008, p.22). These relationships had results that reverberated throughout her career: with the feminist movement, proposing a sexual liberation and a greater expression of the female voice in the world as a whole; with the African American population, contributing musically and choreographically to several of her works; and with the LGBT community, as an inspiration and source of struggle that moves her performances in music, music videos and on stage, making her an influential, polemical and controversial artist.

When thinking of the existing approaches in Madonna’s performance with social movements and, on the other hand, the help and support they have provided to the consolidation of her career, one can find important relationships with feminism, with the African American and the LGBT community, as already mentioned. In the 80s, during the emergence of Madonna, the LGBT community was in very vulnerable situation, as it was also the spread of the HIV epidemics, putting LGBT, mainly gay men, transvestites and transsexuals in an even worse state of abjection, a term used by Miskolci (2013) to build the idea of revulsion, disgust and marginalization experienced by these people at the time.

So there was a group of people living in a situation of complete rejection and categorization, reduced to their gender expression, sexual orientation and certainty imposed that they were carriers of a deadly epidemic. The author uses these factors to explain the emergence of the ‘Queer’ term with the idea “that part of the nation was rejected, was humiliated, and considered abject, cause of contempt and disgust, fear of contamination. This is how the queer comes as a reaction and resistance to a new bio-political moment established by HIV” (MISKOLCI, 2013, p.24).

It is possible to understand, in the analyzed biography, the appearance of a character that uses the artists’ entire life story to re-signify and re-build constantly, not only according to what the music market demands, but mainly with what she wants to produce and cause. Madonna Ciccone already had extensive experience in dance even before being on stage and could use her body to transmit messages that annoy, incite and bring changes along her path. She has, as does the Queer, “a way of thinking and being that challenges the regulatory norms of society, which takes the discomfort of ambiguity, the ‘between places’, the undecidable [...] a foreign body that bothers, disturbs, provokes and fascinates.” (LOURO, 2013, p.8)

It is important to remember that the Queer Theory does not only refer to homosexuals, but to all those men and women who are in abject situations, that do not fit the standards regarding sex and gender socially established, imposed by a heteronormativity conceived as

natural. Here there is the concept of heteronormativity approached by Louro (2009), which states that the body is born assigned to be male or female, thus having a male or female gender, and from there, manifests sexual desire for the opposite sex, maintaining the socially imposed gender binary. The Queer embraces those who do not obey the rule and do not follow the established arrangements, those men and women who:

174 | “...are adrift - however, it is impossible to ignore them. Paradoxically, staying away made them even more present. There is no way to forget them. Their choices, their forms and their fates begin to mark the boundary and the limit, indicating the line that should not be crossed. More than that, when they dare to build as subjects of gender and sexuality precisely in these line, resistance and subversion of “regulatory standards,” they seem to expose, with clarity and evidence, what are these rules made of and kept.” (LOURO, 2013, p.18)

Until here, there is the possibility of bringing the Queer studies to the construction of the Madonna character, since both the character as its creator are constantly in re-construction and controversy. Madonna Ciccone built her performances in a time of cultural change, marked by a world and an extremely dualistic society, using her instinct to tune to these changes and move in these dualities, attacking habitual tendencies and becoming a cultural transformation force, as reported by O’Brien (2008).

It is understood as culture, according to Said (2011), a scenario where historical, political and ideological aspects are bound in a constant interrelation, which generates an expansion of the concept and not an imprisonment with closed ideals, rejecting any hegemony of period or population as well as the binaries and patriarchy arising from them, as Bonnici (2007) addresses. Looking to further extend the concept of culture, there is the “set of social processes of meaning” (CANCLINI, 2015, p.41), and in that way, it is thought as a large gathering of factors in which social subjects produce, reproduce, identify themselves and are represented, strengthening as important subjectivities in social constructions.

Is it possible to also relate the construction and the transition from the Madonna character to Foucault’s studies by Louro (2009), as the character in question is presented at the time of its emergence as unthinkable, since she does not fall into an acceptable logic in that historical moment, by waving to a multiplicity and sexual mixing and taking advantage of the cracks found in the dominant social construction. Madonna inhabits a place of power which creates possibilities to address speeches covering the socially silenced majority, such as LGBT and Queer people, for example. When talking about the constant violence and increasing attacks on people who do not meet the pre-standards established by society in her works, the singer would not be just appropriating the pain suffered by these people but contributing to more silences or, as O’Brien (2008) addresses, she would be expressing her concern to see homosexual friends suffering constantly.

In her transitions, Madonna approaches the LGBT universe and uses her performative events to make a defense of the LGBT rights, yet very little significant at that time. Discos, music, types of dance, relating to the body, sex and pleasure, even though she was in a society that considers deviant all those people who do not follow its standards, as well as her great gay and lesbian friends, made this universe to be a great source of inspiration for several of her works. In them one constantly sees approaches that build the standards imposed on

the male / female binary, either in costumes, in performances, in dances or in the music videos.

When approaching the LGBT community and its “underworld” - understood as a world that does not have visibility and social space of representation - Madonna Ciccone begins to integrate into her work the features present in this community, which was suffering from arising abjection of new bio-political movement initiated by HIV. It is noticeable the involvement of the artist with the LGBT universe and as well as her identification with this community that moved many of her works and that represents many of her fans.

Even before becoming an icon of pop music, Madonna Ciccone already found in the LGBT community a form of identification. In the analyzed biography there are excerpts from the singer’s interviews in which can be seen this statement: “And suddenly when I went to gay clubs I did not feel more like (Madonna talking about her non-acceptance at school). I felt at home. I had a whole new understanding of myself. “(O’BRIEN 2008 p.46)” Madonna has described herself as ‘a gay man trapped in a woman’s body’ motivated by the extremely chic and seductive women of Hollywood. “(O’BRIEN 2008 p.48). It is reflected here about the Queer possibility in her works, as in her speeches there are ways to justify the concerns that turn into non-binary performances presented on stage and in music videos.

This approach becomes not only a form of contamination in the work of building her character, but also a form of ownership for her work as a whole. Ownership, according to Sant’Anna (1999 p.44) means not only to portray any fact, event or characteristic but to collect them, but to pick up these symbols of everyday life and cultural events and group them together, criticizing the ideology. Reviews are usual when seeing her shows, listening to her music or her interviews.

Examples of appropriations are found in Madonna’s songs in which it can be seen an attempt to representation by a public that is / was in marginalized and subjugated situation to a hegemonic binarism favoring the heterosexual cisgender male figure as a rule. The costumes used in her music videos, which, in most cases, subvert the historically, culturally and socially replicated hetero focus figures. In them, there are men wearing bras, culturally female costumes, and makeup, among many other symbols that deconstruct the figure of the dominant male. Catholic figures represented by African American and having intimate relations with women, represented by the singer, are used in order to question the overwhelming role that religious institution imposes on humans.

The choreography used by the artist in her performances brings to the center of the pop music scene movements that incite sex with freedom, independence and in the pursuit of pleasure for the women and the men in “unconventional” ways. Women who masturbate seeking to reach orgasms, a fact that is the overcoming of female sexual submission; men who relate sexually with other men, which puts into question the silencing imposed on the gay community for years. So many examples are used by the singer to subvert the hegemonies and culturally imposed binarisms that it becomes unavoidable not to think of it as a deliberate appropriation to enter the musical and performative world scene as a questioning and subversive novelty.

One can understand that the appropriation made by the artist is a form of use of abjection suffered by this group as support for building her character and her work. By appropriating, Madonna takes these symbols, placing a meaningfulness and a representation that

brings to focus central issues that are kept on the sidelines in society, in other words, the artist seems to bring to herself in her performances, the marginalization burden by those men and women who are social abject. Topics such as homosexuality, female sexual liberation, religious, political, racial and social conflicts are often approached by the artist in her music, shows, performances and music videos.

In the fight against the established restraint on sex, Madonna seeks to show it as something inherent in human beings not only biologically but also socially. Her music, dance and speech put sexual liberation in the spotlight and goes against a society that seeks to constantly inhibit it, approaching her work to the ideas addressed by Foucault (1988) on the repressive aspects and the need to learn about sex in Western society. Whether it is moved by power relations, out of curiosity or just wanting to know, if it is constantly being sex, not only biological but historical, cultural and social, the character created by Madonna uses this aspect in her work in and offstage.

The appropriation made by the Madonna character seems to provide the LGBT community a security for them to be who they really are, feeling protected, represented and, especially, finding room for their voice that long ago was been drowned out by the heteronormativity but not destroyed, because it agrees with the analysis of the studies “Disruption of Gender” (1990) “Foreign Excitable” (1997) and “The Psychic Life of Power” (1997) performed by Salih (2013) involving a heterosexuality that needs a homosexuality to assert itself, or even to down the homosexual and play an important role in the affirmation of heterosexuality considered as natural. In the analyzed biography is a line of Madonna that strengthens such construction:

In all my work the goal is to never be ashamed of who you are, the body itself the physical self, desires and sexual fantasies. Fear is the reason why there are intolerance, sexism, racism, homophobia ... People are afraid of their own feelings, fear of the unknown. What I'm saying is: do not be afraid. (O'BRIEN , 2008, p.223)

This speech also shows how Madonna seeks to bring naturalness to human relationships with sex, with the body, with the wishes and the different, reallocating aspects of humanity that are kept on the sidelines and are not talked about. One can understand while analyzing aspects in the biography of the singer, the close and maternal relationship with the gay dancers, the respect for the LGBT community, respect for the difference and individuality of each one. It is possible to observe Madonna's search to subvert the social role imposed by gender patterning and sex, either as an act or as a manifestation of human nature, seeking to break any possible rule.

Thus, it is necessary to approach this historicist bias between the emergence of pop idol Madonna and Queer studies, as well as it establishes a relationship with the LGBT community through the appropriation by the artist, regarding defense rights, the possibility of expression, space for voice expression and probable contributions provided to the career of the singer. It is likely, therefore, that there is an ideological interrelation between the construction of the Madonna character and Queer Studies, as both are contemporary and that such studies may be contaminated, even if not directly subversive of the artist's works.

It is also possible to create a connection between Madonna, Queer Studies and the LGBT community, once it is perceived that there are possibilities of relationship between

them, as the singer uses appropriation of the realities experienced by the community in question and this community, at the time of the appearance of the singer, in a state of abjection and marginalization that gives the emergence of Queer Studies.

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BAREBACKING SEX: RUPTURES WITH AN ASEPTIC SYSTEM OR ANOTHER FORM OF PLEASURE?

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SUMMARY

This text originates from a master's degree research which is in progress entitled "Dissident Words: Exposure to HIV / AIDS in the speech of a blog on Barebacking Sex aimed at men who have sex with other men"⁴. The objective is to use the documentary *Bottom* (2012), by the American director Todd Verow, to reflect on the practice of Barebacking sex as a form of collection of identities, faced with health imperatives. The film explores the routine of a man who aims to have the highest number of sexual relations possible with other men over a one year period. The film triggers serious questioning on the fragility of public policies aimed at preventing HIV / AIDS. By being faced with sexual practices which are seen as deviant, the viewer will realize that awareness campaigns are not part of or make sense in such context. The arbitrary nature of the practice raises many questions, with discussions emerging that cross different areas of knowledge, mainly that of health. As it is a rupture from social norms, the concept of risk for these individuals does not appear to be relevant.

KEYWORDS

health practices; Barebacking Sex; Documentary; Singularity; Subversion.

Bottom is a documentary film which was released in 2012, directed by the American Todd Verow, one of the directors of the so called *New Queer Cinema*. The film was based on the American blog *Confessions Of the Bareback Cunt* which is currently offline. In *Bottom*, Verow portrays the routine of a man who lives in New York and who calls himself "Cum Whore"⁵. Whore has one goal: to have as many sexual relations with other men as possible in the space of one year. To fulfill his goal, Whore spends hours browsing dating sites and visiting the main cruising circuits⁶.

The aesthetics of the film was created with a voyeuristic camera and the use of sound mufflers and voice alterations. Thus, Verow captured and exposed the most intimate moments of the protagonist throughout his quest to complete his goal, bringing to light the in-

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⁴ Research conducted under the orientation of Prof. Dr. Wilza Vieira Vilella, approved by the Ethics Committee of UNIFESP on October 22, 2015 registered under CAAE: 49815715.7.0000.5505.

⁵ Whore or Sperm Whore (personal translation).

⁶ Specific locations where gay men mingle and look for partners. In Brazil, the commonly used word is "cassação".

tricate world of Barebacking sex⁷, a term that refers to riding horses without saddle or any protective gear in American rodeos. In the 90s, Stepen Gendim coined the term for the first time in the text *"Riding Bareback"*⁸ published in POZ Magazine, a magazine aimed at people who are living with HIV / AIDS. The article was based on his feeling of freedom when having sex with another man, who was also HIV positive, without a condom. At the same time, the international gay community adopted the word to refer to unprotected anal sex between men (Carballo-Diegues et.al.2006; Silva and Iriart, 2010; Paula, 2010).

The film shows scenes of the protagonist having sex with other men in a "scenario" in which other practices which are considered dissident and transgressive also are shown. On the screen there are images of BDSM, piercings, leather, latex, jockstraps, socks, cockrings, harnesses, and various levels of spanking, submission, foot fetishism and eschatology, a legitimization of the main function of documentaries; to show the public aspects of the reality (Lopes, 2006, p. 381).

During sexual interactions, it seems that what is the priority for the main character is to have his body invaded by the sperm of numerous men. This "need" is evidenced in a particular part of the movie, during which he gets the semen of 30 men, after which he self-proclaims himself a "collector". As a "precious" liquid, the sperm is swallowed, handled, stored in vials and injected into the body through the anus without being clear of what it means to Whore. Ritualistically speaking, when intercourse ends he says to his partner: *"Give me your load"*, and acknowledges another partner for having deposited sperm in his body, giving the liquid an invaluable worth in the maintenance of his "life." Among the alleged analogies, being an exclusive male body fluid, sperm carries a strong appeal connected to masculinity and the perpetuation of life, opposed to the context of health / disease, which is linked to HIV transmission and other sexually transmitted infections. Sperm in the Barebacking scene appears to be the ultimate symbol of idea contention, to the point of there being men on the Internet who sell their sperm to fans of Barebacking

In the film, the feeling of orgasm is not perceived or is part of the game. The protagonist does not seem to feel any pleasure or satisfaction, evidencing an apparent necessity of owning, by replacing his existence (Bauman, 2003, pp. 35-48). He appears to want to "consume" the men, swallow them in, but as having an addiction he does not reach satisfaction, although his goal of having as many partners as possible keeps on materializing throughout the film. Whore's subjection exposes his body and physical integrity to sacrifices. In the scenes, most of the time, Whore does not seem to eat. He spends a lot of his time searching for partners and using Poppers⁹, drugs which oxygenate the blood vessels, accelerating the heart rhythm and causing the sphincters to relax enabling him to handle multiple penetrations.

Barebacking is a much larger reality, not as symbolic as expressed in porn productions or revealed in the LGBTT¹⁰ themed films. The majority of fans are male, which is confirmed by the huge amount of affiliations on websites and social networks which focus on the practice. Among the means of dissemination are private parties, organized groups in communi-

⁷ In Brazil, Barebacking is called "sexo no pelo", "sexo sem frescura" or "na pele". In the porn industry, they refer to Barebacking "Skin to Skin", "Condom Free" or "Raw".

⁸ Available at: http://www.poz.com/articles/241_12394.shtml. Accessed on February 16, 2016.

⁹ Poppers and "lança perfumes" belong to the same drug category as inhalable solvents Available at: <http://www1.saude.rs.gov.br/wsa/portal/index.jsp?menu=organograma&cod=33293> Accessed February 12, 2016

¹⁰ We recommend *Thriller Chaser* by *Sal Bardo* and the documentary *The Gift* by *Louise Hogart*.

cation applications and dating websites. Recently it has been featured more widely in the open media¹¹.

180 | Although it was initially focused on websites, the practice of Barebacking quickly went from the virtual world to the real world, being marked by dualities such as those who defined the practice as being a sexual interaction between men with positive and negative HIV /AIDS serology, voluntary and consciously, strengthening the idea that the Barebacker¹² expressed the desire to become infected with HIV / AIDS.

Dean (2008) understands this universe as a subculture of men with homoerotic practices, who adopt a certain posture and choice when it comes to unprotected sexual interaction, translated through a framework of symbols which among others attest a rupture with the more global perspectives, especially those linked to the risk and exposure to different agents. The arbitrary character of Barebacking raises questions that create discussions in the different are of knowledge, especially that of health. The Barebacking subculture is in clear opposition to the constructed norms for and by gay men, which at the same time is influenced in the way the concept of risk in modern times is understood, revealing a form of masculinity. However, in order not to run the risk of putting the practice in the triad sex / fetish / irresponsibility it is opportune to rethink that what looks polluted, contaminated also has different meanings, going beyond simplistic views promoted by regulatory campaigns. (Douglas, 1975, p. 75)

Although the film presents the reality of Barebacking Sex through the experiences of a man, it is clear that this universe is not only restricted to the practice of sex between men. Since Barebacking gained visibility in discussions on prevention and exposure to HIV / AIDS, it resulted in the demonization of fans of the practice, classifying them as irresponsible individuals that threaten life. The “reasons” that preempt the motives for this behavior need to be overcome, because the fact is, there is a context in which individuals are exposed and the use of condoms is discarded.

However an unveiling seems to be becoming more widespread, and from the porn industry the failure of the prevention campaigns is evident. Currently AIDS is classified as a treatable chronic disease, and although the disease is under biomedical control, it is susceptible to adverse reactions: from antiretroviral drugs, implications arising from the lack of protection during the seroconversion period, in addition to degenerative and progressive abnormalities caused by opportunistic bacteria sometimes more recent than the HIV virus. In this sense, it is necessary to (re) evaluate postures, re-question, especially on the meaning attributed to HIV / AIDS, even taking into account post-antiretroviral scenarios with emphasis on men who have sex with men, since the engagement in unprotected sexual activity is the reality of many.

It is worth remembering that the somber outlook on the epidemic has changed with time, but it still remains in the minds of the population. Regardless of therapeutic advances the judgments are dispensable, and reflection and the proposal of measures is awaited from study areas due to its complexity. Among the many displacements, halting contamination should be the priority, which is not the case given the tight knot between health policies and the need for a healthy society which hinders the understanding of the bodies and their own-

¹¹ In Brazil, Barebacking sex was exposed to the public sphere through the report *Clube do Carimbo*.

¹² Name given to the people who practice *Barebacking Sex*.

ers, who rebel in unintelligible ways (Foucault 2003, p. 82). Meanwhile, public policies focus on the aseptic and distant perspective of a reality that happens beyond alcoves, which was documented and bared in a movie.

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DEBATES ON THE FAMILY CONCEPT FROM BILL 6583/13: THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SPEECHES IN CULTURAL ARTIFACTS¹

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ABSTRACT

The Family Statute is a Brazilian bill of law that seeks to recognize the family unit only in its heterosexual configuration, or by either parent and their descendants. The progress of this project has produced numerous debates on social and digital media. This work aims to analyze discourses present on reviews from internet sites relating to the Family Statute. We selected comments made in reports announced in three portals, from the month of September 2015. It is noted that the comments reproduce biological and/or religious discourses, but there are also those that bring a legal discourse founded on the freedom of the subject. We understand that the Statute of the Family and the reports present in the internet sites are cultural artifacts that teach ways of being and living culture, mobilizing the production of discourses that produce standards and educate the subject.

KEYWORDS

Family Statute; concept of family; cultural artifacts; speeches.

Introduction

This article discusses some implications of the debates around the Family Statute (PL 6583/13), that took place after its approval by the Special Committee in the House of Representatives. We turn our gaze to the internet sites of forums related to journalistic texts that addressed this approval. We aim to analyze the utterances present in comments made in these forums about the concept of family present herein.

We can understand the concept of family as an institution produced by historical, economic, political and cultural processes, varying according to each society and era (Mello, 2005) and imbricated in normative processes and regulations. In various areas of knowledge it is fully accepted the idea that there is no single family model, although there is, in the Brazilian context, certain groups seeking to legitimize the traditional nuclear pattern. Currently, as shown by Dias (2015), this concept is no longer conditioned to its ideals of origin, such as marriage, sex and procreation, but to the emotional ties between its members, “to unite people with identical life projects and common purposes generating mutual commitment” (Dias, 2015, p. 131).

It is in modernity that the conjugal family model becomes possible, valuing feelings, affection and love ties, locus in which it was engendered in what Foucault (2015) termed the “sexual device” from the “device of the alliance”. In this context, the family - and school -

¹ Work presented in the GT “Políticas públicas de gênero e agenciamento: da disciplina dos corpos à inclusão e às garantias de direitos” [Public policies of gender and agency: from the discipline of bodies to the inclusion and the guaranty of rights] of the V International Congress on Cultural Studies – Gender, Human Rights and Activisms.

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came to be conceived as a privileged institution in the child's socialization and the disciplining of bodies, ideals that endure to this day. It has to be understood, therefore, the centrality and the family's place in society, as a power institution turned to the government of bodies.

On it are produced researches, laws and debates in order to study it and know it so it can be legislated. Perhaps for its centrality in the education of the subjects and for the high contemporary variability of settings, it has been constituted in Brazil a playing field that, on the one hand, refers to a nineteenth-century and exclusionary nostalgia and on the other, to a struggle for equal rights by subjects who do not fit the heterosexual norms.

In recent years, as well as other cultural and social transformations in which the LGBT movement greatly helped, it was achieved in Brazil the right to civil marriage to same-sex couples for adoption, which caused a concussion in the notion of family. In the meantime it is launched in 2013 the Bill No. 6583/13 from representative Anderson Ferreira, entitled "Family Statute." In September 2015 this project was approved by the Special Committee and in October of the same year by the Committee on Constitution and Justice. To date, the project is pending in the Federal Senate.

This project, in its 2nd Art., defines a "family entity as the social nucleus formed from the union between a man and a woman through marriage or common-law marriage, or by community formed by either parent and their descendants" (PL 6583/13). In this sense, the family concept which it advocates reflects the conservatism of fundamentalist groups and denies the multiplicity of family structures in the Brazilian context. It excludes households consisting of same-sex couples, grandparent(s), uncle(s) and/or aunt(s) raising their grandchildren or nephews, older brother(s) and/or sister(s) that raise younger brother(s), as well as the subjects that have been adopted.

We can understand the defense of the nuclear family model, as a standard traditionally established within the heterosexual norm, as a fundamentalist practice. We agree with Veiga Neto (2009) when we understand that fundamentalism is characterized as "any intellectual posture or social movement whose supporters maintain strict, unwavering and uncompromising obedience to certain fundamental principles" (Veiga-Neto, 2009, p. 78). The religious discourse that God created man and woman to populate the earth, along with the medical-biological discourse that it is necessary to have the male and the female for procreation, are the foundation that supports the traditional nuclear family as the fundamental principle of human reproduction, social cohesion and continuation of the species. Also, it is these same speeches that support the understanding that any other family configuration that is beyond the ideal pattern is not legitimate, but devious, disorganized and incomplete (Mello, 2005).

The debate about the concept of family, raised by the Family Statute, won considerable proportions in the Brazilian context, clearly showing two groups: one in favor and one against the Statute. This debate also occurs with the approval of the National, State and Municipal Education Plans when discussing the presence, in these documents, of what has been mistakenly called "Gender Ideology". Religious and fundamentalist groups have been fighting against the inclusion of the gender issue by contending, among other things, that "ideology" produces the destruction of the "Brazilian family."

Numerous media have debated the Statute and released News about its proceedings. Our attention was drawn to the comments made by Brazilians in the forums linked to texts of Internet sites that dealt with the adoption of the Statute of the family, emphasizing its position regarding the concept of family in discussion.

Theoretical basis

184 | The internet sites are not innocent in their publications, but direct themselves to their readers with specific interests from subject positions that assume to occupy. Supporting ourselves in Ellsworth (2001), we understand that these sites have addressing modes, that is, they (as well as the reports, news, etc. that make them up) are produced from assumptions about 'who' is the audience reader. There is not, however, a single addressing mode in each site, but multiple modes that are negotiated with the public. The addressing modes are not given, they are in the space between the intentions of production and the way the subjects are challenged by the texts. (Ellsworth, 2001). Thus, the publics who access their texts are different, as well as how each person is challenged by them and the meanings that each of them produces.

The internet sites are also cultural artifacts that address the education of the people by teaching them ways of being in culture (Fischer, 2002). Cultural artifacts are social constructs involved in producing speeches marked by power relations that constitute them, as well as by pedagogies focused on education of the subjects. The cultural pedagogies present in them are composed of "texts [that] indicate that ways to do, to consume, to wish, to behave and, above all, to be and to understand the world" (Gerzson, 2009, p. 151).

In this sense, we understand that the Family Statute is a cultural artifact that has a pedagogy focused on the education of the subjects and to the government of bodies by the legitimization of the traditional model of family. Its entry in the "order of discourse" (Foucault, 2014) provoked and produced intense debates, from which it becomes possible to examine the language that is exercised, yielding continuities and discontinuities, clashes and confrontations, truths that are intended to be strengthened or instituted.

We understand language not as something fixed, whose meaning lies in an external reality, but rather as a system and practice of significance. According to Silva (1996, p 249.): "Language is seen as a move in constant flux, always vague, failing to ever capture definitively any meaning that would precede and to which would be clearly tied".

We take as a reference Cultural Studies, by the emphasis on "study of language and power, particularly in terms of how language is used to shape social identities and ensure specific forms of authority" (Giroux, 2005, p. 95). Our interest is therefore in the language used by the subjects in their arguments and positions regarding the family concept advocated by the Statute. It is the language that are present the discourses in the words of Foucault (2014, p. 21), "major narratives that tell, repeat and make themselves vary," found in religious, legal and scientific texts, for example, and allow the subjects to produce meanings and senses to the world. As you can see in the comments made in the forums, the subjects have appropriated themselves of utterances from the discourse of science, religion and the legal field to argue their position in agreement or disagreement to the Statute.

The comments are interesting to us because, as shown by Foucault (2014, p. 24) "the comment conjures chance in the speech making you part of it: it allows you to say something beyond the text itself, but with the condition that the text itself is said and done in a way". In other words, the comments repeat what is said, but, paradoxically, make shifts, in them there are also lines of flight. Here we do not mean only the repetition of what is said in the Family Statute, in journalistic texts of the sites, but in the broader discourse of science, religion or legal discourse about the meaning of family.

Methodological choices

Our study focused on three sites, with diverse addressing modes, including the news portal *G1*, the website of the newspaper *Folha de São Paulo* and the site of the magazine *Carta Capital*, selected for their different specificities (news portal, newspaper and magazine) and for achieving a national level of these artifacts. We selected a journalistic text of each site that dealt with the adoption of the Family Statute, published in September 2015, immediately after its approval by a special commission.

The newspaper articles were as follows: 1) *G1* - Commission approves definition of family as a union between man and woman, September 24 (<http://goo.gl/96cq6b>); 2) *Folha de São Paulo* - Commission approves constitution that defines family as a union between man and woman, September 24 (<http://goo.gl/ZmaS43>); 3) *Carta Capital* - Even Jesus would be left out of Cunha's Family Statute, September 28 (<http://goo.gl/8c97Xq>).

We look specifically at forums held from these texts where people position themselves about the concept of family in the Statute. Our analysis focuses therefore on the arguments (scientific, legal, religious or other) used in comments. To analyze them we base ourselves in some Foucauldian tools of analysis discourse (Foucault, 2014).

The number of threads in the forums were too high, which moved us to a random selection of those who directly expressed a personal opinion toward the concept of family, being for or against such a project. We selected the most representative positions, but expressing continuities and discontinuities of utterances, although other deserved considerations. To preserve the identity of subject names have been replaced by its initials, although many participants used code names.

“Family is father, mother and children”: the legitimacy of the nuclear family model

Comments can be initially divided into two groups: for and against the Statute of the Family. The statements in favor use mostly arguments based on religion and biology, specifically from the perspective of human reproduction. The positions against were based on the right to freedom of subjects and weave criticisms directly to the political representatives who approved such a project.

A first comment we can take as an example, which is representative of various other positions found in the forums, is as follows: “Copulation between two men or two women do not formalize embryonic generation.” (C, Capital Letter). In this utterance is present an agreement with the meaning of family expressed by the Statute, relying on the argument of human reproduction. It takes medical and biological science as truths to legitimize their position, however, disregards the possibility of assisted reproduction already developed by science.

Other statements found are grounded on religious arguments, resorting also to biology, as the following three examples:

the root of the family is a man and a woman, with no further ado. God made woman for man and vice [sic] versa. man x man, woman x woman do not procreate. [...] (AC, G1)
THERE'S ONLY ONE !!! ... family instituted by God and materialized by natural biology (PI, G1)

Definition of family is as follows: father, mother and children, family created by God for the purpose of procreation. [...] Family was the way found by God to populate the earth. Man with man and woman with woman will never form a family [...]. (TD, G1)

186 | In these comments is present the legitimacy of the traditional nuclear pattern, grounded on the assumption of family as God's creation and not a dated social, historical and cultural construction. Thus, these positions it is visible the will of truth, as one of the exclusion systems that hits the discourse (Foucault, 2014). Taking the nuclear family as a true and unquestionable discourse is to mask "the will of truth that runs through it" (Foucault, 2014, p. 19), the desire and the power at stake.

To Mello (2005), the deconstruction of the values that support the traditional nuclear family model has reverberated in the political arena, causing, as states, "the fear and anger of supporters of a naturalist and holy design of family, founded on religious values and charged with the mission - supreme and irreplaceable - to ensure social cohesion and the reproduction of the species" (Mello, 2005, p. 27).

This fear (or anger) can be seen in other posts that assume that the deconstruction of the established family model promotes social collapse, a threat to society:

If they do away with the concept of family formed by the union of a man and a woman, then the logic of brothers, uncles, grandparents and cousins, will end. So incest is free and disorder will begin. You do not know where to begin and end a family. Because it can be formed by the union of a man and two women, or a woman with two men and so on. [...] (JN, G1)

In this review, it is also noted the non-normative family blamed as responsible for the illnesses of society. From these comments, we agree with what says Butler (2003: 243-244.):

the belief is that culture itself requires a man and a woman generate a child and that the child has this point of dual reference to his own initiation into the symbolic order, where the symbolic order consists of a set of rules that order and support our senses of reality and cultural intelligibility.

We can conceptualize these reviews, therefore, as supported by a fundamentalist thought, as a closed system that moves away from the plural ways of life in favor of established truths (Rocha, 2009). Rocha leads us to an understanding of fundamentalist practices, comprehending that "certain ways of using science that highlight the naturalization of principles as truths, reifying identity relationships, values and traditions, function as doctrines transcendent to the practices, being close to what we call fundamentalism" (Rocha, 2009, p. 206).

One last comment also in favor of the Family Statute may still be considered. It represents the use of concepts of democracy and Rule of Law:

Democratic society is one that practices the majority of law while respecting as a human being minorities, so being tolerant with a social behavior of the minority does not mean agreeing with it, so I agree with the family statute because it reflects the majority opinion of the society we live in, and in comparative terms it is the same as not agreeing with the addiction of drugs, but humanely respecting the drugged. (CG, Carta Capital)

However, this project is not in accordance with the Brazilian Federal Constitution (FC) of 1988 that puts as a fundamental dogma the principle of personal human dignity (Dias, 2015). For Dias (2015) the FC eliminated the differences and discrimination in violation of a democratic and free society, legitimizing humans as subjects of law. And in 2011, having as a rapporteur the then Minister Ayres Brito, it was declared by the Federal Supreme Court (FSC) that homo-affective unions are a family unit. In addition, this comment also notes ignorance regarding the effects of the Family Statute on the rights of people who do not make up the family model established in this project.

In another comment, it was possible to perceive a contrast in comparison to the previous comment, in which the subject affirms the unconstitutionality of the Family Statute: *“The family concept recently passed by Congress is easily refuted, bearing in mind that the highest authority of Brazilian Justice has recognized the union and also the adoption by couples formed by persons of the same sex.”* (LC, Carta Capital). In this utterance is present, therefore, the legal discourse that corroborates the legitimacy of homoparental civil union. In this sense, Foucault (2014, p. 50) states that *“the speeches should be treated as discontinuous practices that intersect at times but also ignore or exclude each other.”* In debates on the family concept advocated by the Family Statute, therefore, we can see different discourses that oppose, complement or distance themselves from each other.

In the comments is also the use of FC (1988), to counter the Family Statute, as in the following example:

The 5th article of the Constitution of [sic] all are equal, [...] People wanting to impose that [sic] their condition in the statute, is discriminating against other statutes and protection law as if only theirs were better, and then yes [are] in violation of the 5th Article of the Constitution (E, FSP)

The Article 5 of the Constitution (1988) states that: *“All are equal before the law, without distinction of any kind, being guaranteed to Brazilians and foreigners residing in the country the inviolable right to life, liberty, equality, safety and property.”* Therefore, in this articulation is present the legal discourse, arguing that the Family Statute, by legitimizing only heterosexual marital relationships violates the rights of individuals who do not match the heterosexual norm.

In other comments, you can see the opposition to the Statute, as well as a criticism of the members who voted for the bill. The following utterances have different arguments and use different speeches:

They are sick people [sic] who think they are taking the cure for society. Driven by intolerance and prejudice, they want to reduce the concept of family to what they think is right, putting all other models in the wrong field. They divide the world into two: those who behave like them (“right and moral”), and those who don’t (“wrong and immoral”). (GL, Carta Capital)

Here there is a relationship with the pathological the fact that subjects defend a single model of family, as well as a critic to subjects who support the Statute by the posture they take in defense of their own value judgments. The criticism of this comment is associated

with the sociological/anthropological discourse that discusses “the existence of a supposedly universal family model” (Mello, 2005, p. 35).

In this other comment is found a deep critique of the bill under discussion, as well as to the political groups who defend it:

The land is more than fertile in Brazil to germinate an evangelical version of the Islamic State. They should be ashamed of these so-called Christians who do not learn, and do not bother to learn from what history has to say about mixing religion and politics, besides the fact that they are a socially favored group. It is absurd that in a country where alternative family arrangements increasingly thrive, is approved a project to restrict this definition to what you see in the margarine commercials. It is a great loss, and not only for the LGBT's (OL, Carta Capital)

In Brazil, it is a fact that the fundamentalist bench of the National Congress has won more supporters and “disciples.” What has to be problematized is the invisibility of processes that begin to promote and deny the rights of the so called minorities. In this respect, Butler (2003) states that with the loss of rights personal “deletions” are promoted. In his words “if you are not real, it can be difficult to remain as such over time. The sense of de-legitimization can make it even more difficult to maintain a bond, a bond that, after all, is not real, a bond that does not ‘exist’, which was never intended to exist” (Butler, 2003, p. 238).

Conclusions

In this study, we present some problems from the utterances present in comments made by different subjects in forums of Internet sites. Given the various confrontations and struggles of the LGBT movement in Brazil, it is important a discussion on the implications of the Family Statute for subjectification processes of the subjects.

Even if the Family Statute is approved, and the Supreme Court renders Article 2 void, it is worth questioning the effects it produces in society. Understood as a cultural artifact, this project promotes different debates, contributing to teach people a model of sexuality. The speeches presented in this project form the subject and contribute to the reproduction of prejudices and different forms of violence against those who do not fit what is called the normal pattern.

Although there are several comments supporting the concept of family in this Statute, the forums also shown discordant positions. The defense of the nuclear family model is based primarily on the reproductive argument and on a religious assumption of divine creation. These arguments reflect the fundamentalist thinking that supports a part of Brazilian society and government policy. As pointed out by Mello (2005) defending the “real”, “natural” and “sacred” family is a reaction to the historical transformations on the notion of family, seeking to establish as a universal standard “a model that corresponds only to the beliefs, expectations and experiences of a single specific social group” (Mello, 2005, p. 39). On the other hand, the criticism to this project defend the different family configurations, based on the legal principle of equality and strongly condemning its defenders.

This project therefore represents the fight against the recognition of homoparental civil union and seeks, as well as refusing to recognize homosexual unions as family, to deny access

to the rights that are related to the family constitution and to the government programs affecting it. In this sense, Butler (2003) provokes us to think and discuss this legal relationship between the concept of family, or more precisely marriage, with the access to rights guaranteed by law, proposing that we question this dependence in relation to one another. Thus, it leads us to problematize conditional access rights to a specific civil condition. However, according to the legal and juridical processes we are in, it is essential this struggle for legitimacy of dissident identities in order to insure them visibility, recognition and social equity.

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GENDER (BIO)PEDAGOGIES: INTERPELLING WOMEN WITH HEALTH PROMOTION AND FAMILY HEALTH DISCOURSES¹

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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses pedagogies used to govern the behaviour of subjects and their families in order to promote health care. This study, which is inspired by ethnographic researches, was performed at one of the Public Health assistance units in Porto Alegre, Brazil, through participant observation in groups. It was supported by references from Cultural Studies, Gender Studies and Public Health in their approaches to Michel Foucault's theories of discursive analysis.

KEYWORDS

Biopolitics; Family Health Strategy; Gender Biopedagogies; Health Promotion; Primary Health Care.

Introduction

Theories and analytic perspectives in the context of Cultural and Gender Studies contribute to discuss practices which constitute subjects and effects established in these productions. Through dialogues interrogating contemporary life, the present text questions common practices which intend to optimize our life and our bodies to the utmost in the name of better health and prolonged longevity.

Problematizing educative conceptions in Health Promotion practices – possibly focused on women – takes up Public Health assistance as the research scene of this investigation: one among twelve Primary Health Care units of **Serviço de Saúde Comunitária (SSC)** from **Grupo Hospitalar Conceição (GHC)** in Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul, south of Brazil.

Modelled on Primary Health Care (**PHC**) principles the **SSC** provides professional education for Family Health Strategy (**ESF**) – named and considered the first specific **PHC** government policy for the whole country (Escorel, 2007; Ribeiro, 2007) – with its concomitant health assistance practices.

The creation of Brazilian National Health System (**SUS**), in 1988-1990, institutes universality, integrality and equity as fundamental principles; it presents the adoption of **ESF** actions as the viability of this proposal. Assumed as entry point and basis for the other system levels, **ESF** is understood as responsible for the care of all populations; its actions take individuals and communities as the *foci* in order to promote health and prevent illnesses.

In Contemporary Western societies, educative arrays for changing health related practices, beliefs and behaviors have been established as Health Promotion, involving the notion

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of risk (Petersen; Lupton, 1996). This notion supposes that certain knowledges – operated through a set of techniques and procedures – produce behaviors, values, habits and personal attitudes which are connected to the societies they belong to.

The **ESF** government policy invests in the contemporary rationality of living life in a network of controlling, regulation and discipline: health care technology. Positioning families as the *foci* on actions of educative processes for Health Promotion – telling them how to live, what and how much to eat, how and how much to exercise – allows us to state that Health Family and Health Promotion government policies are permeated by practices which aim for much more than welfare. These are practices that in turn may be assumed as biopedagogies (Harwood, 2009) in the sense of articulating Foucauldian notion of **biopower** to pedagogies; cultural practices producing elaborated and organized knowledges to govern bodies and populations on behalf of life and health. However, despite these scrutiny and conduct of life, subjects have possibilities of reflection and transgression.

Similarly, assuming gender as “construction and social organization of differences between sexes, established by multiple ways in a variety of practices and social institutions through several languages” (Meyer, 2010, p.24), we can also agree with Klein (2010), who says that investing in determined representations of femininity, health policies define instances of regulating populations’ life. They become biopolitic strategies (Foucault, 2008) that associate Health Promotion to something more than positive, especially when underlining it to women who use Public Health services.

This way, uniting gender and health education analyses, it is possible to discuss **ESF** and **Health Promotion** from the perspectives produced and legitimated for women and men in their families. This means that we can suspend the ideas of healthy subjects and families; besides the concept of a universal biology, previous to the cultural contexts, it is important to consider that bodies, sexualities, behaviors and political projects about men and women are distinct among different groups in societies.

As long as health practices assume the adoption of behaviors and patterns delimited and defined by norms and notions of who/what is healthy, there are prescriptions in order to conform people and their conducts in an adequate way. In this context, bringing together some elements of Foucault’s works as well as Cultural and Gender Studies, we have identified ranges/routines of the **ESF** and **Health Promotion** policies that persuade people to decide and behave accordingly to a ‘healthy way of life’. Nevertheless, the policies can be rearticulated by their subjects.

Methodology

Sustained by the idea that methodologies do not immediately translate into instruments which are ready to use, just waiting for researchers (Santos, 2005), the investigative choices and design of the study were constituted in this challenging perspective.

Therefore, ethnographic experience and registers in a diary (Denzin; Lincoln, 2006) were methodological paths that contributed and performed certain possible perspective of understanding and questioning some pedagogical practices produced by **Health Promotion** and **ESF** in the context of Brazilian peripheral urban spaces.

Pointing out empiric data in a discursive analysis inspired on Foucault's theories (2009), we explore the production and articulation of biopedagogical practices in different spaces and moments within a public health center. In March 2012, the investigation was submitted, approved and enrolled on the National Research Comitee (CONEP) - an instance of Brazilian National Health Council (CNS) - for implementing ethical rules and norms in researches dealing with human beings.

Integrating the Health Ministry (MS), the **GHC** is composed by the **SSC**, four hospitals, a mental health centers and a professional health school. Created in 1982, the **SSC** has a singular experience in **PHC** and constitutes an important professional education center in Family Health (Brasil, 2014).



Image 1 – Serviço de Saúde Comunitária- Grupo Hospitalar Conceição. Porto Alegre/Brazil.2014.



Image 2 – The Jardim Leopoldina neighbourhood – SSC/GHC.Porto Alegre/Brazil.2014.

The Jardim Leopoldina Health Center (USJL) – assistance unit established in the 1980's by the efforts of underprivileged social groups – configured the field for empirical data production which makes these reflections possible.

Four-story buildings are the major part of housing in this suburb of the northern region of Porto Alegre; there are houses made of wood, bricks and other recycled materials as well as water – electrical energy supply systems and daily garbage collection (Image 2).

Commerce is diversified and the local population reaches 13,836 inhabitants (7864 women and 5972 men). In many families, one member's retirement income is the only financial support.

An ethnographic experience allowed to be there, reorganizing what has been lived by keeping a field diary. There was participative observation within these groups of users during **Health Promotion** and **Health Education** activities.

Arousing reflections

Participative observation was taken in three different groups: **"Making arts and crafts"**, **"Course for pregnant women"** and **"Health on one's plate"** (making healthier food choices). The first two practices were offered during the afternoon, while the last one occurred in the morning. It might be possible that the concentration of group activities in the afternoon was due to the moment women would be free to take part in them, less involved with housework, traditionally done in the morning.

The main or exclusive feminine presence in these groups can be problematized as a constitutive element of the gender perspective that frequently crosses health practices, especially the **Health Education** ones.

Observations in the field diary pointed out different rationalities coexisting in Health Care Services, producing tensions among normative professional practices and the discursive reorganization taken by the subjects to whom these discourses are directed to. The excerpt below, showing questions made by one of **"Making arts and crafts"** participants, allows us to think about different meanings proposed to these activities and other ways of resistance to **Health Promotion** discourses:

[...] *"We are not at school anymore! Nobody here has to say present. We get together to gossip and take a break! Nobody has to be here at 2 p.m. straight, just because someone wants or says that we've got to"* [...] (Words from a participant in relation to the beginning of the activities – Field Diary, 8th August, 2013).

The eminent feminine presence in the Jardim Leopoldina Health Center – both users and professionals – and lack of discussions about family and gender conceptions were also identified in **Health Education** practices. Thus, it is possible to think that among their effects these practices naturalize and reiterate women as the main partners of assistance services in disciplining and surveillance actions about **Family Health**:

[...] *"we feel special when serving our children. Now I'm their role model, I can't just do things as I please"* [...] – (words from a pregnant woman, mentioning that her discouragement had disappeared when she discovered her baby would be a girl – Field Diary, 1st August, 2013).

[...] Family histories: from the abandoned animals, we got to the abandoned people, usually women. **R.** says that *"when they don't die before their wives, men who become widowers marry again"*. The conversation goes about the elderly and the ageing: if their offspring have no conditions of caring for them - *"not everybody can afford it"* -, the way is going to an asylum. *"Nowadays, children don't care for mothers"* - mentions **S.** who lives with her mother

but wants to get away just as her siblings have done. *E.* argues: “*But we become old and get diabetes...what can we do if God wants it like this? We are going to kill ourselves?*” (Field Diary, 13th August, 2013).

194 | Taking families as an instance for individual and collective interventions, Public Health policies seek to form and transform subjects and behaviors. Teaching and promoting family care (with and for them), **Health Education** and **Health Promotion** invest pedagogically in truth regimes, ways of making and inscribing on bodies not only norms and conducts, but also subjective positions to be followed up. In other words, operating biopedagogical practices (specially addressed to women), Health Services promote interventions, interactions and knowledge to obtain healthy bodies, to sustain their vitality or to heal them. Conducting what can be said or done, some subjects are authorized to tell others what to do (and in which circumstances).

Related to the processes of ageing, pregnancy or healthy nutrition, it is convenient to think about these biopedagogical practices as governmentality’s strategies – marked by gender perspectives in greater (**Making arts and crafts/Course for pregnant women** groups) or lesser intensity (**Health on one’s plate**): biopower has been exerted through them. It means that we can problematize these strategies as practices which reaffirm the discursive context enunciating the straight causation between an unhealthy lifestyle and illnesses; advocating changes in each subject’s attitudes/behaviors as ‘the key’ for solving or minimizing illnesses. Social, economic and political factors that produce diseases and damages to health are obscured or lessened in favor of scientific arguments pointing out that biological conditions, lifestyles, sedentary existence, stress and processed food – for example – are aspects every subject has the duty to intervene.

The governmentality of **Health Education** activities – which were observed during field study – is operated through biopedagogical practices effectively directed to families:

[...] they deliver their reports to professionals who suggest personal modifications to each user. In professional’s way of thinking, it is not a diet, but a proposal of nutritional reeducation. Examination can certainly have an easier format, but it remains an examination. In name of health, longevity, one’s and family care, but it is scrutiny. All speeches are embedded in the normative guideline: it is necessary to let ‘live well’ and this ‘welfare’ is related to individual decisions. Food relation is always understood as a choice only made in presence/absence of information.[...] (Field Diary, 14th October, 2013).

Focusing orientations on female figure as the family member who goes for shopping or cooking, nutritional reeducation activities reinforced the position of women responsible for preparing ‘healthy citizens’. These are practices, just like the previous ones, we can refer as genderized biopedagogies.

Conclusions

Within the field of this study women are constituted as the main supporters of processes that (re)negotiate meanings for daily discursive/non-discursive practices; gender can be as-

sumed as a kind of operator for inequalities, giving central responsibilities (and controls) to some of the subjects involved.

Professional voices usually define who are ‘the healthy women’ and the ‘healthy families’, usually emphasizing and privileging biological aspects of life. On the other hand, we need to argue that ‘responsibilities and duties’ take place in social context counting on the subjects’ active participation and adherence. Subjects who (re)invent senses and meanings for life practices which, in turn, are in permanent processes of reorganization.

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GENDER RELATIONS AT SCHOOL: A NECESSARY DEBATE¹

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ABSTRACT

In consideration of the subject's constant comprehension as a being in permanent action in the world, the possibility of problematizing the school syllabus as an element in permanent action emerges, evoking the need for rethinking teacher training as the central element articulating gender relations in the school environment. Therefore, the current study aims at presenting how and what Basic Education educators think of gender relations in schools located in the municipality of Bento Gonçalves. For such, semi-structured interviews with educators of the last years of Elementary School were adopted as methodological approach. The guiding questions aimed at relating matters within the classroom with the action and rationale of the participating teachers, who were two teachers from two different schools, also responsible for different educational components. Answers were then analyzed under the perspective of Content Analysis and indicated that, despite of the constant debates on gender relations, such thematic still lacks stronger confrontation from society as a whole. Hence, it is expected that continuous training can contribute to the discussion on diversity inherent to schools, enabling a new perspective towards pedagogical practices.

KEYWORDS

Gender relations; Basic Education; Continuous training; School environment.

Gender Relations in School: A Necessary Debate

It is the role of the educator to analyze issues which transcend primary content, problematizing current social matters in the classroom. By looking at society, the educator realizes themes at hand which demand an elementary approach for learners, who find themselves in permanent formation. Gender-related matters, under academic debate for some years, generate significant input in basic education. Not only learners, but also educators may, based on their own experiences and reflections, put into practice their knowledge, creating a new perspective on contemporary subjects and seeking to overcome biological elements which naturalize both female and male behavior.

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The naturalization of a man who is strong, rational, objective, and in control of the situation – and relationship –, to the detriment of the naturalization of a woman who is sensitive, emotional, and nurturing of men – and other family members –, are in the center of the patriarchal culture and have been problematized in a systematic and reasoned manner. Such phenomenon exposes the relevance of the present discussion, as, even after professional education and the expansion of roles beyond the domestic sphere, the woman is still, in the majority of contexts, the responsible for house and motherhood-related chores. According to Luz (2009),

the sexual labor division is one of the forms of the social division of labor. It concerns the separation between activities performed by women and activities performed by men. Such division associates, from a macroperspective, the work of females to the sphere of reproduction [...] and the work of men to the productive scope [...] (p. 152, my translation).

Due to the establishment of an open market, globalization, increase of production and new family structures built by the end of last century, women have been compelled to join the workforce, becoming cheap and underappreciated labor by commercial discourses from the West, in which production/reproduction dichotomy marks are present. In such regard, Perrot (2005) emphasizes that working females “are dually denied: as women, for being the antithesis of femininity; as workers, since their salary, statutorily inferior to their counterparts, is considered a ‘complement’ to the family budget” (p. 288).

This relation between gender and work contributes to reaffirming the sexist idea that domestic tasks are related to the female sex, being an activity private and developed within the domestic scope, with a touch of sensibility, finesse, and fragility; while males took over the public space, becoming responsible for economic family support and performing activities which involved demonstrations of strength, objectivity, and virility⁶. As a result, the acknowledgement of a discourse of superiority and domination is guaranteed, being endorsed by science, philosophy, culture, and religion.

An instance of such can be found in a study focused on women in Colonial Brasil, in which Mary Del Priore (2009) introduces the State project which, by the end of the 16th century, aided by the Church, aimed at Christianizing female natives with the supporting example of the “saint-mommys” (p. 108), integrating them to the system and avoiding the “stigma of a woman without qualities” (p. 112, my translation). To the women who were by themselves, as their partners were involved with the process of colonization and population of the Colony, being a good mother was their last resort in order to avoid being labeled as “vilified” by the Church. As a consequence, devotion and vigilance were invested so that women would become a source of inspiration and serve as role models. For the author, such “mariological” devotion⁷ contributed to the confinement of the woman to the domestic privacy, assigning

⁶ The term virility is used carried with the social attributes “associated with men and the masculine”, in accordance to Molinier e Welzer-Lang (2009). For the authors, virility is introduced with a dual meaning: while it is associated with the masculine attributes of strength and courage, it also refers to “the erectile and penetrating form of the masculine sexuality” (p. 101, my translation), becoming the representation of the androcentric domination. In the Critical Dictionary of Feminism, beyond the concept of virility, the authors present such relation with the concepts of femininity and masculinity.

⁷ Del Priore refers to the devotion to Virgin Mary, a role model of motherhood introduced by the Church to be followed by females in the Colony.

her the role of reproduction in family edification, disciplining her actions and feelings, and restricting her involvement to the private space of the home.

While the man took the lead in the public space, the woman silenced within the private sphere of the home, serving to reproduction, denying her sexuality and pleasure, sustaining her passiveness and becoming the one who nurtures – young brothers, as a child; husband, when married; children, if the case; grandchildren, later in life; and parents, when they become senile. Furthermore, it was not only to the private sphere of the home that the woman was submitted. She was also, and in some cases still is, deprived of active participation in political decisions, public participation in society, legislation, education, and respect.

All considered, the present study aims at observing, analyzing and bringing to the debate the work relation of the professionals of Elementary School with the relations of gender present in the school environment, with the intent of presenting how and what Basic School teachers from schools located in the Serra Gaúcha think concerning gender relations and sexuality in school.

In the current syllabus, interdisciplinarity emerges as a response to the issue regarding the manner by which to address themes apparently disconnected. In such fashion, themes such as sexuality and gender relations may be connected to curricular components such as Math and Portuguese, both in Elementary and High School. With the insertion of cross-sectional themes in the National Curricular Parameters in 1997, where gender relations are found, schools are called upon deciding how to approach these themes, mindful that current society continues to observably exercise gender inequality.

Such circumstances generate the question guiding the present study: has the school environment enabled the debate on gender relations? In other words, this study identifies the progress regarding such debate in elementary schools, focusing on the role of teachers as broadcasters of new perspectives on society, while also acknowledging that the latter are also subjects under continuous change.

Methodology

This study is constituted of semi-structured interviews, which have been recorded and later analyzed under the perspective of Content Analysis (Bardin, 2009). The guiding questions focused on group activities, apparent differences between girls and boys, gender, sexuality, the National Education Plan, and gender identities. Up to the present moment, participants include two educators from the final years of elementary school, from two different schools located in the valley, known as Serra Gaúcha, as the research is still in progress. These teachers were selected due to their work with students in a phase of psychological and physical development which facilitates the study's approach. Furthermore, professionals from different areas have been chosen so that the reflection on the matter could be addressed under several fields of knowledge.

Data Analysis

Based on initial results, it was possible to classify the interview answers into three categories, which will handle the differences or similarities in learning and institutions, in addition to approaching the importance and possibility of debating such topic in school.

Learning as a Category of Analysis

One of the pertinent questions explored concerns teachers' perception regarding learning differences between girls and boys. Teacher 1 understands that "in a general way, I notice there are differences. I would not say in the learning level, because in terms of learning capacity I do not perceive differences, but I notice this difference in the matter of interest."

Nonetheless, to conduct research about gender relations, and position oneself in favor of the strongest one, or the already established one, is a comfortable position. However, when (re)thinking concepts about being a "man" or a "woman" is necessary, one is faced with a situation at least challenging: problematize gender relations while deconstructing the binary and naturalized conceptions which have constituted one as a subject. Donald Sabo (2002), when developing a critical study which problematizes men and masculinities, mentions the emergence of the affirmation that there is something wrong in the way the patriarchal society has built masculinity, as well as in the manner by which men relate with the world.

Such problematization may bring feminist studies closer to men politically involved with the fight for equal pay, the end of domestic violence, and the implementation of the paternal leave. Nonetheless, such task will not be easily accomplished by either sides.

Teacher 2 shares the understanding that there are no differences regarding learning, but states that a teacher may enable prejudicial issues "often allowing for such difference between boys and girls to happen because we do not want to act differently."

All considered, boys and girls are educated distinctively due to cultural patterns, in consideration of the dictates of patriarchy, which still influence the relations definition. By analyzing the study of Saffioti (1990), in which patriarchy takes over the condition of exploration, legitimizing the naturalization of the male's domination power, Eggert (2006) emphasizes that men also suffer from such system "by having to constantly prove that are strong and fearless, crave sex, and cannot demonstrate tenderness or desire towards other males" (p. 228, my translation).

Gender and sexuality in school: the importance

After debates enabled by the National Education Plan to be implemented in Brazil in 2016 regarding the study of gender identity, some educators understand the importance of such dialogue, but vocalize perceived obstacles:

I do not have vast knowledge on this. It is important to work with this matter, but my doubt would be how that would occur in the classroom, because I believe that many teachers are also not prepared to work with it, because I have many colleagues who are prejudicial in this regard. (Teacher 1)

Ivone Gebara (2000), when writing about "an evil feminist phenomenology", contributes with the polarized rupture between genders, overcoming biological limits which define what being a man or a woman means, also bringing to the debate the socio-anthropological nature of these subjects, announcing that gender relations are marked by power relations. Through such statement, the author amplifies the horizons of symbolic constructions which are tra-

versed by power relations, breaking barriers which support the male-female opposition and demystifying the masculine universalistic discourse.

Another pertinent issue is the neglect of the stakeholders' opinions, the students, which did not have their voices heard in any given moment, nor participated in the debates:

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I did not hear them (the students) saying that they do not want this discussion in the classroom, right? They are the ones who have to say it, not their parents. They had to say "dad, [...] no, but the teacher talked about this. The teacher is not educating boys to be girls or girls to be boys, she is teaching us to respect each other". They want to hear, they want to talk about it, and they want to ask questions, they want to. They love it, they are curious and beyond curiosities they are also sensitized. (Teacher 2)

Gender and sexuality in school: the possibility

Donald Sabo (2002) argues that the public estrangement from boys towards girls, as well as the affective relationships with them, serve to strengthen the ties with their own groups in the attempt to being accepted. In face of this situation, categories are also created, in which boys can be classified within their own group as the ones with more or less prestige, demonstrating the degree to which the relation of domination/subordination manifests not only among females, but also males.

In an article published in 1987, Ivone Gebara already called attention to the necessity of the feminist movement not limiting itself to changing the behavior of females, placing itself in a wider society project of changing the relationships between men and women, after all it "is a movement of male disalienation, of liberation from certain stereotypes and conditionings" imposed by society (p. 157, my translation). In face of this, the possibility that debating gender relations in the school environment may be feasible emerges.

Nonetheless, the current study showed a divergence of opinions in regards to the concept of possibilities of approaching such topic within any discipline. The first teacher realizes the importance of such work, but has difficulties in visualizing the practical application of the proposal:

I think many educators are not prepared to work, I do not know if I would be prepared myself, since I do not know how it would be worked with, if it would be dealt with in all disciplines and at what moment. Because, even if we know the importance of approaching these issues in the world, I find it hard for a math teacher, let us say stop, to work with a matter like this. (Teacher 1)

The other educator, on the other hand, understands that:

They (the students) want to become better human beings, they want to accept differences and it is our role to offer them this opportunity to discuss. The possibility of science, or of any other willing discipline, of history, geography, Portuguese, math discuss these topics, is inserted, because class is not copying from the board.

Of course such wider view of this dialogical process which enables the building of knowledge comes from the interviewee's specific educational background: "You are talking to an educator who has conducted research on the topic, so for me things are easier, maybe for my colleagues not so much."

Therefore, dealing with sexuality in the primary education school becomes essential, as there is still a notion that 'established social patterns' are the ones to be followed. However, the students currently in school are subjects of the diversity, the difference, challenging all previously established patterns.

Further remarks

In *Pedagogia do Cotidiano*, in which men and women are constantly represented by colors, feelings, expressions and attitudes, the gender as a category of analysis has supported the tensioning of discourses, questioning the patriarchy in regards to its safest element: the discourse that women's condition of subordination is part of the feminine nature. Furthermore, by determining that men continue owning privileges in the detriment of women, studies of gender seem to enable dialogue with what has been observed to be a contribution from feminists, who keep the concept of patriarchy as one of the axes in their analysis. In other words, the use of the concept of patriarchy nowadays must carry a more amplified comprehension, also understood as in constant tensioning.

Therefore, the studies surrounding the concepts involved in this scheme contributes to the rising of political awareness that the social movement (feminist, LGBTQ) enables the visibility of this fight for a more dignified life, which is permuted by the deconstruction of a type of power unfolded in privileges conquered and kept throughout history. A power which can, on the other hand, build other forms of power relations always present in any life in common.

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CHARACTERIZATIONS OF TEACHERS REGARDING GENDER AND ETHNIC-RACIAL RELATIONS

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ABSTRACT

According to this article, the legitimate pressures of social movements contributed to insert the implementation of public policies on diversity into the official agenda of the Brazilian State. This topic is increasingly present in the debate on education. The article presents assumptions, perspectives and challenges to break with a monocultural and homogeneous curriculum by implementing pedagogical practices turned towards recognizing and respecting gender diversity and ethnic-racial differences, aiming to overcome all forms of discrimination and prejudice. Results of surveys performed at three public schools in the state of Mato Grosso (MS), Brazil are analyzed. We use theoretical-methodological procedures for document analysis, focusing on questionnaires applied to schoolteachers. The studies by Quijano (2005), Maldonado-Torres (2007), Gomes (2012), Walsh (2009) and Hall (2003) provide the theoretical perspective of the analyses. The results show that despite advances in legislation it is necessary to re-signify the marks left by coloniality and to deconstruct monocultural curriculums, so that the initial and continued training of teachers complies with the premise that ensures respect and care for the ethnic, religious, economic and cultural diversities and that guided the drafting of the National Plan of Education (2011-2020), which should be one of the strategies that will enable a critical and emancipatory pedagogy.

KEYWORDS

Gender; ethnic-racial relations; public policies.

Gender and ethnic-racial relations: initial considerations

Educational public policies for diversity have advanced significantly in Brazil as a result of the pressures and demands of social movements that, for over a decade, have denounced the imposition of a model of education centered on the Eurocentric and hegemonic logic that renders the other differences inferior and subaltern in order to maintain the coloniality of knowledge and power. In this sense, we learn from Cultural Studies that it is necessary to understand that “truths” can be sought in different ways and places, considering that truth is constructed in the field of correlations of force and power.

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Thus, the homogeneous notions of collective identities, of race, class, culture and gender, are placed under suspicion based on another epistemology that identifies cultural differences and enables

... thinking how specific practices (articulated around contradictions that do not arise in the same way, at the same moment and at the same point) can nevertheless be thought of jointly. ... making cultural studies place on their agenda the critical issues of race, racial policy, resistance to racism, critical issues of cultural policy, consisted in a fierce theoretical struggle. (Hall, 2003, p. 152).

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Discussions on ethnic-racial relations and on gender equity take priority in the National Plan of Education (*Plano Nacional de Educação*) (Brasil, 2011), in the National Plan of Policies for Women (*Plano Nacional de Políticas para Mulheres*) (Brasil, 2004b), in the National Curricular Guidelines for Education of Ethnic-Racial Relations and for the Teaching of African-Brazilian and African History and Culture (*Diretrizes Curriculares Nacionais para a Educação das Relações Étnico-Raciais e para o Ensino de História e Cultura Afro-Brasileira e Africana*) (2004a), and in Law no. 11,645/2008. These public policies propose a discussion regarding gender issues and ethnic-racial issues, with a view to combating discriminations, prejudices and invisibility, since we consider it a form of resistance.

According to Miranda and Schimanski (2014, p. 68), “the interest in gender, class and race, as a category for analysis, shows the commitment of researchers to the inclusion of the voice of the excluded subjects ...”

The purpose of the present article is to analyze the characterizations of female teachers from three public schools in the state of Mato Grosso do Sul/MS, Brazil, about gender and ethnic-racial relations. Analyzing the teachers’ characterizations regarding these topics is relevant because it enables us to understand the practices developed by them in the school context.

We chose to perform a qualitative survey because we believe that it gives us the necessary support to fulfill our objective in this article. Bogdan and Biklen (1994, p. 47-50) emphasize the following characteristics of qualitative investigation:

1. In qualitative investigation the direct source of data is the natural environment and the investigator is the main instrument.
2. Qualitative investigation is descriptive.
3. Qualitative investigators are more interested in the process than simply in the results or products.
4. Qualitative investigators tend to analyze their data inductively.
5. Meaning is essential in the qualitative approach.

The qualitative approach to research allows us use the questionnaire as data production instrument. Thus, a questionnaire was applied by the researchers to three teachers who volunteered for this and received fictitious names to keep up the anonymity ensured by the Letter of Free and Informed Consent. The questionnaires were applied in November 2015 at three public schools in the state of Mato Grosso do Sul (MS), Brazil. Our concern was not about the number of participants, rather it was about the characterizations/meanings that they assign to issues of gender and ethnic-racial relations.

We agree with Chizzotti (2009, p. 55) that “the questionnaire consists of a set of pre-elaborated questions, systematically and sequentially arranged in items that constitute the topic of research ...”. The questions in the form were elaborated based on the theoreticians

who research and study these topics and based on the already existing public policies and laws. In this sense, it was applied personally by the researchers to explain doubts when necessary. An appointment was made in advance with the three teachers who participated in the research, in order not to interfere in their work at school.

According to Miranda and Schimanski (2014, p. 71) “gender, as a historical and socio-cultural category, emerges precisely as a concept of analysis to question these spaces that define the behaviors of men and women based on sex.”

At different places, such as schools, churches, clubs, in the family, at shopping malls, at the workplace, in the media, in other words, in all spaces we find the marks of feminine and masculine; thus, the differences are constructed, because, when they are compared, they are always placed in relation to each other.

As to the ethnic-racial issues, the objective of the National Curricular Guidelines for Education of Ethnic-Racial Relations and for the Teaching of African-Brazilian and African History and Culture (Brasil, 2004a) is to disseminate and produce knowledge, as well as attitudes, positions and values to educate citizens regarding ethnic-racial plurality, enabling them to interact and negotiate common objectives that will ensure respect for legal rights and a valuing of identity for everyone, in the search for the consolidation of Brazilian democracy.

In this sense we attempted to find out what are the characterizations of the three schoolteachers from the three schools regarding ethnic-racial relations. Law no. 10,639 of January 9, 2003, the National Curricular Guidelines for Education of the Ethnic-Racial Relations and for the Teaching of African Brazilian and African History and Culture (2004a), and Law no. 11,645 of March 10, 2008 are affirmative action policies, that is, policies designed to indemnify and recognize and enhance the value of the history, culture and identities of black people, and in the case of Law no. 11,645/2008 they also include the history, culture and identities of the indigenous peoples.

Gender: A few possible notes

We agree with Miranda and Schimanski (2014, p. 83) that “... gender is a process constructed socially to represent the masculine and feminine, according to the values that society wishes to maintain.”

The anatomical difference between male and female and the difference between the sex organs are seen as a natural justification for the socially constructed difference as inequality among genders, especially in the social division of labor (Miranda and Schimanski, 2014, p. 72). And this biologicistic view is naturalized and reproduced in schools, as for instance in the separation between boys and girls in the queue, separate bathrooms for boys and girls, boys’ play and girls’ play, among others. Thus distinctions between the sexes and the place each should occupy in society have been established.

Carvalho (2009, p. 15) characterizes gender as “[...] an ensemble of characteristics and behaviors attributed to women or men and thus to material and symbolic practices, to objects, places, activities and social representations.”

As we realize that cultures and societies are dynamic, they evolve, that standards and values change, we can perceive that throughout history there have been different forms of masculinity and femininity.

According to Carvalho (2009, p. 16),

Although genders take a plurality of forms in different societies, historical periods, social classes/groups, ethnic and religious groups, generations and even in the course of individual lives, all known societies have a system of sex/gender manifested in culture, ideology, science, violence, sexuality, reproduction, labor division, organization of the State and the family, in discursive and everyday practices.

206 | Therefore, we can understand that gender issues are power relations, in which the male principle is taken as a universal parameter. In this sense the concept of gender represents the theoretical and political attempt to denaturalize sex inequalities, as pointed out by Carvalho (2009).

There are several lines in the theorization on gender, which range from essentialist to structuralist and poststructuralist currents.

The poststructuralist theoreticians conceive of gender as fluid, discursive and disembodied, seeing genders as plural and mutant. Thus, as Carvalho (2009, p. 22) emphasizes, "... femininity and masculinity do not have a fixed or stable meaning, since they are continually reconstructed and resignified representations; it is also true that gender relations of domination persist despite the achievements of the feminist movement throughout the 20th century."

Meyer (2012, p. 16-19), in a feminist poststructuralist approach, on theorizing gender, points out the following implications:

Gender points to the notion that over the course of life, through many different institutions and social practices, we constitute ourselves as men and women, in a process that is not linear, progressive or harmonious, and that also will never be ended or complete; 2) The concept also underscores that, since we are born and live in specific times, places and circumstances, there are many and conflicting manners of defining and experiencing femininity and masculinity; 3) Implicit in gender is the idea that the analyses and interventions undertaken must consider or take as reference the power relations between men and women and the many social and cultural forms that constitute them as subjects of gender; 4) The concept of gender proposes to consider that the social institutions, the symbols, norms, knowledges, laws, doctrines and policies of a society are constituted and permeated by representations and assumptions of feminine and masculine at the same time as they are centrally involved in their production, maintenance and resignification.

In Brazil, the National Plan of Education of 2001 determines that, in the objectives and goals of basic education, texts that imply discrimination regarding gender and ethnicity be eliminated from the school books and that, in the objectives and goals of higher education and teacher training, an approach to gender be included. And the National Plan of Education of 2011-2020 reiterates as a premise "... respect and attention to ethnic, religious, economic and cultural diversities ... and demands "... excellence in the training and enhancement of the value of professionals of education" (Brasil, 2011, p. 1).

Characterizations of teachers: a few thoughts

Schoolteacher Suellen, when asked whether she had read, researched or studied something about gender issues, answered that unfortunately she had never had any contact with

the topic. This teacher conceptualizes/characterizes the gender issues in a biologicistic view when she answers: "... biologically, the behaviors and cycles that occur both in girls and in boys refer to decisions and actions that are appropriate to each case, to each particularity."

On the other hand, schoolteacher Poliana, when asked whether she had read, researched or studied something about gender issues, answered that she always tries to read something, although she has never specifically looked at or researched these issues. She conceptualizes/characterizes the gender issues by saying that "... gender cannot be characterized only as male and female". Although she does not go further into the answer, she advances beyond the biologicistic/essentialist view as she believes that these issues are not restricted to male and female, but she also does not explain that they are linked to historical, social, cultural, political and economic issues, among others.

When schoolteacher Stella was asked whether she had read, researched or studied something about gender issues, she did not answer, but characterized gender as

... connected to the way in which values, desires and behaviors related to sexuality are organized in society. According to the feminist movement, it is important to develop a policy that seeks to promote equal rights among men and women in civil society.

In other words, schoolteacher Stella is close to the characterization of gender of the poststructuralist theoreticians because she considers it important to try to promote at school equal rights between men and women and because she thinks that these issues are connected to the way in which society is organized.

The National Plan of Policies for Women establishes as a goal "... to ensure the inclusion of issues of gender, race and ethnicity in the curriculums, to recognize and seek ways to alter the educational practices, production of knowledge, formal education, discriminatory culture and communication" (Brasil, 2004b, p. 33).

Although the inclusion and discussion of gender issues in the curriculums are ensured by public policies, laws, guidelines and decrees, when we asked the teachers about what they consider relevant in the process of education, the answers were evasive and gender issues were not mentioned or rendered invisible.

I consider it important to acquire knowledge as a result of the mediation of educators with their students, and of the students with the school community. It is necessary to respect the process of acquiring this knowledge, which also occurs via teaching methods. (Suellen, Nov. 24, 2015).

Besides the process of learning related contents, it is relevant to cover current issues (Poliana, Nov. 25, 2015).

The curriculum, planning, favorable environment, autonomy and interaction between teachers and the technical staff. (Stella, Nov. 29, 2015).

The answers of the teachers cited above express a monocultural, Eurocentric, white, heterosexual, technicist curriculum view which emphasizes the acquisition of knowledge, contents, teaching methods, planning, curriculum. The teachers did not mention any concern about issues regarding race/ethnicity and gender. As said previously, they do not research, study or have had any (initial and continued) training on the issue of gender.

Ethnic-racial relations: a few possible thoughts

We perceive that in schools, as in other places in Brazilian society, there are situations of ethnic-racial discrimination and prejudice. In Brazil the indemnification policies aimed at the education of black people should offer these population groups guarantees that they will enter, stay and achieve success in school education and enhance the African-Brazilian historical and cultural heritage. The African-Brazilian community's demand to be recognized, valued and have their rights affirmed, as regards to education, began to be supported when Law no. 10,639/2003 was enacted, which altered Law no. 9,394/1996, establishing the mandatory teaching of African-Brazilian and African history and culture. Law no. 10,639/2003 is the result of pressures by the Brazilian Black Movement on the school and the State. "The Black Movement and other participants of the anti-racist struggle began to intervene in the State and in laws on education, incorporating the pedagogical treatment of the racial issue as a student's right and a school's duty" (Gomes, Oliveira and Souza, 2010, p. 70).

The goal of the National Curricular Guidelines for Education of Ethnic-Racial Relations and for the Teaching of African Brazilian and African History and Culture (Brasil, 2004a) is "... to promote the education of active and conscious citizens within the multicultural and pluriethnic society in Brazil, seeking positive ethnic-social relations toward the construction of a democratic nation", and the objective of Law no. 11,645/2008 is to make the topic of "African-Brazilian and Indigenous History and Culture" mandatory in the official curriculum of the school system.

We can see that the public policies demanded by social movements have been enacted, but what concerns us is how they are being implemented/implanted and understood by the teachers who work in the schools.

When schoolteacher Suellen was asked whether she had read, researched or studied something about the ethnic-racial issues, she answered: "... I heard about some documents in 2006, but did not go into them; even so, I did participate in occasional projects at the school". And she added a caveat: "I did not go further into the studies, I know that there is a law about African descendants and others, but I am not able to discuss about them."

From what schoolteacher Suellen said we can infer that ethnic-racial issues are still rendered invisible/silenced in her practice. She reports: "I have never seen situations of racial discrimination, but I have heard of utterances by teachers who offended students of African descent, and these students complained and registered this with the principal of the school where I taught." I asked her to tell of some work she had done on this issue in the classroom and she said: "I did not do any work. What I see in school are activities, teachers' utterances in class, specific projects and exhibitions on the topic/subject, and these are developed by teachers of various fields in all classes."

On the other hand, when schoolteacher Poliana was asked whether she had read, researched, or studied something about ethnic-racial issues, she answered: "... Yes, I took a course at the Federal University of Mato Grosso do Sul on the topic, I always read and work on it in the classroom." However, when asked whether she knew what Law no. 11,645/2008 says, her answer was that she did not. When asked whether she had already witnessed situations of racial discrimination, her answer was also that she had not. I asked her to tell of any work she had done in the classroom on this issue and she said: "Yes, a general and also regional study about ethnic-racial issues is done in groups or individually using the book 'Culturas Afro-brasileiras e Indígenas'", written by Maria Celma Borges et al. (2012). Although

schoolteacher Poliana does not know the content of Law no. 11,645/2008 and cannot yet identify situations of racial discrimination, she works with students of the 6th grade of Basic Education using the material that she received from the Municipal Department of Education of Campo Grande/MS (SEMED).

When schoolteacher Stella was asked whether she had read, researched or studied something about ethnic-racial issues, she answered: “Yes, I have already read Ana Maria Machado, Alaide Lisboa de Oliveira, Eugênia Portela de Siqueira Marques, Florestan Fernandes and Oracy Nogueira.” And when asked whether she knew the content of Law no. 11,645/2008, she answered that this law “... alters Law no. 9,394, which establishes the basic guidelines of national education, to include mandatory teaching on the topic of African-Brazilian and Indigenous History and Culture in the school system curriculum.” We also asked whether she had already witnessed situations of racial discrimination and she said: “Yes. One student called another one a greasy nigger. When the student who had been offended complained to the teacher, the latter said: ‘No harm, no foul’ and dismissed the matter as unimportant. The child’s mother felt offended and asked to change him to another class.” We asked whether the school develops some project/activity that will foster reflection on gender and ethnic-racial issues, she answered: “Yes. On November 20, the Day of Black Awareness, we show films, lectures, murals and an exhibition of black dolls.”

We thus note that schoolteacher Stella reads about racial issues and the school proposes a reflection on them, but there is still a lack of reading on the topic among the other teachers, because another teacher told us that, when faced with a situation of discrimination, she made it invisible/silenced it up, instead of questioning the discriminatory attitude of the student or even proposing a discussion regarding racial issues in that class.

A few possible considerations

The study enabled us to identify the fact that the implementation of education for ethnic-racial relations is still a challenge, and discussing gender issues is likewise a major challenge. Analyzing the questionnaires answered by the three schoolteachers we perceive that training or lack of it interferes in pedagogical practices, from the perspective of dialogue between knowledges, and it is therefore impossible to construct an intercultural, decolonized and antiracist pedagogy. We therefore ask: Does the State have any control on compliance with the laws in force? Is there a concern about training teachers in regards to ethnic-racial and gender diversity? Does the school watch out for situations of prejudice and discrimination?

An analysis of the teachers’ answers allows us to state that there is some knowledge (although superficial) about what is contained in the laws, but that it is also very difficult to deal with them in their pedagogical practices, since the teachers who participated in the study recognized that they know little about the culture and history of the African peoples and about gender issues. In other words, in the schools investigated there are still homogenizing and ethnocentric pedagogical practices which, silently, impose the colonizing culture, the ethnocentric values and ideologies. Therefore, a question must be raised and answered: How can a black child construct or strengthen their identity considering that their physical characteristics are considered inferior in society, at school and in the curriculum? How can one become a man or woman in a male chauvinist society that does not discuss gender issues?

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RESEARCH WITH CHILDREN AND GENDER IN CHILD BRAZILIAN EDUCATION: WHAT IS REGISTERED IN CHILD BODY¹

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ABSTRACT

This text presents data from a survey conducted in Brazil with children, addressing discussions and reflections built from the perspective of cultural studies and post-structuralism. We have the school as a social space of strong tensions that, if on one side plays models, on the other constitutes as a privileged terrain of discussions and rupture of taboos, bringing the children the opportunity to question the dominant patterns of relating affectively and socially. The research was developed in a Municipal School of Early Childhood Education (EMEI), in the state of Mato Grosso in Brazil, in a class of 2 grouping of the 2nd Cycle, having as subjects the teacher of the class, graduated in Pedagogy, and 20 children aged between 5 and 6 years old. The methodological strategy used was based on the participant observation of daily life of children in school, with a view to analyze gender relations in the ways they relate to the context of Child Education with their body and the body of the other during play, dialogues and choices of school artifacts. This is a qualitative research with an ethnographic approach, where the investigation also came across femininity and masculinity that are produced in school. In this sense, it is observed that, in their gender relations, children learn socially patterned behaviors that reverberate in their manners of being a boy and a girl. We also find that the discourses present in the classroom are lined in binary relations, which mark the times, spaces and objects that belong to boys and girls.

KEYWORDS

Children; Gender relations; School; Child education; Contemporaneity.

Introduction

In contemporaneity, we see that gender issues have been intensely debated and discussed in the educational context. Much research about this theme in the national scene has been developed in the areas of psychology, sociology and education, such as Louro (1997; 1999), Felipe (2003), and Guizzo (2005).

In the wake of cultural studies, we highlight, as Steinberg (1997, p. 105), that this perspective presents “possibilities for new ways to study education and specifically child education.” Thus, these studies contribute to the understanding that childhood be examined as a cultural group which has its own methods to see and evaluate the world, but that, unfortunately, are not contemplated as a group because they wield little power in society and whose views are often silenced in the school curriculum. Therefore, it is necessary to observe new fields of study, “bringing voices previously marginalized and introducing different perspectives on academic discussion and educational practice” (STEINBERG, 1997, p.106).

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This article, therefore, proposes to contribute to others who, according to the conceptions of Vianna and Finco (2001), defend the necessity to think about how social practices and mechanisms are in some way present in boys and girls education, how they are registered in their bodies, how they normalize, regulate, discipline and control behaviors, attitudes, knowledge and truths.

212 | In this perspective, the elected questions to guide this work are: what artifacts, objects, and images that refer to gender issues are significant for children and circulate among them in different spaces and school times? What times and spaces are used and created by children to share practices that remind of gender relations? What relations do the children establish with own body and the body of the other, which are marked by gender? How are the friendly relations crossed by these issues?

Despite huge debates about the subject, the initiatives to prepare educators to deal with themes related to gender, especially with regard to Child Education, have not been sufficient. We still find professionals who carry in their speeches a rancid conservatism that comes from a culture that still insists on being dominant, not respecting personal and cultural history, ethnicity and sexual identity of each child. As highlighted Louro (1997, p. 28):

In their social relationships, crossed by different discourses, symbols, representations and practices, the subjects will be building how male or female, arranging and disarranging their social places, their provisions, their ways of being in the world. These buildings and these arrangements are always transitory, becoming not only over time, historically, as well as becoming in articulation with the personal stories and the sexual, ethnic, race, class identities.

We intend with this text to contribute to the knowledge produced in the context of childhood studies, crossed by gender relations in schools, in order to provide reflections on the theme at the international level, with regard to the formal education of Brazilian children because these experiences in childhood are still taboo themes that permeate the discourse of educators in their values, practices and social relations.

This is due largely to the fact that such themes are opposed to crystallized childhood images and pure and innocent children, assumed to be the ideal. We emphasize that this is not an issue that only Brazil, a country in South America that has been working on these issues, has experienced in relations between children and adults in contemporary school. According to the authors, including Sarmiento and Pinto, based on studies developed in Europe, for example, we see that:

Indeed, children have existed ever since the first human, and childhood as a social construction - in purpose of which was built a set of social representations and beliefs and which is structured socialization and control devices to institute as a own social category - has been around since the XVII and XVIII. (SARMENTO; PINTO, 1997, p 213).

In this sense we point out that the methodological option inspired by the ethnography, based on Ferreira and Nunes (2014), part of the intention to meet the contemporary childhood and interpretations of words, gestures and attitudes of children, to defend childhood studies, breaking the dominant scientific view, which often disregards the child's view. Having children as social actors, the data is produced in the interaction of children with other chil-

dren and with the teacher, where they reproduce and produce meanings, which interests us so much.

Therefore, we emphasize that this work backs the deconstruction of postulates still strongly present in the concepts and practices of teachers and Child Education teachers, who are: the naturalization of childhood innocence and the fixed roles of masculinity and femininity that regulate views and conducts of children, from an early age, and are very effective in pedagogical work in this modality of Basic Education.

Beyond a historical point of view, and to contextualize our discussion, it is crucial to assert that the conception of childhood that we have today is very different from how it was centuries ago. The Childhood is therefore a concept that relates to the demarcation of a time of human life, historically and socially constructed. Thus, and taking focused on issues such as body and sexuality, mediated by culture and education, we can bring as examples sexual practices shared by children and adults, existing in the Middle Ages, behaviors seen as absolutely normal in that context and, in modernity, come to be seen as aberrations.

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Presenting the concept of childhood based on Ariès (1981), it is important to consider that this reflects the European context, and we have only the Western view, then this way of seeing childhood was based in Europe and therefore does not consider culture variety of other areas. With the Brazilian colonization, Europeans brought not only values and customs but also childhood conceptions that influence the Brazilian culture to this day.

Yet this perspective of the vision of children's innocence had the intention of preserving them from the world's detriments and avoid any contact with sexuality, developing character and the reason that they did not become weak. Ariès (1981) further demonstrates that in the XVIII century, children were pampered in order to remain innocent, and there is the need to moralize them for child weakness to disappear.

On the other hand, according to Foucault (1993), from the eighteenth century onwards, educational institutions were multiplied, perfected and became an example of power, with the disciplinary function of children, particularly the body and sexuality of boys and girls, which proves that child sexuality was viewed with great concern. In addition to teachers, doctors shared this concern, they went to observe the kids, installed surveillance devices, created ways to force confessions, established discourses about sexual risks even during childhood and put parents and teachers in constant alert.

The tripod "childhood, body and culture" allows to point out that there are some speeches that reinforce the physical characteristics and expected behaviors for girls and boys. Small gestures and practices when the teacher, for example, praised the delicacy of a girl and the strength of a boy; or when asked for a boy to help carry materials for the activities and the girl help to clean the classroom.

These situations happen daily in schools, and demonstrate that the expectations are different for boys and girls. Thus, children will develop their capabilities to match expectations determined by adults, i.e. according to the more acceptable characteristics for females and for males. The fact is that the school reinforces the different skills between girls and boys, even subtly. This guides the expectations with respect to intellectual performance considered more correct for each sex. Thus, girls and boys have very distinctive education, even if they are in the same classroom and doing the same activities, reading the same books and listening to the same teacher.

According to Nunes and Silva (2000), the reasons for different school performances between boys and girls in Child Education are linked to representations of teachers in relation to behavior. It is expected that the girls are dedicated, communicative and sensitive, because these are feminine characteristics. While the boys need to follow characteristics taken as masculine: dispersive, restless, inattentive and nonetheless smart. So, gender markers are inscribed on the bodies of girls and boys in accordance with the adult defines what it is to be a boy and what is to be a girl in our society. From very early on, this process of feminization and masculinization is imposed on the children, shaping the girls to keep docile attitudes and boys to be brave and aggressive, suffering from very small gender bias.

The word “gender” can be used with various meanings and acceptations, and is used in various fields of knowledge and assigned to define characteristics and values both in the Animal Kingdom, plant and human. In the natural sciences, gender means “species”; now for the social and human sciences, a field in which this research is situated, gender is also related to the cultural construction of femininity and masculinity notions from sexual differences.

To continue to treat gender, it is necessary, first, to insert this concept in a historical character to then identify it in the theme and in the specific context of a particular historical moment. Gender studies had their origin with feminist movements, without any academic prominence. Over time, they have gained more prestige to achieve consistency in the field of academic research. When discussing gender issues, the Brazilian Louro (1997) emphasizes the history of the feminist movement, because it is a rights fight process seeking to make women visible because social segregation and politics resulted in the invisibility of women as subjects. The author emphasizes that to understand the place and the relations between men and women, it is important to note not sex, but it was built about the sexes.

In the wake of these reflections, we also have Scott (1990), who understands gender as an element that constitutes the social relations based on the differences between the sexes, then, a historical and social construction of the sexes. Thus, the concept of gender has to do with the social construction of anatomical sex or through the differences that can be seen between the sexes. Thus, gender studies help in the understanding of social relations, especially because they hold onto concepts, practices and representations developed among humans mainly on those which are constructed from the relations between same sex people or of different sexes, age, color, race and different social classes.

In our contemporary world, people are represented from gender and sexual identities. As Weeks (1995, p. 89) explained, “we fear uncertainty, the unknown, the threat of dissolution which implies not having a fixed identity.” On the other hand, discourses about the bodies produce manners of being, with each culture functioning as a social body that produces individual bodies. The family, the church, the media and schools, among others, by means

of his practices and their speeches, produce human beings and the ways they are recognized as people. In this sense, Rosa (2004) argues that the body is defined as “a hypertext, scenery, map, flag, protest and breeding territory. Subterfuge and dribbling ... accessories, finery, decorations “(ROSA, 2004, p. 7).

The analysis arising from studies conducted by Michel Foucault (1993) about the use of the body, the power relations over him are very relevant to being related to sexuality studies, mainly when it comes to their links to different discourses: medical, legal, psychological, educational and religious. Sexuality has been highlighted as one of the central themes being presented in speeches as universal and essentialist mode.

Felipe (2005) states that, even with all the emphasis that have been receiving in recent decades, the bodies are still being carefully controlled and monitored, mainly with regard to the sexuality. It is important to highlight how some themes directly relate to the use of the body and its pleasures are still almost unquestioned.

Methodologically, to attend to ethical precepts of research, the director of the school investigated signed a declaration authorizing the research in that unit; the teacher and the parents of children of the observed group agreed their participation by signing the Informed Consent and Clarified Terms (TCLE); children were also consulted about the interest of contributing to the research and agreed to participate.

During the research, we analyze the words of children, collected at times when we were with them, particularly in the departure time, when the teacher walked away for 15 minutes, to accompany the family stream. Such occasions were constituted in fast, but rich meetings where children felt free to talk because the class was over. So they could talk without worrying about your manners, your posture, your voice.

It is important to emphasize that the routine activities of children begins with the reception of students at which time it is possible to notice the male-female binarism. When a boy arrives, he is welcomed and hugged only by other boys in the class, and the same happens with the girls, since they only stand to hug the girl arriving. There were times when, after classes started, the children were playing in one of the parks in the school and, after lunch, the teacher provided artifacts for them to play freely on the outside of the classroom. In this school, there is no break time, just snack time and, according to the school schedule, socialization happens every Friday, however, the MBO⁴ teacher prefers to occupy the space of the park, where they can get the kids in their class.

In the school routine the children were transited by several environmental spaces. Generally, when the teacher invited them to go to another environment, either the courtyard or a park, they automatically organized themselves in two queues: one for boys and another for girls. One day, a boy stood in line girls and to be surprised by a classmate, was called “fagot.” At that time, all the children laughed and the teacher asked the boy back to the correct queue without making any mention of the comment made by his colleague. Situations like this, where the stance adopted by the teacher was being omitted, show that the silencing also teaches.

When the teacher omits himself in a situation like as described above, it supports binary practices in gender relations and legitimizes prejudices guided by rigid ways of being boy

⁴ We use the initials of the teacher of the class. Further along to represent the children also adopt the strategy of using the initials of their names.

and girl and discrimination of other sexualities, distinct from heterosexual as the word “fagot” denotes a pejorative and offensive term directed to the boy whose conduct is supposedly dissonant that standard.

The segregation between boys and girls happened at several moments during the observation. In an activity to play on the swings, they positioned themselves on the low walls of the park and walked as the teacher requested. The boy HFSF suggested that the queues were of boys and girls and the teacher agreed that the boys are on one side and girls on the other.

So we observed that children were already accustomed to position themselves separately and at this moment that there was no stimulus or intervention by the teacher for the children to be organized any differently.

A fact that deserves mention was the case of a single girl who sat with the boys because she arrived late at school. The children, upon arrival, they chose their seats, and as KSR arrived at 7:15 am daily (class started at 07:00), she found only empty chairs near the boys and was sad throughout the whole class, waiting for the departure time. When a child would go away, she immediately positioned close to the girls, which gave her pleasure, like reintegrating to the only group that could she belong to. However, in outside activities, she did not have the approval of the girls to approach, as in class was always with the boys. It is interesting to note that the spatial and, at the same time, social position occupied by KSR in the classroom functioned as a kind of vetted passport she had in order to belong in the girl’s group.

We therefore observe that, by virtue of KSR staying close to the boys in the classroom, an exclusion movement is unleashed in the group of girls in relation to her, given that, when children are in other places, she does not feel accepted by the group, getting back together with the boys. According to Brougère (1998 apud Salgado, 2015), the ludic culture is the set of play customs and rules composed of social practices and living meanings. For not presenting the same way in different contexts, the play modes are different and in this case, the question of gender is an important factor to be considered. This is what happens in KSK’s situation, which, to be close to the boys in the classroom, must, according to the other girls, continue with them at other times. In this way, exclusion and segregation rules are established regulating the peer group, since children who do not share the same rules are discriminated inside a specific ludic culture.

The segregation by gender is strongly present in the games and in the interactions of children who are conditioned to this form of organization and, by themselves, cannot break this way of relating. Most of the time, as noted, there are no games between boys and girls. It is not only in the classroom that binarism predominates. In other living spaces, separation / segregation as current daily practice in relations between children themselves and between the teacher and children is also present.

Children’s games refer to social issues and cultural constructions of gender relations, especially in childhood, it is learned early on that these relationships need supervision, with greater control by adults. The parents of children suggests that girls relate to girls and boys with boys, and thus the identity marks reinforce the ways of being boy and girl.

The way in which children relate, based on gender demarcation during most of time is visible. The teacher, in turn is so accustomed to see the groups of boys on one side and girls

on the other, that such separation is natural to her. At all times, they are organized as usual and the teacher does not manifest herself, perpetuating the boy/girl binarism in all the proposed activities. The children in the class are not proportional to other forms of relating and they lose the opportunity to create other relationships, build other games in which there are interactions between boys and girls, which consequently strengthens and legitimizes the separation into groups.

So as final considerations, we deem it important to point out some aspects: the concept of gender has earned in recent decades great attention not only in academic circles but also in social movements and public policy that aim to promote gender equality and sexual rights especially in Brazil. Such is the importance of the topic, which impacts on the transformation of society that educational institutions cannot stay on the sidelines of this discussion especially because schools are the most appropriate places to work this issue.

Issues related to gender, even further after performing this research in the Brazilian scenario, should be problematized in the Childhood Education curriculum, so they can expand the educational possibilities of a new vision for children and their childhoods. During the classes, we found that the children had a resistance posture to suit some of the standards or rules imposed by the teacher. This attitude shows how boys and girls exploit the spaces and situations. To resist an activity requested by the teacher is one of the children's ways of transgressing the rules in the school environment.

We also highlight the words, gestures and attitudes that are present in the relationship between Latin American children in their dialogues and relationships at school. Concerning the artifacts, objects and images that refer to gender issues, we understand that these are significant for children and circulate among them in different spaces and school days because here concerns a question which flows in other issues to the purchase of ludic equipment. Therefore, we understand, in this research that the relationship that children have with their own bodies and the bodies of the others demonstrate the separation between boys and girls consolidated the artifacts used in clothing accessories and toys. Thus, research has also enabled us to instigate further reflection on gender relations in childhood education order to be able to have a better understanding of the different ways of being a boy and being a girl respecting each child their wishes, stories, experiences and subjectivities.

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PHILOSOPHICAL DISENFRANCHISEMENT OF ART: THE CASE OF FEMALE EROTIC LITERATURE

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ABSTRACT

This work aims to present, from the problems in the book *The Philosophical Disenfranchisement of Art* by Danto (2014), how erotic literature in Brazil was silenced and disenfranchised as art regarding other literatures because it is made by women. With a peer dialogue with Foucault (1996) in *The Order of Discourse*, in what it refers to the regard of the empowerment of speech; with theorists Santos & Ribeiro (2013) in *The literary writing of Pará women: reception among readers and the canon*, Branco & Brandão (2004) in *Written woman, putting her views about the female literary writing*; Santana (2014) in *Orgasm in Latin feminist confrontation: possible dialogues between the poetry of Olga Savary and Gioconda Belli*, Vidal (2012) in *Female Eroticism: the study of a short-story by Maria Lucia Medeiros* and Felix (2009) in *Sex-politics in Brazilian literature by women* (2009) about the struggles of women to use the eroticism in their writing. We see that such questioning is necessary to emancipate our literature from literary paradigms that are not erected by ourselves.

KEYWORDS

Philosophical disenfranchisement; female erotic poetry; discourse empowerment.

First considerations

Art, for centuries, is treated as smaller than other types of knowledge. In many cases it is not even considered as a form of knowledge. Such disbelief happens in different spheres, from the institutional to the popular one, two examples of that are: the way the teaching of art is neglected in schools, with few hours in relation to other subjects and to physical space inside schools, for example, there is, generally, a computer room and computers, but there is no art studio or specific material for art classes; and the words and discourses of common sense say art serves for nothing and the artist has less value in the job market, that the artist is lazy, the artist starves, among others, in what concerns the reality of Brazil .

The book by Arthur C. Danto (2014), *Philosophical Disenfranchisement of Art*, which guides this text, shows us in its nine essays that this pejorative characteristic attributed to art is not the result of a historical construction as one can assume, but a consequence of a philosophical belief. It also shows how art was (and still is) disenfranchised in philosophy regarding the other sciences, which are the mechanisms used in this process from its pillars, such as essential theorists as Plato, Aristotle, Kant and Hegel, and how art appropriates the dominant discourse and reproduces it in the course of its history and criticism.

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From the guiding text, we are going to show how this disenfranchisement is bigger concerning a specific art, erotic literature written by female authors, how it was excluded by the Brazilian literary canon and the discourses that surround and curtail it and what the importance of speaking about it is. We believe it brings a discourse of sexuality and women's writing emancipation, still so relevant in these days that it is believed to have overcome the prejudices against women, but in fact what it is seen is constant attacks of various types of violence such as physical, psychological, intellectual and, it is possible to say, literary.

Philosophical disenfranchisement of art

Danto (2014), in the book *Philosophical disenfranchisement of art*, makes an archeology of theories that disenfranchise art from the philosophical perspective, from antiquity to modernity. It shows, first, that art is seen in the course of its history as if it were a danger to society, but parallel to it, treated as something useless, such seemingly antagonistic movements reveal a "massive collaborative effort" to its neutralization:

The history of art is the history of the suppression of art, itself as a kind of futility if that which one seeks to cast in chains has no effectiveness whatever, and one confers upon art the illusion of competence by treating as dangerous what would make nothing happen if it were allowed to be free. Where, [...], does the belief in the dangerousness of art come from? My own view, which I mean to develop here, is that it does not come from historical knowledge, but rather from a philosophical belief. It is based upon certain theories of art that philosophers have advanced, whatever it may be that caused them in the first place so to have sensed a danger in art that the history of philosophy itself might almost be regarded as a massive collaborative effort to neutralize an activity. Indeed, construing art, [...], as a causally or politically neutered activity is itself an act of neutralization. Representing art as something that in its nature can make nothing happen is not so much a view opposed to the view that art is dangerous: it is a way of responding to the sensed danger of art by treating it metaphysically as though there were nothing to be afraid of. (DANTO, 2014, p.38)

In antiquity, with Plato (427-347 BC), the discourse was about a devaluation of the artists because these would be imitators of reality. The art produced by them would be a representation of the real, therefore, the appearance of the world of appearances. While the man should seek the inherent essence of truth – not coincidentally the work done by philosophers. Using a function to the detriment of another, logically to subdue it, and to demerit, above all, the artistic knowledge in relation to the philosophical.

About his thought, Danto (2014) puts that "Plato's theory of art is largely political, a move in some struggle for domination over the minds of men in which art is conceived of as the enemy" (p.40). It also says that:

There are two stages to the Platonic attack. The first, just sketched, is to put across an ontology in which reality is logically immunized against art. The second stage consists so far as possible in rationalizing of art, so that reason bit by bit colonizes the domain of feelings, the Socratic dialogue being a form of dramatic representation in which the substance is reason exhibited as taming reality by absorbing it into concepts. (DANTO,2014, p.41)

After, Aristotle (384-322 BC), basing from Plato, reverberated such disenfranchisement by putting the art making in a third category, distanced from the truth, in which the representation of representation, twice far from the truth, so harmful to society, and therefore it would not bring any kind of knowledge compared to literature. Even though he did not see this as a kind of knowledge, he systematized the literature done at that time in three classic genres, which still are present in the teaching of literature, in schools in Brazil, in some literary tendencies that insist on keeping these precepts.

In modernity, when Kant (1724-1804) brings to the sphere of art, in the book *Critique of Judgment* (1790), the beautiful - an issue shown in *Aesthetics and theory of liberal arts* (1750) Baumgarten (1714-1762), which, in the same way as their predecessors, saw in art the domain of sensitive knowledge, which is inferior than the rational knowledge - says that this should be a mandatory feature of the works of art and aesthetic experience should be disinterested and contemplative, destitute of concept, and therefore, it would not seek knowledge. And he also shows that the aim of art is in itself, the artistic objects should bring to their spectator a pleasant feeling, and that feeling should be without interest, in which we have the judgment of taste.

Until Hegel (1770-1831), who comes in the wake of Kant and extends the question of the beautiful - here seen as superior, no longer restricted to the matter, a specific object - overcoming it. He shows the beautiful as connected to the spirit, no longer linked to a specific matter, the beauty in the Hegelian theory is not an inherent characteristic of the work of art as it was linked since Plato. This break in the beauty paradigm made possible the end of a certain kind of art that had as priority the delight, pure and disinterested satisfaction and, above all, the uselessness as Kant stated.

Meanwhile, Danto (2014) shows the distance that aesthetics caused both in relation to the work, and in relation to women:

Aesthetics is an eighteenth-century invention, but it is exactly as political, and for the same causes, as Plato's was of setting artists at a distance which *aesthetic* distance is a refined metaphor for. It was a bold and finally successful strategy, leaving serious artists to suppose it their task to make beauty. So the metaphysical pedestal upon which art gets put - consider the museum as labyrinth - is political translocation as savage as that which turned women into ladies, placing them in parlors doing things that seemed like purposive labor without specific purpose: embroidery, watercolor, knitting; essentially frivolous beings, there for an oppressor's pleasure disguised as disinterested. (DANTO, 2014, p.46)

As can be seen, this distancing strategy is political. There is the art and the woman on a pedestal so that both are not in the same field, within the same reality to the debate equally. The beauty enhancement both in art and in relation to the feminine is due to segregation, with the intention of maintaining power, as evidenced by the theorist:

Indeed, it has at times struck me that the conventional division between the fine and the practical arts - between *les beaux arts* and *les arts pratiques* - serves, in the name of a kind of exaltation, to segregate *les beaux arts* from life in a manner curiously parallel to the way in which calling women the *fair sex* is an institutional way of putting women at an aesthetic distance - on a kind of moral pedestal which extrudes a woman from a world it is hoped

she has no longer any business in. The power to classify is the power to dominate, and these parallel aestheticizations must be regarded as essentially political responses to what were sensed as dark dangers in both. (DANTO, 2014, p.46)

We will see then how the maintenance of this power was present in the sphere of a specific art, erotic literature by female authors.

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Erotic female literature case

But are the mechanisms of philosophical disenfranchisement present only in philosophy? Are they also not present in art criticism to discredit certain segments or authors, for example, inside a specific art?

In our view, within literature written by female authors neutralization for disqualification is associated with misogynist discourse of literary criticism made in the history of Brazilian literature, in which many female authors have been erased by the official history of the literary canon, as if they did not have production.

Historically, the literary canon, considered as perennial and an exemplary set of representative masterpieces of a certain local culture, has always been made by the Western, middle/upper class, white man; therefore, governed by an ideology that excludes the writings of women, of non-white ethnic groups, of the so-called sexual minorities, of disadvantaged social groups etc. (ZOLIN, 2005, 275 as mentioned in VIDAL, 2012, 52)

The question pointed out by Danto (2014) about the philosophical disenfranchisement of art by neutralization concerning the aesthetic distance, similar to the domination suffered by women because they are directly linked to beauty, and like that, distanced, uplifted in order to segregate, is also the mechanism to disqualify women's literature before the literary criticism, exemplifying that, Branco (2004, p.98-99) shows that authors like the Brazilian Gilka Machado and the Portuguese Florbela Espanca were attacked publicly and their moral conduct were put in doubt because of the erotic poetry they produced, it was necessary that male critics defended and clarified the separation between their lives and their works.

Women were not allowed to enter the field (of battle) of literature, the erotic one even less, because it contains a very expensive element to the maintenance of power: the domain of their own sexuality and the discourses about it. About discourse, Michel Foucault (1996) tells us in his book *The order of discourse*, "we know quite well that we do not have the right to say everything, that we cannot speak of just anything in any circumstances whatever, and that not everyone has the right to speak of anything whatever" (p.08-09), in which he shows there is a regulatory system for the subject of discourse.

And in our understanding, this female erotica breaks with the established paradigms in the discourse about women, and the breakage is made by them, the writers, because

[...] they suggest a poetic intent to dispel stereotypes and compose a desire for change and fight. The design of a limited female identity is what the woman always had. Dilute this idea was essential for new decades so gender differences became more visible. Thus, these writers, as a kind of "shock treatment", tried to change the position of women through their

erotic stories. Their writings [...] take on another reality, because they look at an angle that differs from the established so far. It's like the feeling of the individual is positioned beyond the national condition, finding, this way, the supremacy of womanhood and their condition of being human. (SANTANA, 2014, p.3)

We see that a female erotic literature has the role of giving women the leadership, to see her sexuality represented in literature not by the male perspective, not as the “fair sex”, not through the aesthetic detachment caused by beauty, much less by the neutralization of her discourse, once “discourse is not simply that which translates struggles or systems of domination, but is the thing for which and by which there is struggle, discourse is the power which is to be seized” (Foucault, 1996, p.10), but by their own discourses, speeches and experiences.

This power, which has long been taken away from women, and from the 1970s began to be claimed, with feminist movements, has been modified in Brazil, once, according to Santos & Ribeiro (2013):

At the end of the 1970s, it flourished studies on the issue of women in various fields of knowledge. Since then, gradually, it has been registered researches on questions that assess the essentialist discourses about this genre. The debate, there originated, made possible the inclusion of studies about the trajectory of Brazilian writers, especially those without literary tradition. In this sense, it can be seen a significant scientific status, taking place in Brazilian universities, aiming to, from poststructuralist theories, demystify the ideological and conceptual lines that have marginalized the presence of women in the literature, and also cause a reinterpretation of the criteria used by critics to legitimize female authors as cultural production. Among these contemporary discussions, it's exemplary the ones of Elo-dia Xavier; Heloisa Buarque de Hollanda; Rita Terezinha Schmidt; Constanca Lima Duarte; Ivia Alves; Luzilá Ferreira; Izabel Brandão; Helena Parente Cunha; Nadia Gotlib; Zahidé Muzart. In general, all of these approaches has evaluated that Brazilian writers still resent the remaining discriminatory vestiges of a hegemonic tradition. (SANTOS & RIBEIRO, 2013,86)

This misconception “is explained by the past patriarchal history dominated by the ideology that women's productions are of no great aesthetic value and would have little influence on ‘formation of national identity’” (ZOLIN, 2005, 276 mentioned by VIDAL, 2012,51).

The space inside the Brazilian literature must continue to be fought, as the struggles against male domination are daily, and in erotic literature written by female authors is no different.

Final considerations

In this work we use the text by Danto (2014) *The Philosophical Disenfranchisement of Art* as a guide, but not only to talk about philosophy in art, but to place the female question posed by him and that in our view had to be developed. This text has many other perspectives that were not addressed, but which are equally important and should be developed in other works.

It was explained here how the disqualification was made in the theories of Plato, Aristotle, Kant and Hegel, and how such mechanisms used by philosophy to delegitimize the art were also used to distance the women from living in society through aesthetics.

We showed that the neutralization linked to the attack, as it was done with the art, was also made with female erotica, but to a greater extent, because it promoted an erasure of this kind of literature in Brazilian anthologies and literary criticism, motivating at certain times, personal violence directed to certain female writers of Brazil and Portugal.

And, finally, it was elucidated that female erotic literature is a form of discourse empowerment by women about their sexuality, about language, about their artistic work, their writing, their identity and their representation by their own experiences and creative processes.

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THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF THE ROMANTIC HAPPY ENDING IN CONTEMPORARY BRAZILIAN FEMALE AUTHORSHIP NOVEL¹

Wilma dos Santos Coqueiro²

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to develop an analysis on the fragility and transience of affective relationships in contemporary society in the novel *Algum Lugar*, published in 2009 by the contemporary writer, Argentine-Brazilian, Paloma Vidal. The novel deals with the difficulties of a double working shift in the post-feminist Brazilian scene. The analysis is based on theoretical works of cultural studies and feminist criticism.

KEYWORDS

Cultural Studies; contemporary society; post-feminism; female authorship novel; Paloma Vidal.

The path followed by women in literature has been long and arduous, since many difficulties always broke, overwhelmingly, from the insufficiency of written language, family prejudices, difficult to publish the works, to the lack of a roof for themselves, as noted Virginia Wolf (1928), to address the lack of incentive and conditions for women to express themselves through literature.

Unlike English authors such as Charlotte Lennox and Frances Brooke, among others, who already published since the seventeenth century, writing of novels by women in Brazil had a late start, occurring only in the mid-nineteenth century, when Maria Firmina dos Reis publishes *Úrsula*: a critical work on the slavery system that was in place in the country.

Several causes could explain the scarcity of female authors in Brazil. First, one can cite the difficulty in mastering the language, since the Brazilian educational system during the nineteenth century, as pointed by Ingrid Stein (1984), presented substantial differences between the curricula of male and female primary schools. The female education, which intended the performance of good qualities required for the role of “queen of the home”, was focused primarily in teaching Portuguese and French grammar, singing, dancing and music. Furthermore, there were still no secondary schools for girls. Second, with marriage and motherhood seen as ideal prospects of female social acceptance, household chores and the care for children couldn’t allow them conditions for the necessary reflection in pursuing a long written work such as novels. Finally, the inferiority itself experienced by women in society – in which she could not hold the quality of citizen since they had no right to vote and needed her husband’s permission to exercise any profession – emphasizes the prejudice towards women’s intellectual and artistic activities, which may have prevented that works with considerable aesthetic and literary quality had been published and/or recognized.

¹ A work to be presente in the GT “Usos do corpo; comportamentos e quotidianos pós-gênero como estratégias de agenciamento” in the V Congresso Internacional em Estudos Culturais: Gênero, Direitos Humanos e Ativismos.

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Thus, only after the first decade of the twentieth century, with the spring of remarkable writers such as Rachel de Queiroz and Clarice Lispector, a female literary tradition was initiated in Brazil that intensified in the 70s and 80s with the *Boom* of female authors, with writers like Lygia Fagundes Telles, Nelida Piñon, Lya Luft, Márcia Denser, among many others, that approached and discussed gender issues in their literary works, that presented resonances of the revolution promoted by Feminism – in line with Cultural Studies – that emerged in the 60s as a way to challenge the Phallogentrism.

By inquiring about the course of Feminism, from the 90s, Badinter wonders if the feminist discourse on the media reflects the concerns of most women and warns that “the feminism in recent years has pushed aside the struggles that constituted its reason for being” (Badinter, 2005, p. 19). In its conception, sexual freedom has been rising a domesticated sexuality and to the resurgence of the myth of maternal instinct, which seems to repress women to traditional roles.

This can be observed by perusing some texts in magazines aimed at women who, in addition to “teaching” women to be more alluring and thus keep the sexual and emotional interest in their partners, show female testimonials, usually from upper middle class women, who gave up their careers to take care of their children, restating the matter of “maternal love”, a myth deconstructed by Badinter’s emblematic work, published in 1981, *Um amor conquistado: o mito do amor materno*. These magazines, aimed at a minor female audience, do not mention cases of poor women, usually heads of their families, who by not having the option of being supported by spouses, are forced to live with fatigue and guilt for taking double working shifts.

Therefore, the work of Badinter (2005), by pointing out the schism in French feminism, allows understanding the feminine issue at the present time as a break with the traditional feminism. This so-called “feminism of difference” has pointed to some setbacks in relation to women’s way of being in society.

In this sense, another crucial work for comprehending the feminine situation today, and that, somehow, interacts with Badinter’s, is Alain Touraine’s *O Mundo das Mulheres* published in 2006, which, by taking stock of the feminist movement, the author states that this substantially changed the status of women and that remains mobilized in places that still retain traces of masculine dominance. For Touraine (2011), if it is a fact that many young women value the freedom conquest guaranteed by the feminist movement, on the other hand they do not support the “militant” and combative spirit that still sustains the speeches of some feminist groups.

It is therefore undeniable that there was a setback in the conviction regarding the effectiveness of the gender related reforms. For the author, although there are exceptional cases of couples seeking equality in sexual relationships as in other areas of common life, living in a kind of counterflow, this is not a rule or a general practice, since there is still no concrete gender equality. On the other hand, one of the great dilemmas of contemporary woman is related to the fact that the reduction of inequalities implies, in a way, the disintegration of family relations, with increasingly unstable relationships, as stated by Bauman on several occasions (1998, 2001) and, above all, in the suggestive work *Amor Líquido* (2004). Thus, “if inequality slightly decreases, the density of all forms of marital bonds decreases much faster” (Touraine, 2001, p. 20).

Women's actions and consequences of their behavior, within Touraine's conception, are deep and they present wide visibility. Even with a positive outlook towards women's social evolution, the author presents some aspects that corroborate to Badinter statements, reflecting that, despite advancing, there is still the usage of the female body by commercial advertisement. In the economic sphere, even though women occupy a larger space, they are still restricted to poor or low-skilled jobs. Moreover, men often refer to women as objects of desire, leading the author to question: "How, in such circumstances, to deny that we are still so strongly anchored in a society of men" (Touraine, 2011, p. 20).

This meets the statements of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (2005), in *A dominação Masculina*, published in 1999. From the study of the traditional Kabyle society - which had no knowledge of Western conceptions - Bourdieu makes relevant notes on relationship between the genres that cater to contemporary Western societies. Bourdieu places male domination in the center of the symbolic economy, taking an embodied practice that affects both men and women. Therefore, it is through body that power struggles, making the body a materialization of domination. The author points out, corroborating to what Badinter said about domesticated sexuality, that male domination makes women, still nowadays, to be seen as symbolic objects and warns that perhaps the most cruel face of male dominance is the presumed female sexual freedom, which ultimately subordinate them to male desire. Thus, the "controlled exhibition of the body as a sign of 'liberation' is enough to show that this use of the body itself remains, quite evidently, subordinate to the male point of view" (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 40). Hence, Bourdieu's position is that women remain attached to a female world created by men.

In this sense, the American historian Stephanie Coonz (2012), in an interview to *Época* magazine, said that the mystique which governs men's and women's life - within a reverse allusion to one of the founding books of feminism in the twentieth century, *Feminine Mystique*, by Betty Friedan (1963) - is undoubtedly the career. In this sense, in an article published in *The New York Times*, in September 2013, even though acknowledging a reduction in the rights of men and an expansion in legal and economic rights of women, the author concludes that the man is still in the lead with better jobs and higher wages. In her opinion, as well as Badinter's, the last fifteen years, in some sectors, there was stagnation in women's achievements.

Touraine opposes to Badinter's position when he affirms that contemporary women, at the same time criticize inequality and claim their right to difference, assessing that there is a great distance between the classic feminist debates and the way women see themselves today. Another important aspect that stands out in Touraine is the democratic feature, but not revolutionary - as usually thought - of the feminist movement. In his point of view, by conducting large mass struggles, changing laws and affirming and recognizing equal rights, beyond moral victories and construction of the feminine consciousness, it was also meaningful to a democratic society: "It is therefore paradoxical (and finally unacceptable) to give a revolutionary explanation for a movement that is before and above all democratic" (Touraine, 2001, p. 37). This idea is shared by Coonz (2012) by stating that the issues relating to family are not only women's issue, but the issue of human rights and concluding that "the twenty-first century feminism is about defending people, not genres" (COONZ, 2012, p. 66).

Touraine (2011) argues that feminism transcended their original goals. So after unquestionable victories over inequality, women are less concerned with male domination. The very

possibility of choice that women have today was unthinkable before the feminist movement. The writer and feminist critic, Rosiska Darcy Oliveira, elected in 2013 to the Brazilian Academy of Letters, believes that feminism has changed the face of the world, both for men and women. For her, the dilemma of home *versus* work is not restricted to women, but also concerns men. In the author's view, "we need new business and public policies that allow women to reengineer time and balance work and private life" (Oliveira apud Paulina, 2013, p. 83).

In a more contemporary phase of the Brazilian Women's Literature, especially from the 90s, issues related to gender oppression, a striking theme in the narratives of the 70s and 80s, has been discussed with less intensity. In general, contemporary writers, who commonly belong to some intellectual elite, are discussing in their fictional works the contemporary women of the post-2000 globalized world. Therefore, issues such as the review of the recent history of the country and the world, globalization, exile, local and people displacements, and the construction of identity and female sexuality, at a time that some critics call Post-feminism, would be catalytic elements which inscribe women's experience today.

In this sense, the Argentine-Brazilian writer Paloma Vidal has a very similar trajectory to other exponents of contemporary Brazilian fiction as Francisco Dantas, Milton Hatoum, Silviano Santiago and Miguel Sanches Neto, by combining a professor career and the writing vocation. Vidal, who currently teaches at the Federal University of São Paulo, in the area of Literary Theory, and has Masters and Doctorate degree by the Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro. Between 2002 and 2006, while writing her doctoral thesis, entitled "Depois de tudo: Trajetórias na literatura latino-americana", she carried part of her research in Los Angeles, United States, parallel to the writing of her first novel *Algum Lugar*, published in 2009, which was financed by a literary creation grant from the program *Petrobrás Cultural 2006/2007*.

The theme of the novel related to exile, travel and memory, largely communicate with the trajectory of the author, who came with her parents from Argentina by the age of two, spent much of her life in Rio de Janeiro, lived in Los Angeles and currently moved to São Paulo. Similarly, the protagonist of the novel lives experiences which match those of the author: both have Argentine origins, moved to Los Angeles to study Literature and to complete their doctoral thesis, and are marked by ambivalent or plural identities.

In the novel *Algum Lugar*, the narrator-protagonist describes the problems of trying to adapt to the city of Los Angeles, including the writing of the doctoral thesis and discomfort in relation to language. In the midst of this process, marked by the strangeness and the feeling of not belonging, there is also the emotional breakdown of her relationship with M, who she lived with for some time in Los Angeles, and after in Rio de Janeiro, and who fathers her child. The gap between those two becomes clear since the first page of the book when they arrive in Los Angeles on separate flights. Faced with the feeling of strangeness provided by the airport, the mutual recriminations are inevitable:

None of this would be happening if we had traveled on the same flight, I think, and I anticipate the mutual recriminations: he, because I precipitated myself, buying the ticket when we did not know whether we would even travel; me, because he bought it at the last minute (Vidal, 2009, p. 16)³.

Living together in Los Angeles, in the "claustrophobic room, with old curtains with flowery prints and a widow bed occupying itself the center of the carpeted rectangle" (Vidal,

³ Paloma Vidal's novels citations have been translated freely.

2009, p. 22) begins to accentuate this gap between them once rarely they go out together or have some kind of coexistence. This becomes evident in the narrative technique, which interchanges from the autodiegetic to a heterodiegetic narrator, when the character refers to the relationship deepening this gap: “Sometimes he stays up late. She does not know what occupies his time, but nothing comforts her more than assuming that occasionally his gaze alights on her while sleeping” (Vidal, 2009, p. 22).

The character, then, remembering her childhood, reflects upon the need she felt of the presence of someone to save her from loneliness and isolation. With the distance that is imposed since the beginning, between her and her companion, even during sex that occurs in a ritualized way, it becomes clear that confronting and living with the isolation would be inevitable:

Don't make questions. Obey when he asks you to take your clothes while doing the same. Under the blankets there are two naked bodies and the world becomes tiny. After sex, he hugs her with his whole body, as if to guard her in himself. And, suddenly, he stands up with any excuse, breaking the scene with a forced detachment (Vidal, 2009, p. 23).

As she tries to adapt to the city, getting to know its history, daily struggling against isolation and risking herself to leave the closed world to go to the museum, to watch movies or to hang out with Lucy, the isolation of M becomes increasingly frequent. The few words exchanged, the unmade bed, carelessness with the apartment, the prolonged silences and the books that accumulate in piles in the flat corners are clear hints that “M was turning the apartment into a refuge” (Vidal, 2009 p. 66).

Finally, the affective detachment also becomes timewise, with M switching the night for the day. The character was in town, but unlike the protagonist, refused to the ambiance. The certainty of the briefness of their relationship leads her to be afraid to question her husband: “The question is sometimes hovering over our day, still and dense. I do not have the courage to formulate it to M. It would be an unnecessary and even frightening anticipation. Or maybe I don't do it because I know what the answer would be: nothing is forever” (Vidal, 2009 p. 84).

At this point, it is important to note that love as a necessary condition to marriage in the Western world emerged from Romanticism, with the invention of romantic love, which promoted, according to D’Incao (1992) the advent of individualism and free choice marriage, although marriages continued to be made among persons of the same social group. Ieda Porchat (1992) adds that this bourgeois marriage, identified with the urban nuclear family linked to the industrialization process, “is a marriage that has the predominant values of choosing a partner for love, glorifying the maternal love, seeing women as queen of the home” (Porchat, 1992, p. 108).

This kind of marriage, which is in decline after the second half of the twentieth century, since it intensifies inequalities between men and women, has proven itself increasingly fragile, as “marriages are befall, disruptions are befall, pain is befall” (Porchat, 1992, p. 113). However, D’Incao sees as one of the causes of this increasing number of separations in the ghost of romantic love which is represented in literature and praised in films, and that still surrounds the imagination of postmodern men and women causing a desire for an impossible

wholeness to be satisfied, even more in modern times, in which personal relationships have as marks vulnerability and the lack of guarantee.

Malvina Muskat (1992) also highlights this search for wholeness as one of the causes that trigger the end of relationships. For the author, the sexual pleasure would be just one of the requirements for the permanence of relations. Both men and women seek not only the emotional realities - as tenderness and affection – that satisfy the “heart” but also want someone to establish an intellectual and spiritual communion. That is why there are so many misunderstandings in contemporary affective relationships since choosing until the maintenance of a partner. The author states that both her experience as an analyst and as a woman, she has seen “a huge discrepancy between the expectations for the love given to a conjugal relationship and the real possibilities to achieve them” (Muskat, 1992, p. 82). By questioning the possible causes of these amorous misunderstandings, she suggests as an hypothesis the fact that “this romantic ideal of love that assumes deep levels of intimacy, understanding and complementation, is simply camouflaging evil unconfessed desires protection, safety and permanence” (Muskat, 1992, p. 87-88).

This can be seen in the novel by the way that, as M starts to distant himself from the protagonist, creating his own world in the apartment and isolating himself even more, the insecurity of the character deepens to question whether you can redeem the safe and reassuring image, “of a room in the shadows in an apartment in Rio” (Vidal, 2009, p. 95). The fear of losing him, embodied in the “butterflies” she knows well, comes from this search for safety and answers at a time as marked by briefness.

The realization of their fears and most abysmal anguish becomes unbearable with the abrupt departure of M to Rio de Janeiro on a “sunny November morning” (Vidal, 2009, p. 101). The uncertainty on how much time he had thought about this decision deepens the feeling of inadequacy in relation to the city, discussed in the first subchapter: “In his absence, the memory torments me. It is as if the past had gained existence suddenly; like Los Angeles, that so far was pure present, was now part of a long losing time” (Vidal, 2009, p. 102-103). Feeling that “everywhere gain consistency of memory” (Vidal, 2009, p. 103), the need to mourn the loss in his departure keeps for several days, locked in the apartment with the distressing feeling that “losing a partner would seem the same as losing a part of herself, ‘missing pieces’” (Porchat, 1992, p. 122). In the face of extreme helplessness, the attempt to seek comfort in the only person who knew the city, Lucy, comes up in silence and indifference. Even trying to fulfill a routine and getting involved with a younger man, Jay, her student of Spanish, loneliness appears overwhelming, making the displacement increasingly nagging: “I think I’ll always be a lonely passer-by in this city” (Vidal, 2009 p. 113). In this sense, there is an exacerbation of the idea of non-place, as a result of this mobility of individuals.

The return on vacation to Rio de Janeiro, even without having completed academic work in Los Angeles, and the attempt to rediscover the city – and the life - lost, in which she sought “a justification for the inadequacy of return” (Vidal, 2009 , p. 127), ends up becoming permanent with a pregnancy whose “effects expand” (Vidal, 2009, p. 131). These effects relate to the house and its residents since they had to spread furniture and objects for the rest of the house to get a suitable room for the baby and the care that prevented her from leaving. Hence, the emphasis that “the rest of the house would never recover this turnaround” (Vidal, 2009, p. 134).

With the arrival of the child, the gap turns out to be irreversible: the mutual accusations, the isolation of the protagonist in caring for the child, her detachment from the world lead us to an irremediable crisis: “The feeling I have when remembering the months that passed is that to have lived outside the world. How to return? By asking that to M I realize that it is a path that will walk alone” (Vidal, 2009, p. 153).

To Badinter (1986), the marriage that, for women, was for centuries synonymous with security, respectability and fertility, eventually loses those characteristics with the advances of the feminist movement. This means that material security is no longer a condition for living together. Between an unhappy married life and the solitary life of single, the second option is increasingly common.

Although, to Mary Del Priore (2012), this search for wholeness and fulfillment has as consequences responsibility and loneliness, by arguing that behind the liberating idea, there is an accumulation of victims and losers, since people seem to want everything “love, security, absolute fidelity, monogamy and the dizziness of freedom” (Del Priore, 2012, p 321), according to Badinter (1986), these solitary transition times are positive. With or without children, separation creates conditions for happier ties that can be attached, since “it is more worth a momentary (and relative) solitude than sharing of one’s life with a being who does not recognize as his/hers” (Badinter, 1986, p. 206). Further he adds that the single one earned the right to citizenship and that the loneliness increasingly preferred over forced relation, considered as a moral cowardice that causes great emotional distress, may be the result of a conscious choice.

In the novel *Algum Lugar*, despite the great love she feels for her husband and loneliness that reaches so deeply, the character does absolutely nothing to stop the inexorable march of events and avoid disruption, experiencing her internal tearing, in a mature and rational manner:

It was he who finally came to her, one afternoon, unannounced. He rang the bell, he came in and sat on the couch. She stood. After much insistence, she agreed to sit beside him. The nearness of him caused an inexpressible suffering and she wept as he had never seen. The clarity of his words did not surprise her. She always sensed that he understood better than her what had happened to them. He explained, patiently, what he thought. Listening to him, hurt to realize, in every phrase, how much she loved him. He left while she could not say absolutely anything (Vidal, 2009, p. 161).

The novel of Paloma Vidal does not have the classic happy ending of romantic novels. In this sense, marriage therapists, Muskat (1992), states that the separation is not, in any sense, a happy ending, even because any ending reminds humans of their finitude. For her, both marriage and separation are possible only from the time that the human being realizes the real incompleteness and renounces the quest for full satisfaction. The author adds that “it is through the lack created by the dissatisfaction that we set for the search of the solution, and in the process of seeking it we become creative enough to generate the present” (Muskat, 1992, p. 101).

In a certain way, it seems to be this search of the protagonist in the novel, by following up with her routine, teaching Spanish, taking care of her plants, her cat and son and traveling with the mother and son to Buenos Aires. Upon receiving the invitation from mother to re-

state their Argentine origins, her first impulse was to think that there were no reasons not to go, but then she realizes the importance of making decisions: “In this moment when suddenly I start to look back, a unique idea comes to mind: the last decision I made was to travel to Los Angeles” (Vidal, 2009, p 166.). That seems to be a fundamental issue that underlies the female authors of novels of the twenty-first century, when small choices or decisions are able to modify the shape of the way the character is looking at the world, not closing a formative cycle, but learning how to live with loneliness and nomadism, reinventing itself in every mishap found in its path.

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TURBULENT WATERS: DIVES IN VAGUENESS A FLOOD OF QUESTIONS ABOUT MADNESS, DIFFERENCES AND TRANSGENDERISM¹

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Cláudia Maria Ribeiro⁴

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ABSTRACT

This work is the result of meetings. It was born from the interlacing of ideas, knowledge, power and truths. It came from deep dives in rough and unknown seas. It is a text woven by different and joined hands in favor of the attempt to unravel the existing imagery in troubled waters and problematize the monstrosity imposed on people that are segregated, excluded and thrown into the sea due to a standard that determines normalcy. From discussions in Education and Art discipline, the post-graduate course of the professional master's program in Education from the Federal University of Lavras, Minas Gerais, Brazil; a let-swim, sink and carry forward reflections to "Imaginary Museum of Water, Gender and Sexuality," which subsidize the creation of new bubbles, prompting unusual looks. On the impact achieved with Minicourse "Dives in the Arts," sharing proposal of the discipline of learning was taken to give life to this text. Aiming to wrestle the relationship between the troubled waters, madness, monsters, myths and the real, we traveled by troubled ways and we entered a dark, insecure, unstable sea. We unravel the history of the ship of fools, we think and rethink what is to be normal, to be accepted, opposing to what is to be monstrous, to be different and plunge into transgenderism. We stopped, in a rhizomatic construction that, like an avalanche of concepts, forms the problems that disturb and annoy.

KEYWORDS

Art; Imaginary; Madness; Monsters; Transgender.

Floods

This text is born from an experience, from a kind of meeting. From those that cause us so much impact that it unquiets us in a unique way. This means that it causes internal movements, alters structures, makes one think, raises tension and desire. In a course in the post-graduate program of the professional master's program in Education from the Federal University of Lavras, Minas Gerais, Brazil we meet. It was an experience with multiple directions ... a ferment of feelings and ideas about art.

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The course of Education and Art put us in a different relationship with reflection, we were not on the content, but yet we entered into a universe. We were taken to navigate the waters of our imagination, guided by “sailors” who came before us and pointed directions without exhausting the possibilities. The arts give us different and, why not say, countless ways. It opens paths, cracks, always new tracks. It enables dives that go deeper and deeper, and fearlessly launched us. Our starting point was the “Imaginary Museum of Water, Gender and Sexuality.” A virtual space that made us live intense and real situations that mix sensations, feelings and emotions. It is a gateway to a flooding of discoveries.

Navigation and diving make us realize we are in the open sea. Something invited us to go beyond, immersed in a dizzying journey through the imagination. There was an invitation to overcome the issues that were present, we were asked to imagine many other forms of exploring new and uncharted seas. The Museum was not only as a gallery to be visited. But a movement, reaction, renewal, transformation engine emanating from the discussions addressed. Multiple perspectives on works of art, literary texts, historical buildings, music, religious rituals, customs - soaked cultural texts of the imaginary water (Ribeiro, 2013) leading us by Cleansing Water, Erotic Waters, Protective Waters, Mythological Waters, Specular Waters, Indefinite Waters and Living Waters.

We assume the concept of imagination, not as an escape from reality. “It’s part of it, the more that social reality is also a building. The systematic study of effective imaginary productions provides access to deeper aspects of this reality, disguised by the colorful garb of the fantastic” (Augras, 2009, p. 10). Dictionaries say the imaginary word means something that exists only in the imagination; illusory; fantastic. Authors such as Sartre and Lacan attributed status below the image:

In Western culture that, to date, has taken strong commitment to rationalism, the imaginary is therefore the opposite of reason, pure expression of the imagination, that the French - were not they the children of Descartes - call ‘*la folle du logis*’, that is, “the mad house.” And indeed, the first authors to speak of imaginary lie clearly in the aspect of illusion and irrationality (Id., P. 209).

Bachelard then occupied a unique position between the imaginary theoretical “it will develop in parallel a production that values the poetic creation” (Id., P. 217) (...) “is the imaginary rather than a way of alienation, where are elaborated the finest ways to open to the world” (Id., p. 221).

Gilbert Durand, a disciple of Bachelard, makes an imaginary theme, from his book “The imaginary anthropological structures”, written in 1960, “a unifying confluence of all human and social sciences” (Id., P. 221) (...) “the imaginary setting as anthropological capital enables establishing a dialogue between the various sciences of man (and I would add, woman). No more antagonism between reason and imagination, which are both tools in building the world” (Id., 222).

In this world construction, sailing through philosophy, theology, psychology, sociology, ethnography, psychoanalysis, aesthetic theories, literary, linguistic, among other subjects or even trying to blur the disciplinary boundaries, the imagery of water enables us to reflect on the world. Therefore, clarifying the concepts that are compasses for this trip is essential.

We released ourselves, without fear, and we agreed to bring up our undertakings to a development that could be shared with people who were not there, and maybe also wanted

some of that experience. To wrap up the course we set out to develop a shared space-time. We called it “Dives in the Arts Minicourse: Knowledge, Powers, Truths”. Anchored in Foucault’s, Durand’s and Bachelard’s tools and ideas, we imagined and discussed different topics. Weekly we raised true storms weaving rhizomatically a web with wires coming from academic and cultural texts, several images, works of art of various kinds, experience exchanges, artists, anonymous and famous.

Gradually we were gathering senses and delimiting possibilities and saw four workshops arise for our Art and Education Minicourse. Studies went to the following lines: “Screams of Birth: Art as resistance expression”; “Frida Kahlo”; “Turbulence Waters” and “Abyssal Waters.”

Thinking the “Screams of Birth ...” we plunged in the arts and the birth has emerged as a political act protesting against the disrespect and the mutilation of the female body; veiled violence, lack of information and inability to speak. The (re) naturalization of birth appears as a possibility to return to the woman the role at that moment, by claiming rights over her own body and the conscious choice on the form of birth of her son/daughter. The Scream is the voice of women in the exercise of power, which do not admit having her body governed by knowledge and truths that they are subjected to. They assume, therefore, their importance, place, position, opinion, fears, weaknesses and strengths.

With “Frida Kahlo ...” we enter the fascinating and unusual universe of painting of a revolutionary, communist, feminist genius intertwined life and work. We are attracted by her creative feature, brims of her loneliness, her open wounds, her mutilated and cracked body, supported by a steel and plaster vest, frustration in not being able to carry a child inside her pierced uterus. In self-portraits, emerged from her heart, which are nothing more than a different body in the mirror that eradicates pain while recomposing the picture in the process of meeting with herself, in all this we find the way for a swim in the depths of our inner self.

We also ventured in the “abyssal waters ...” the unusual art. As 95% of the ocean is invisible to human eyes, the unusual art allows hiding in the depths of the soul. But what sets the unusual in the arts? Would it be startled by the unusual? Or shock usual? The unpredictability of the unusual causes destabilization, suspends certainties. In this marvel, the step back (or is it forward?), emerge questions and possibilities arise of (de) construction. We seek artistic productions that dared to shoot in the abyssal zone, soaking the problematizations with possibilities. Dives in indefinite waters causing one to think about the being and becoming of these artistic works. Immerse to submerge, to astound!

Open to all community, we offer the fruits of our reflections and dives in June 2015. However, during the sharing of experience with those who attended, we saw, felt, perceived the emergence of many other possibilities of thinking and rethinking. This prompted us to this text.

The weaving here discusses the “Revolt waters ...” a mini-course. During the deepening in the imagination of water, we glimpsed many works of art and cultural texts that recall the moments of tranquility and tenderness that are commonly portrayed by elements that evoke serenity in a flood of possibilities through mythical inspirations. But we also realize that there is a potential for inaccuracy, since water evokes excitement, fury, real disturbances. They are announcements of the new, yet not always predictable. Turbulence and storms manifest epiphanies, occult and transformative forces. Sacred and profane, not in opposition, but pervaded and merged into multiple relationships so intense that they generate art ... it is this turbulence that we dare to dive. Movement, strength, life, energy, breeze, building ...

calm, weakness, darkness, storm, destruction. Revolts have a charm that lies in the vagueness, the contradictions. They are paradoxical waters that can do everything.

Foucault, when writing about water, related it to madness! This makes us think of waywardness, uncertainties, infinities ... and puts us on the sea of ideas like a sea of troubled waters ... we sail! "Navigation delivers man to the uncertainty of luck." (Foucault, 1972, p. 12) and therefore launched or crazy in a Nau. The place derives water from tormented pilgrims, welcomes the ships of fools, these representations in Renaissance figures that reach the nineteenth century, are taken by Foucault in his problematizations. In the "History of Madness in the Classical Age", the French thinker devotes a chapter to this reflection and the titles of "Stultiferanavis". We have a history of unreason, or at least an unreasonable rationality. And the answer to this is an urban exclusion, social practice of power that wants to get rid of the tormented and its torments. Those who feel settlements of revolt, restless and jarring the normal principle ideas should be thrown away, left to drift. They were escorted to the city limits, different kinds of funerals with distributions of their assets were celebrated in rituals. They cannot live, at least in a standardized society, those who are beyond the limits set by the contract order. The appointment to weakness was indicative of a disorder with which the "normal" did not want to live with. The waters should lead to a non-place, it should purify, should get rid of what bothers. According to Foucault, the madman was "a prisoner of an open road," comparing thus the limited space of a prison to the immensity of the sea. The place where the insane were going was not their land, much less the land that was left behind. The crazy land is limited to the distance between the two lands, that was not his and that never will be. Thus, the water symbolizes this 'nin-territory' with which the madness will be gifted by the West. Literally, the madman had no ground. Or had water around him, or had bars (Foucault, 1972, p. 12)

The waters of madness are not calm, but turbulent. Madmen are released to the impetuosity of their own ideas. A stormy sea! Given this, it starts to resonate in our imagination an interlacing of non-rationality and creativity, genius and madness, and the pursuit of consciousness seems not to handle avoiding the despair of those who want to stay in the linearity of existence. The art and madness are seas where we insist to navigate in search for transgressions.

What do we deprive ourselves when calming the sea of ideas?

Pictorial works such as Hieronymus Bosch (1475-80), Pieter Huys, (1561), and Jan Sanders Hemessen (1555) titled "The Extraction of Stone of Madness" indicate how the company tried to calm some storms. Through satiric and burlesque prints representing a kind of surgical operation during the Middle Ages, and which served to remove a stone that caused the madness of men. Thus we have the indication that the madmen were those who had something weighing, bothering, preventing them from living well and that would be a stone in the head. We have thus a psycho. Which besides having stones in the head, they take those on the ground and hurl against the ones that approach. No doubt a succession of annoyances that a properly organized society must extirpate. It must contain, shut up, put in place those who are facing the torments of mind. But where does the idea that someone is always calm in one's mind comes from? Perhaps this question does not proceed because it is not that they are calm, they are more controllable. The story has several methods of control, causing calm. They range from the famous "lobotomy", a surgical intervention in the brain where pathways that connect the frontal lobes to the thalamus and other frontal pathways associated with causing what

was understood as constant sedation were severed, a more refined version of “extraction of stone of madness”, to the consolidating the industrial empire of psychotropic drugs including the anxiolytic, the famous soothing, even the potent inhibitors of the central nervous system, “chemical cosh”. We have in all this and in various ways governing body.

We have an imprisoning of subjects, of bodies, minds and individuals’ indoctrination. We witness the many strategies used to dominate beings and set a model of normal, desirable, calm, controlled and homogeneous people. We begin to question where in fact the “stone of madness” is. Would it be crazy to sail the seas of ideas and plunge into uncertainty? Would it be a normal deviation to question imposed truths and see beyond the masks fixed in our faces by the standards of conduct? In modern times, are we still placed on boats and thrown into the sea for surfing aimlessly, without the right of belonging to a land, because we are different, we run the rules and we represent the role of monsters?

Teixeira (2011, p. 68) points out that the monster “serves society the role of maintaining the power of beautiful, management of the order, the balance of social functions”. This leads us to question the powers that pass on our historical and social context, that stipulate rules, defines truths and prints knowledge. Powers that exclude the different, which entitles the monster and neglects the right to subjectivity.

Chevalier & Gheerbrant (1982, p. 615) based on the speeches that subjectify the hero, who must go through trials, winning the dragons, snakes and fear, plays the monster as the guardian of a treasure, an obstacle to be overcome for the sake of a greater good, may be the achievement of material values or spiritual growth. According to the symbolism of heroism, every achievement is the result of the capabilities and merits of a perfect man who conquers himself. Following on this assumption, the monster is characterized as a rite of passage, because he devours the old man/woman to give birth to the new.

However, there are situations where the eating is final and we do not see the birth of a victorious and complete man/woman who made the crossing. We find ourselves before a misshapen, dark and abysmal being, faced with a monster that is presented by irrational ways, a monster that, like the water, is fluid, undefined and is present in everywhere and in all beings. The monster inhabits the man/woman, promoting a constant fight to give this monster/man/woman the sword and the duty to kill itself.

Despite the mythology, we experience the exclusion and elimination of “monsters”. We agree with the controller desire, seeking calm in all circumstances. We cherish for a calm sea, with crystal clear water, mild pace and predictable destinations, just as we admit as ideal the passivity of people, beings as well, calm, transparent and accountable.

Resuming the symbolism of the monster, which must be defeated so that the hero wins, we understand the rooted concept of perfection that we carry. We could not live with what weighs in the eyes and mind. As the stone of madness that needs to be extracted to not lead us to navigate troubled and stormy waters, causing the questions, uncertainties, unusual desires and curiosities until now repressed; different also needs to be extracted from society, to prevent the domesticated people to problematize the need to maintain equality.

The sameness needs to be challenged. Why do we adopt the same rights, have the same customs, act the same way, use the same clothes, eat the same food, acquire the same knowledge, submit us in regimes of truths that deny the differences and singularities?

When we allow ourselves to look beyond the bars, we are taken by the inconstancy of doubts. The land that protected us from the dark beings, but also deprived us of the right to

be the monsters, is replaced by uncontrollable waves and uncertain destinations. Faced with these floods possibilities, we plunge into transgenderism to think the transgression of genders.

Bodies soaked of becomings

238 | In general Foucault's (2014) thoughts make us realize that new sexualities are constantly produced. Sexuality is not biologically ordered, which does not mean the biological capacities are not prerequisites for human sexuality. Butler (1993 apud Coelho, 2001 sp) in Foucault's wake, discusses the performative character (manufactured, constructed) of gender, multiplying the possibilities thus far unthinkable [...] destabilizes the boundaries of a body conceived as immutable, revealing that these boundaries are not clear and unquestionable, as they are also constantly built, destroyed and rebuilt within a given historical context. White (2008 s.p.) incites to think transvestite bodies as "future of Inventions" and Peres (2012, s.p.) as "good living testing." But the fact is that Western society is organized on a binary gender pattern with stringent regulatory principles, with premises of "naturalness", causing the individuals who, for some reason, escape expectations and are different than expected, strike the maintenance of power, having to face major challenges to be and live as one should and wants. This happens especially because the standards were normalized by ScientiaSexualis (Foucault, 2014, p. 59). There is therefore a speech stamped by the power of "science." There is a "biopower" holding up a linear system of relations between sex-body-gender, from the normalization of sexual practices and the homosexual subject invention developing a biopolitical control project on the body and sexuality (Foucault, 2014, p. 61). It was established so strictly, the male and the female limits in a binary logic that does not provide for the possibility of being "between" or "beyond".

Against the prevailing discourse in modern society Lanz (2014, p. 39) states that gender is a social expectation. The performance that every human being shall attend is implied in this, in view of their genital sex, and endorses the criticism of naturalistic conceptions of correspondence. It points to gender as a social construct that varies strongly between cultures and different times. For Lanz (2014, p. 57) it is only a cultural definition that we have the existence of two, and only two points, that of male and female or man and woman. These two categories are related naturally by the culture to the genital sex, on which includes males and females. We have from there an appropriation of gender binary device to classify born male and female subjects, respectively naturally as in "men" and "women" in a dimorphic design of bodies.

The vision that excludes force and / or at least denies considering invisible multiple alternative of non-linear experiences of relationships between sex and gender, as touts the American philosopher poststructuralist Judith Butler (2014, p. 24). These experiences are classified by the "queer" theory as "unintelligible genders," indicating a non-framework in the prevailing heteronormativity. Those who do not fit the ideal system of coherence and continuity, according to Butler (2014, p. 63), because they do not correspond to intelligible categories of male and female are stigmatized as abject beings, which in other words means a lack of access to human categorization.

Cossi (2011, p. 19), following in the wake of the philosopher Judith Butler, says that anatomy, gender and sexuality are modalities that are configured independently of the constitution of sexual identity. This is because multiple new possibilities for the identities understood in transgenderism beyond the transvestite and transsexual as drag queens, drag kings, butches,

crossdresser, bigender, pangender, post-gender, genderbender, genderfucker, intersexed, drag queens, etc. They make us at least put into question the notion of prevailing gender.

Butler (2014, p. 185) points to a new notion, when speaking of performative act, to talk about the gender expressions. Working with the idea of power relations and the idea of social transformation, as transgression, adopts as a paradigm the intelligible genders. It evokes abject genders, which by their very existence question and denounce the relationships, bringing all reality of discontinuity and incoherence between anatomical sex, gender, desire and social practice. Butler (2014, p. 109) gives voice to abject, putting into question the modern determinations of the standards governing the human production and nods to the possibility of new and radical social transformations. For Butler (2014, p. 102), throughout history, the idealizations of gender were taking shape through social representations.

In Bento's thinking (2014, p. 81) these idealizations establish the field of masculinity and femininity, which improperly, based on the ideal dimorphism and heterosexual complementarity of bodies generated the "gender norms", establishing what is intelligibly human or not, which is considered "real" and true or not, thus delimiting an ontological field that determine to the bodies what is a legitimate expression or not.

The transgenderism is now a necessary creative resistance strength of new and endless possibilities to be beyond assumptions, the markers of limits. It is a transgression of the poles, creativity that generates new aesthetic that can exist ... A constant becoming.

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TO BE OR NOT TO BE? GENDER DYSPHORIA CHILDHOOD: WHEN THE SUPPORT AND UNDERSTANDING OF FAMILY ARE FUNDAMENTAL TO THE CHILD¹

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ABSTRACT

This article aims to expose some considerations about the concept of Gender Dysphoria in human development from childhood to some traces of adulthood, highlighting how parents should deal with transsexual child, aimed at understanding the process of being male or female. The study is qualitative, conducted through literature, under the foundations of authors such as Freud, Athayde, Scott, Blonde, Ceccarelli and others. Thus, it appears that Gender Dysphoria is an inverse manifestation of the person who was born biologically one sex, but psychologically does not identify with this. Reversal is possible through the sex change, but it is necessary that the person is a "true transsexual" because the results are irreversible. It fall to the family to know the disorder, face the internal and external situations, with support and understanding for the children. Finally, it is essential for parents to accept, respect and love the transsexual child as they really are.

KEYWORDS

Childhood; Sexuality; Dysphoria Gender; Family.

Introduction

Boy or girl? To be or not to be? Why do some people do not accept them as they are? This is a situation that many families pass through and who, unaware of the phenomenon that causes this disorder, known as Gender Dysphoria or Transsexuality.

The theoretician Sigmund Freud was one of the great scholars in the field of human sexuality, treating the question in one of his works Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality, written in 1905. Among his findings, he makes it clear in the polls how difficult it is to define organic matter: male and female. It proves that the Freudian theory of Gender Dysphoria already was something noticeable.

The issue between sex and gender (biological and psychological) is a conflict that has repercussions in medicine, psychology, anthropology, in education and other fields of science. For Dysphoria Gender, known for Transsexuality, the person believed to belong to the opposite sex, does not identify with their biological sex.

In this situation, how should parents act with the child when it believes to be what it is not biologically, but what it that psychologically feels like? And what is this disorder known as Gender Dysphoria or Transsexuality?

The work is of a qualitative nature developed through a literature search, anchored in the theoretical contributions of: Freud (1972); Piletti (1999); Scott (1995); Louro (2001); Cec-

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carelli (2010); Athayde (2001); and others. The same is divided into four topics, which first makes some initial considerations, the second deals with Freud's theory, the third addresses the Gender Dysphoria and the fourth of the importance of family.

The aim of the article is to present some considerations about the concept of Gender Dysphoria in human development from childhood to some traces of adulthood, highlighting how parents should deal with transsexual children, aimed at understanding the process being male or female.

Initial considerations: biological and psychological foundations

The human being during its life is marked by a series of events that are peculiar to their biological and also psychological development. This means that each person has its own characteristics that differ from one another. But despite these differences it is possible to establish some basic principles of development, which Piletti synthesized in six steps, as,

- 1) a continuous process and commanded the human being develops according to a regular and constant sequence; 2) follows the cerebrospinal flow sequences and near-distal: the cerebro-caudal sequence indicates that the development progresses from head to extremities. The near-distal sequence indicates that development tends to progress the body center to the periphery; 3) progresses from general answers to specific answers: the more it develops, but the individual becomes capable of specific answers; 4) each part of the body has its own pace of development; 5) the pace of development of each individual tends to remain constant; 6) The development is complex and all its aspects are interrelated: the human being develops as a whole. (Piletti 1999, p.202-204)

That is, each person has a natural development process, from simple situations to very complex biological developments that will continue gradually. From the beginning of life, that is, prenatally and continuing to childhood to old age, it will keep developing as a whole.

It should be noted that the study of development was studied in the theories Sigmund Freud and Jean Piaget. Both believed that human development is through stages, phases, which follow in the same order in all subjects. And all people, provided they have a normal development, go through these stages in the same order, although they may vary in ages. (Piletti, 1999, p. 206)

In this, Freud's psychoanalysis contributed to the understanding of some phenomena related to the biological and psychological human behavior, this being related to sexuality and gender. For there are still many barriers, myths and prejudices that science helps demystify society. Since, being different to the considered "normal standards", they are still seen as human aberrations and, in some conservative cultures and traditional countries, they cannot appear as they are. Because they run the risk of having to go into exile from the family or even lose their lives.

Therefore, it is interesting to understand some concepts that guide the question of sex and gender. It goes far beyond a simple definition of male and female being correlated with the sexual organ. And further, Transsexuality will be addressed, as it is popularly known, the scientific name – Dysphoria of Gender.

The gender concept first emerged with British feminists in the 70s, whose aim was to reject the implicit biological determinism in the use of the terms sex or sexual difference. According to Scott (1995, p. 72), “they wanted to enhance, through language, the fundamentally social character of distinctions based on sex.” Thus, gender means “distinction between cultural attributes allocated to each gender and biological dimension of beings.” (Heilborn, 1991, p. 23) The use of the term expresses a whole system of relationships that includes sex, but that transcends biological difference. (Scott, 1995, p.72)

In psychoanalysis the distinction between sex and gender gains a more specific connotation, being introduced by North American psychoanalyst Robert Stoller, whose aim was to understand the psychodynamics of the transsexual. He thereby isolated aspects of psychosexuality, considered “independent” of the biological: gender. (Ceccarelli, 2010)

In studies, Stoller concluded that gender primes over sex. What enabled them to seize the acquisition of the female and male, gender, by a man (male) or a woman (female), the ³sex. “Gender is the amount of masculinity or femininity a person has. Although there are mixtures of the two in humans, man (male) “normal” has a preponderance of masculinity and the woman (female) “normal” a preponderance of femininity. “(Stoller, 1978, p. 61 apud Ceccarelli, 2010)

According to Boris, gender deals with the relationships between men and women:

The notion of gender, unlike the concept of sex, rather than be limited to reference to the mere exercise of sexual practice includes research of attitudes, behaviors, relationships, values, stereotypes, concepts and prejudices, which they are also social, historical, political, they have ideological and culturally constructed. (Boris, 2000, p.18)

It is clear, according to the author, that the notion of gender is an intrinsic construction. In this relational dimension that provides both male and female features can be universal, since the establishment of the relation that one has with each other. The symbolic question of how the other is seen in the company of male virility symbol’s point of view, not a difference on the issue of relational genres.

In psychology, human sexuality is defined as a combination of several elements: the biological sex (the sex that you have); the people who feel desire (sexual orientation); sexual identity (who thinks it is); and the behavior or sexual role. (Dias, 2006)

Freud’s theory on the infantile sexuality

Still on this sex and gender conception, we should highlight the contributions of the theory of Sigmund Freud, especially in relation to the text written in 1905 on the sexual theories of children, which refer to an earlier stage castration, describing the experiences and child sexual behaviors contribute to the life and behavior of the adult. What transcends is the idea of two sexes or two genders, which helps in the understanding of Gender Dysphoria. In the author’s works, although he did not find the expression gender, he indirectly dealt with the topic. Because, according to Ceccarelli (2010, p. 273) in German the word *Geschlecht*

³ Translation of “male” for man and “female” for women is not adequate. The most correct is “male” for male and “female” for female. But its use in Portuguese has ambiguous connotations. (Ceccarelli, 2010, p.271)

means sex and gender, commonly found in the works of the author. Therefore, it can be said that the author has dealt not only with human sexuality, but also indirectly referred to the gender.

It is known that from birth the child accepts without question the existence of male figure of the father and the female through the mother and differs from that which is not like them. Around them, they note that people have different garments; do certain things or not; [...] Learns that certain things can be done by a boy and others by a girl; learns that certain things, she - the child - can be done because they are a boy or a girl, but others, for the same reason, cannot do. This distinction is only possible because "their older memories (the children) already include a father and a mother." (Freud, 1972, p.215) This first classification, called "social function of sex", operated by the customs and also there is the look of the child who gradually transforms the anatomical body (real) in sexed body. (Ceccarelli, 2010, p.275)

It is initially through the parents and the primary group that the child will acquire the information about the symbolic system on the society in which it operates, as well as the codes which, as girl or boy should undergo, and they prescribe the registration within which it - the child - must enter their behavior and their conduct. (Ceccarelli, 2010, p.275)

That is, the child is compliant with the rules and conventions imposed by society that are characteristic of a symbolic system in which the child should behave as what it is (but not really how she feels inside), male or female in direct relation to their anatomy. "It is the assigned sex, not the anatomical and biological, which ensures the child the feeling of being a boy or girl." (Ceccarelli, 2010, p.271)

According Ceccarelli from the perspective of Freud's work the seizure of genders is done without regard to the sex organ. "The presence or absence is no guarantee that the subject is put on the men's side or the women's" (Ceccarelli, 2010), which is the case of Transsexualism.

Freud's theory caused an impact on child sexuality to adulthood, demystifying the concept that the child is pure and innocent. The doctor deconstructed the concept of binary categories to show that both masculinity and femininity are not points of arrival and departure. This was widely discussed in the works *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* and Chapter VII of *The Malaise in Civilizations*, which portrays the enormous difficulty in finding its own significance to determine "masculine" and "feminine."

Briefly, Freud, in this work, parts with the sexual aberrations, as termed at the time, and discovers that the human sexual drive is originally perverse and through organic changes and psychic inhibitions along the individual evolution, empties into the normal sexual behavior. Situated in childhood the origin of this sexual polymorphism: "[...] the adult's sexual drive is born by the combination of several motions of the child lives in a unit, in a vacuum with a single target" (Freud, 1972, p. 118-228)

Anyway, for the rules of convention, the child's social behavior before the eyes of the others and the drive and sexual inhibition, these are in line with the infantile sexual theories reported by Freud who qualify for 'woman' a man without a penis. But a woman is not a man without a penis, and a man without a penis is not a woman. That is, the sense of being male or female (gender) cannot be linked to the presence or absence of sexual organs (sex). (Ceccarelli, 2010)

Dysphoria Gender: conceptualization and brief analysis on the topic

Regarded as a sexual identity disorder, Gender Dysphoria is the commonly used name for the expression popularly known as “Transsexuality”. This is a phenomenon that is not so rare, but complex and surrounded by myths and prejudices concerning the perception that the person has of herself. In other words, it is based on the disagreement between biological sex and gender by which a person wishes to be socially recognized.

This concept was first studied by the physician Harry Benjamin, in the 1940s, with transsexual patients, as they described themselves, for not having a specific terminology (Athayde, 2001). The term Transsexual first emerged in the 1950s, through the use by professionals and lay people. However, it was through article sexologist David Cauldwell in 1949, that in fact the term became known after this reference to a request for “transmutation” of a woman to man as a case of Transsexuals Psychopathic. (Schilt, 2008)

During the 1960s and 70s, clinicians began to use the term “True Transsexual” to designate those who would live demonstrably better after a treatment course that culminated in genital surgery (Athayde, 2001). But it was in 1973 that John Money, Norman Fisk and Donald Laub conceptualized the “Gender Dysphoria”, adopted to designate transsexuality as a gender disorder. (Athayde, 2001)

From 1987, the term has undergone some names, being called transsexualism in the DSM-III (Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders) for individuals with Gender Dysphoria demonstrating, for at least two years, a continuing interest in turning sex of your body and the status of their social gender. In 1994, the DSM-IV changed for Gender Identity Disorder, which can also be identified in ICD-10 (International Classification of Diseases). In 2001 the term transgender came to reference people with no common gender identity of any sort. (Athayde, 2001)

Gender Dysphoria can thus be conceptualized as a manifestation for which the individual is born anatomically of a sex. However, psychologically, he believes to belong to the opposite sex, not identified in any way with their biological sex. Their desire is to live and be accepted as a person of the opposite sex (born as a man, but feels to be a woman or born a woman, but feels like a man) by the society in which it is inserted.

Change is possible?

Historical records report in literary, mythological and anthropological sources, that the feeling of belonging to the other sex present in transsexualism is as old as human sexuality. This means that the ‘Transsexuals’ is not, itself, to our time or our culture: what is new is the possibility of ‘sex change’ thanks to new surgical techniques and hormone therapy. (Ceccarelli, 2010, p. 278) However, this way to change the gender requires special attention. The person really needs to make sure that belong to that opposite sex. According to Teixeira (2011, p. 193):

Transsexuality can be read as a mobile experience that carries a desire to finitude. Reach “across the river” and declare the end of this passage. [...] The biggest issue is that the trap of this discourse lies in the path chosen to reach the other bank of the river: the imposition of surgery.

Therefore, the transsexual must feel that they understand their surgical emergency, not as something frivolous, but as a genuine desire to transform into someone who they always wanted to be. The goal is to create a body in accordance with the self-perceived image. Since the only way to improve this clinical condition is changing social and genital sex, and supportive psychotherapy to avoid serious complications. Without treatment, the condition is chronic and unremitting. (Athayde, 2001, p. 410)

Psychotherapy is suitable for transsexuals to help them live with the people around them, to have a more realistic view of the surgical treatment to which they submit and to face their future life after surgery, as most see as a “magic cure-all”, thinking that the world will change after. (Athayde, 2001, p. 411)

In addition to the changing of sex, other surgical procedures may be required as rhinoplasty, for example, in order to get a more feminine side. Also a phonosurgery may be necessary to fine tune the voice, and mammoplasty, to enhance breasts. (Athayde, 2001, p. 411)

Currently, however there is a growing tendency to avoid surgery, because of bad surgical training. What makes some transsexuals to be content with is the change of sex on the birth certificate. It ensures the transsexual equivalence between their sexual and social identity. (Ceccarelli, 2010, p.278)

Thus, it is possible to find a way to resolve the Gender Dysphoria. However, it takes a conscious decision because it involves sex reassignment, or change the sexual organ definitely. But in case the person has not yet perceived themselves as a “true transsexual”, post-surgical results can be fatal. Some data statistical report cases of transsexual suicide after surgery.

Like this, in this context, parents have a key role to realize that their son or daughter is behaving ‘inappropriate’ to social standards and to different biological behaviors. For the decision to change or not the sex in childhood, it should be very well thought out by them, since the child does not have the power to decide. Only time will tell if the act was successful or not, biologically and psychologically. Ideally, according to clinical literature and social aspects report, it is that this is a joint decision, in adulthood. This is when the person (the child without) already knows what he wants and what actually identifies himself as a person of the opposite sex.

The importance of the support and understanding of parents: a difficult decision

According Sarmiento (2009, p.16), “the child is the subject of childhood, which is in reality crossed by unequal development opportunities.” Every child has equal development of maturation of the body; however, the design of their gender may be different from their normal development. In this sense, the conception of the child’s sexuality is already present from fertilization of the embryo, highlighted by Freud in the phallic stage or Piaget in the development stages, through the parents’ imagination about the gender of this child and the emotional constructs to this child.

According to Louro (2001) babies develop during interactions with their cultures in a process of building and living their bodies according to rituals, languages, fantasies, representations, symbols and conventions, changing the biological body in a historical frame and social sense.

246 | In this sense, children are persons in relation to the other and therefore subject to social and affective influences on their choices and building their identities and behaviors. As Philip and Guizzo (2004, p. 31), “there are few studies that attempt to account for the construction of sexual identity in childhood.”

What it is difficult for parents is to discover or suspect that their son or daughter does not identify its gender with his biological body. Many families try to disguise this sexual identity disorder, in principle, with the non-acceptance, even if they already perceived by them. In this case, they treat the child as a being sick, sending it to therapy sessions in order to end the ‘problem’. It is what Maturano (2013) argues when he says: “Many families do not understand and ultimately see the transsexual as someone defective, or a pervert who chose to be so.”

Families living this situation of having a child with Gender Dysphoria need time to elaborate it, what needs to be well understood by the child. However, there is a need to strengthen and, if necessary, seek psychological help to help in addressing and resolving the issue in the best possible way. (Maturano, 2013)

Mainly because the transsexual faces a lot of prejudice from others, outside the discomfort that has with himself. In addition, we need support in the school scenario and on a daily basis with others, since the Dysphoria of Gender is not yet understood in its entirety. Thus, understanding it at home is the first step in addressing the many situations to come. As Maturano (2013) stated, “the great test of love that we can give them is to love them the way they are.”

Conclusion

Over time, it was thought that the child was a being pure and innocent. However, it was discovered that there are other phases, as shown in developmental theories based on biogenetic laws, the child undergoes spontaneous and sequential stages, particularly, sexuality.

The Gender Dysphoria known as Transsexuality is a phenomenon that the person cannot be recognized as their biological sex, but with its opposite gender. In the infant stage parents are often surprised by the child’s inappropriate behavior. However, sometimes they see as a moment that will pass. Or as a phase of discoveries of their own age. They hardly consider that this is a gender identity disorder and therefore requires attention, family and clinical follow-up. The internal conflict is caused by the perception of indecision between one gender to another is intense, and the person alone cannot.

Although many things have evolved, society is discriminatory and biased, which makes the acceptance of the person with gender dysphoria both by the family and by society insincere. You can change this perception of being, changing the biological sex or choosing only the change of gender in the civil registry. But in childhood, surgical intervention is not advised, only in adulthood. For imagine that the person knows what he really wants and is. So that

the transsexual child, parents must learn to cope and accept the situation, acting with love and patience against all odds.

Therefore, Gender Dysphoria is an inverse manifestation of the person who was born anatomically a sex, but psychologically does not identify with this sex. The reversal is possible through the sex change, but which, however, lacks therapy and the certainty to be a “true transsexual” person because the intervention is irreversible. In addition to the parents and families becoming aware of this disorder, it is essential to have their support and understanding. It is true that the individual with gender dysphoria, in addition to dealing with internal conflicts, there are external ones, such as prejudice, leaving that the parents accept them, respect them and love them as they really are.

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THE “MACHO” HATING: OVERVIEW OF LESBIAN, GAY, BISEXUAL AND TRANSGENDER HOMICIDES¹

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ABSTRACT

This study has, as its central theme, homophobia and direct or indirect murders related to sexual orientation and/or psychological gender. The overall goal is to present an overview of LGBTT homicides that occurred in Brazil in the first 10 months of 2015 through qualitative research with a descriptive approach in the format of data presentation, and thereafter develop a discussion and reflection on current literature and/or reports already submitted by non-governmental organizations engaged in the fighting for LGBT causes. Data confirms 256 deaths in Brazil in 10 months with predominance of white victims, aged 20 to 29 years, higher prevalence in the Southeast, in particular the state of São Paulo, biologically male homosexuals, on public roads, with mainly firearms used by unidentified executioners. It is, therefore, considered that public security policies and human rights attention to the LGBT population are incipient leaving it vulnerable to hidden bias in the social discourse, but very strong in practice.

KEYWORDS

Prejudice; Trans-homophobia; Murder; LGBTT; Intolerance.

Introduction

On the 3rd of November of 2015 it was recorded at the site of the Bahia Gay Group [GGB]⁷ another case of suicide of a young man of only 16 years of age in the city of Poá, in São Paulo, being the second case registered that year. The incident is not an isolated one, despite being the second case in the country, because in recent years Brazil has been given a painful first place in the murder ranking of gays, lesbians, transvestites and transsexuals (Bahia, 2014).

Murder episodes of homosexuals have received in recent years the attention of GGB, who maintains a site on the World Wide Web, by means of which it exposes the homicides reported in the country, considering the homophobia that seems to nurture an already an-

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⁷ <https://homofobiamata.wordpress.com/>

thropological question determining standards and parameters marked by an idea that man, in his biological aspect, must keep his manhood no matter his trials and so relates only to the opposite sex while assuming a dominating position (Ceccarelli, 2013) or a game rule seen as a discourse of power (Foucault, 1976) by which the cultural machismo features him as the stronger sex.

Construction of heterosexuality has been reinforcing, for centuries, gender conflicts, as well as rejecting behavioral actions incompatible with prevailing male social practices. The macho man has a clearly established virility, which is an example of courage, and rejects gender evaluations proposed by homosexuals who are historically unacceptable on account of anthropological, social and cultural patterns (Ceccarelli, 2013; Smith, 2000).

This historical rejection aspect of homosexuals is identified throughout the literature where one can point out to stoning in Judea, beheading under Constantine, drowning, hanging or burning at the time of the Inquisition and also in Nazism (Mott, 2001), as well as mentions by the Good Book, The Bible, of the relationship between men leading to the origins of prejudice from the design and readings of each person (Bible, 2009).

The data pointed to by GGB reports show that prejudice is still a dominating force in Brazil and murder is the greatest violence against the LGBTT people who have paid with their lives for an persisting ancient heritage of a bias that is seen at school, in church, in families and in communities, an evil that has curtailed dreams and perspectives, disregarded clearly established human rights such as the right to live in freedom, enjoy social and personal security, free from subjection, torture and other cruel treatment, being recognized as a person anywhere (Brazil, 2010).

This study has, as its central theme, homophobia as responsible for 256 direct or indirect murders so far related to sexual orientation and/or psychological gender. The overall objective is to achieve an overview of homicides against LGBTT subjects that occurred in Brazil in the first 10 months of the year 2015 through a qualitative research with a qualitative approach in order to present the data and develop the discussion and reflection of the results based on literature already in force and/or reports submitted by non-governmental organizations fighting for LGBT causes.

Methodology

This study is characterized as a qualitative research of a descriptive approach aiming at generating knowledge over a determined cause and subject, but with no foreseen practical application (Kauark, Manhães & Medeiros, 2010), conceived as a process, a term meaning dynamic, changing and evolving (Sampieri, Stuck & Lucio, 2015).

It was conducted from secondary sources of information, taken directly from the GGB site that makes a daily monitoring of homicides related to homophobic issues in Brazil. While these data are collected from news stories published on the web and are not validated by any official institution, it is out of them that annual reports on murder of LGBTT people are produced and shape the growing dimension of lesbo-homo-transphobia.

To achieve the proposed objective of exposing how LGBTT homicide data is growing, it was decided by the authors to do a retrospective temporal study, which starts in the past and comes to the present (Hochman, Nahas, Oliveira Filho, & Ferreira, 2005), adopting as an

inclusion criterion facts that occurred in the period from January 1 to October 31, 2015 and duly registered on the site. It was not considered the cases that at first in the research were classified as homophobic murder and which for some reason inherent to the site administrators had been removed without prior notice or that had been published on a prior date before the closing date of this research that took place on November, 1st, 2015.

250 | Data, after being collected and treated, is exposed by simple descriptive statistics that show general indices in percentages considering the sample of 256 deaths in the period, at the same time analyzing the information provided by the Internet site on ethnicity/color/race, age⁸, sexual orientation or psychic gender, the perpetrators and their tools, where the facts happened and finally stratification by Brazilian regions followed by a list of states where the highest number of killings occurred.

The discussion over results is discursive and these findings are compared with data from other countries in the world that have divulged their homophobic homicide data and/or other studies that show similarities with the information collected or others that are unidentifiable by images depicted by the site.

Results

Data for development and discussion of this study were collected directly from the GGB site that presents the following information on its pages: race/ethnicity/color, age, sexual orientation, state, city, suspect/guardian, cause of death, locale of incident, day/month/year and the victim's name, be it social or not, when it was possible to identify, not following a standard order.

The demographic data show that of 256 (100%) homicides occurring in the first 303 days of the year 2015, 102 (40%) were committed against white, 72 (28%); brown, 59 (23%); non-identified [NI] and black 23 (9%). The age group with the highest number of victims, 92, was the one whose ages varied between 20-29 years, equivalent to 36% of the total; 50 (20%) aged 30-39 years; 40 (16%) non-identified; 34 (13%) aged 40-49 years; 21 (8%) aged 10-19; 17 (7%) aged 50-59 years and finally two deaths being respectively in the ranges of 60-69 and 70-79 years.

The geographic distribution of the killings indicates that the Southeast has the highest rate of trans-homophobic crimes with 91 deaths - 36% of the total sum of the country, the State of São Paulo having the highest number with 48 homicides - 53% of that region. The Northeast Region is second with 81 murders - 33%; the highest concentration being in the state of Bahia with 27-33% of deaths in that region. The Northern region is third, with 37 homicides - 14% of the total in the country; the state of Amazonas with the highest number - 19 deaths, 51% of that region. The Midwest Region in its turn had 28 murders - 11% of the total; the state of Mato Grosso do Sul being the most violent with 10 deaths - 36 % of that region. In the South there were 14 deaths - 6 % of the total in the country; and in the states of Rio Grande do Sul and Santa Catarina the highest number reached 05 murders - 36% of that region.

⁸ For a better understanding of results, age groups were stratified in 10-year sets.

The greatest violence cases are registered against gays for a total of 133 cases - 52%, followed by transsexuals 100 - 39%, lesbians 13 - 5%, heterosexuals 7 - 3% and bisexuals 3 - 1%, where a large number of people who are responsible for the executions are not identified as in 202 cases (79%). The second largest group of killers is the one made up of partners or sex workers with 14 and 12 cases (5%), respectively; 10 murders (4%) were committed by partners of casual or professional sex, the smaller group being the one of former partners, with a murder counting of 8 cases (3%).

It is interesting to note that 157 (61%) of the events occurred on public roads, 78 (31%) in households, 18 (7%) in private establishments and 3 (1%) in unidentified places.

Discussion

It is common to find the discourse of social acceptance directed to those who present a sexual orientation/or psychic gender too different from patterns and traditional social concepts related to definition of what is male and female. Such concepts are also related to biological classifications that propound that natural and so-called normal relations should occur between opposite sexes and, starting from this view, those who do not follow such social conventions of characterization of man and woman become victims of social stigma, cultural rejection and even exclusion (Ceratti, 2014).

The murder of homosexuals in Brazil can be considered an issue related to social stigma, health and public security and violation of human rights in shock with the much lauded Constitution of 1988 (Brazil, 1988) which guarantees the citizens the right to move freely.

Data from GGB Reports covering the years 2012, 2013 and 2014 for the same period of this study reveal, respectively, 296, 264 and 259 homicides, statistically of little significance was the reduction of 40 murders in comparison with data of 2012-2015, 08 murders in 2013-2015 and 3 murders in 2014-2015, however highly positive results for the LGBTT movement in its struggles in Brazil to raise the awareness of the population in relation to equality and respect for human life (Bahia, 2012; 2013; 2014).

The above data are encouraging for the period under study, but the final results from the reports reveal an increase of murders committed against LGBTT people, unveiling 318 deaths in 2012, 312 in 2013 and 326 in 2014, a panorama where Brazil is given the disgusting and disadvantageous first place in the ranking of deaths of lesbians, gays, bisexuals, transvestites and transgenders (Mello, 2014).

The Brazilian reality diverges from results from researches undertaken in other countries such as Italy with a record of 37 murders and 194 assaults on a four-year period, 2006/2010, and 100 murders in the LGBTT population in a decade - 1990/2001, according to Curro's study; and Rizzo's (2014) with 57 notifications in 2011, according to the Arcigay Report(2011).

Intolerance, the prevailing characteristic to homicides in Brazilian regions, is comparable to other nations such as Qatar, Nigeria, Sudan, United Arab Emirates, Iran, Somalia, Mauritania, Saudi Arabia, Yemen and Uganda, where, on the other hand, penalties include torture, execution and/or death by stoning, being the most common forms of punishment applied to males, while for females⁹ penalties are more lenient while in other countries such as Mal-

⁹ It is the understanding here to refer to biological sex and not to sexual orientation or psychic gender, for it is not in the interest of this study to point out if in those countries they have the same terminology that is used in Brazil.

dives, Tanzania, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Nauru Islands and Sierra Leone are more lenient to both sexes (Silva, 2014).

It is noticeable the lack of effectivity of public policies directed towards the LGBTTT population, a portion of citizenship in a vulnerable state. Until recently Brazil had not a federal document that would support LGBTTT groups, and then, in 2006, Bill Nr. 122 was presented to the House of Representatives amending Law No. 7716 to include crime and punishment for discrimination or prejudice committed for reasons of gender and sexual orientation (Paim, 2013).

In spite of the law, crimes which have a response by law enforcement authorities, are still few, and units of the Brazilian federation, such as Acre in 2012 had 2 homicides and none of them has been solved yet, prevailing the macho idea that one settles his differences in sexual orientation through murder, murderers getting away with their crimes, equalizing violence with human rights.

The literature points out the social and structural stigma as a likely factor of early death (Hatzenbuehler, Bellatorre, Lee, Finch, Muennig & Fiscella, 2014) indicating that neighborhoods and their urban spatial locations also contribute to the death rates among LGBTTT (Duncan, Hatzenbuehler & Johnson, 2014), which seems to be reinforced by the fact that most cases occur in vulnerable outlying areas concerning culture and human development, not omitting bullying at school (Dank, Lachman, Zweig & Yahner, 2013) that would serve as a backdrop to justify suicide among homosexuals at a very early stage of their adolescence.

Results that show how crimes by homophobia are committed make clear that firearms and bladed weapons are still the most used, greatly on public roads where there is a predominance of executions and where bloody marks are left as proof of the violence. The typology of homophobic executions in Brazil are similar to those identified in the study developed in Mexico where the bodies were found naked and tied (Granados & Delgado, 2008), or the study in Florida that identified multiple causes (Bell & Vila, 1996), while in Brazil there were occurrences where the victim was stoned, beaten, had the genitals cut off, run over, was charred and impaled¹⁰.

The perpetrators of such hideous crimes in most cases are not identified which reinforces the hypothesis that the LGBTTT social group, among all minority groups, is the most disliked one and is victim of not only color prejudice, as shown by the data, but also due to its orientation, adding up to the unveiled cases of discrimination (Mott, 2005), in this way showing that the state failed to meet the 5 steps/legal obligations to protect and preserve human rights of LGBTTT people provided for in the document "Born Free and Equal", viz., protect, prevent, decriminalize, prohibit and respect (Commissioner, 2012) aiming at the idea to fight, since adolescence, male supremacy and its dominant discourse (Pinto, Catrib, Lourinho & Bright, 2015) seen to gain strength in speeches such as "I prefer a thug son than a homosexual" (Mott, 2005, p. 99).

Final Considerations

The murder of people belonging to the LGBTTT group is still a problem that reaches staggering proportions reflecting, unarguably, the fragility of the false speech of acceptance of

¹⁰ The term is used in Brazil to describe a situation where huge external objects are forced into the victim's anus.

sexual orientation and /or psychological gender, in fact veiled bias, reinforcing ideas of thousands of years ago in the current XXI century. These are families that do not accept their children as homosexuals, intolerant men and women who do not accept that their counterparts, human beings as themselves, like the same sex, or institutions that preach that such acts are sinful and represent the demoralization of the nation leading to the final stage of degradation of the human being.

These intolerances are reinforced by ideas from some Brazilian politicians who even classify homosexuality as a disease, indicating for homosexuals the gay cure; but, while in the political scene, concern is about purely moral issues, in Brazil, as a whole, increasing deaths shame the country, sometimes two murders in a single day which reflects the frailty of public policies for this population that remains unprotected against violence.

It is not uncommon to find speeches stating that the LGBTT movement increases, inflates the reality of death of homosexuals, but reality brings another scenario when it depicts brutal forms of killing and even suicides by those unable to deal with social pressures.

The idea that in an equity-dominated scenario the unequal should be treated unequally does not operate in the social reality where data show only an increasing number of cases, reinforcing the idea that Brazilian people, as well as many others in other countries are not prepared to live with diversity, requiring that it not be exposed, or that it "threatens" what is called social integrity within a society where what one really detects is a speech that does not reflect practice indeed.

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GENDER TECHNOLOGIES CONTAINED IN THE GUIA ASTRAL MAGAZINE'S DISCURSIVE LOGIC: HAZES AND STRATEGIES AROUND THE ICEBERG¹

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Joice Araújo Esperança⁴

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ABSTRACT

This work develops a discursive analysis of the *Guia Astral* Magazine, a magazine considered as a cultural tool disseminated among women, lying within the theories produced in the perspective of Cultural Studies on Education as well as Gender Studies, both under a post-structuralist view. The goal was to question the means used by this magazine to act as a pedagogical tool. Through predictions, advices and guidance related to sexual life, it intends to educate women, based on gender technologies on duty of biopower. The accomplishment of this article is linked to the *Nós do Sul*⁵ Group – Studies and Research Laboratory on Curriculum, regarding the Feminist Perspectives research line of the Studies and Research on Education. The theoretical contribution was mainly developed according to the philosophical and sociological viewpoints from Michel Foucault, Guacira Louro, Esther Diaz and Zygmunt Bauman. These authors were considered mainly because of the existence of an important link between their thoughts and a social analysis of the contemporary. This study shows the presence of control devices, such as market, relations and new forms of subjectivity that pervert the women's experience of freedom of choice, exposed to constant commercial eroticizing processes managed by biopower in order to reaffirm the patriarchal structures of society that maintain these women subjected to sexist devices. In this way it is produced a semblance of the feminine being, acting through seduction strategies and enchantment in order to convince that the female body and sex are prerogatives to women's success and happiness.

Keywords

Gender Technologies; Cultural Studies; Speech; Biopower; Cultural Tool.

Contextualization

This study is composed of a discursive analysis of the *Guia Astral* Magazine, considered as a cultural tool disseminated among women. Based on a post-structuralist perspective and on theoretical contributions from Gender and Cultural Studies, our research aims to discuss and question how this cultural device works as a pedagogical stage in order to educate women through predictions, advice and tips that guide their sexual life, creating a simulacrum of the feminine being and acting through seduction strategies and enchantment to create an understanding that the female body and sex are prerogatives to their success and happiness.

¹ Work presented to "Novas (e velhas) tecnologias do gênero: biopoder, micropolíticas e dispositivos" of the V Congresso Internacional em Estudos Culturais: Gênero, Direitos Humanos e Ativismos.

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⁵ "We from the south", in English.



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Results from the analysis of the data presented in this article are linked to an unprecedented study developed by researchers in the *Nós do Sul* group – Studies and Research Laboratory on Curriculum, regarding the Feminist Perspectives research line of the Studies and Research on Education

256 | The investigation is firstly based on philosophical and sociological contributions from Michel Foucault⁶, Guacira Louro⁷, Esther Diaz⁸ and Zygmunt Bauman⁹ studies. We have realized an important link between these authors according to the social analysis of the contemporary present in their thoughts. Approaches to Michel Foucault are made essentially by how he touches the modern subject understood as “(...) produced in the interior of knowledge rather than knowledge producer”. (Veiga Neto, 2014, p.44). The way Guacira Louro understands the bodies within a society can be interpreted through the manufacturing process of subjects. This body construction manifest itself as a continuous, subtle and sometimes in an imperceptible manner, characterized by numerous crossings of speeches, representations, practices and symbols. This scenario allows us to perform a more precise discursive analysis of the statements of the analyzed material. We perceived an intersection between observations executed by the philosopher Esther Diaz on sexuality and sex itself according to a biopolitics vision that promotes the understanding of gender technologies handling the biopower in the production of social, cultural and educational differences. Through the studies of the sociologist Zygmunt Bauman it is possible to meditate on the socio-historical and cultural circumstances that have been shaping the liquid modern world, touched by transience, exacerbated consumption and technological advances emphasized in contemporary society. These characteristics have been used by tabloids, like *Guia Astral Magazine*, in order to give women a sense of freedom of choice, where they are being hit by intelligent deprivation strategies according to Bauman (2013, p. 34).

The reflections proposed in this analysis are especially necessary because it is urgent to dissipate the haze¹⁰, control devices - market relations, new modes of subjectivity - that deform the experience of an actual freedom of choice regarding realizations of happiness and success experienced by women. They are exposed to constant commercial eroticism, every day earlier, managed by biopower in the reassertions of patriarchal structures of society according to (Diaz, 2010); and further subjected to sexist devices. This is the iceberg.

Theoretical and conceptual tools

Exactly like a sailor in distant seas, caught by thick mists taking off the perception of his eyes, preventing him to foresee and measure the obstacles in his path, so are we, humans involved by strategies and technologies that distract, attempt, seduce, confuse and purpose-

⁶ Michel Foucault was a philosopher and professor of the chair of History of Systems of Thought at the Collège de France from 1970 to 1984. His work has developed into an archeology of philosophical knowledge.

⁷ Guacira Louro, professor and researcher was founder of the Grupo de Estudos e Relações de Gênero (GEERGE) of the Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul - UFRGS.

⁸ Esther Diaz is an Argentinian epistemology scholar and essayist. She was a professor at the Universidad de Buenos Aires between 1985 and 2005. She is well known for introducing the thought of Michel Foucault in the Argentinian academic environment.

⁹ Zygmunt Bauman is a sociologist and professor emeritus of Warsaw University and University of Leeds. He created the famous concept of liquid modernity.

¹⁰ Mist, a thick fog in the sea

fully surround the social subject during the senses production process. Guiding individuals and collectivities to a dangerous idea of freedom of choice where, in reality, they have been produced in the interior of the defined knowledge of the contemporary society; a period struck, according to Baumann, (2014), by dense moral blindness, with consequent loss of sensitivity in liquid times.

Considering this point as a port of departure, we have defined the scope of our study as a comprehension of the gender technologies present in the *Guia Astral* Magazine's discursive logic. We understand gender technology from a view posterior to the 1980s, affiliated to post-critical theories (Meyer and Paraíso, 2014) and Cultural Studies (Hall, 2006) where gender technology is understood through a notion of power production. For Bento (2010),

Gender is the result of sophisticated technologies that produce sexual-bodies. The doctor's interpellations are part of a larger project, not prior to the genre, but that produces it. The supposed description of the fetus sex acts as a baptism that allows the body to enter the humanity category. [...] The act of language, considering this perspective, is not a representation of reality but a constructive interpretation of meanings. (Pp. 2-3)

Considering the studied magazine as a cultural device, we have searched in thoughts from the sociologist Bauman (2013) conditions to understand how this device serves the consumption market, the obtainment of profit and not in order to promote guidance and assistance promised to the female readers who buy the aforementioned magazine waiting for solution for their dilemmas and doubts.

(...) the omnivorous ability of consumption markets, its fantastic ability to take advantage of all problems, anxiety, apprehension, pain and human suffering - its ability to transform every protest and every impact of "counterforce" in an advantage and profit. On the other hand, with the markets in total control of the channels of representation, dissemination and communication, critical and opposing forces have almost no choice but to act according to the rules of the market, and thus - indirectly but not least powerful - endorse and reinforce the market dominance. (Bauman, 2013, pp. 30-31)

Bauman's words demonstrate the way women are being built by speeches in digital and printed media, advertisements and other sorts of technologies, regarding their ways of thinking, being and acting. This contemporaneity in Bauman is manifested also in Foucault when he puts the subject as an object of speeches, as something able to produce and live simultaneously in the world of language, exchanges, work, and life. Language and power are striking points in discursive practices. The *Guia Astral* Magazine constitutes itself with institutional and everyday practices, as a network of speeches and knowledge that in Foucault's perspective acts as producer and promoter of "truths" a priori, without the moral questioning of these "truths".

The readers of the studied magazine constitute "[...] a multiple body with numerous heads, if not infinite at least necessarily countable". (Veiga-Neto, 2014, p. 73) and this is the reason why they are subject to those exercising biopower. Biopower is understood as a sort of biopolitics of the human species, new knowledge objects created to control the species itself, considering the sense of collective dimension of the individual. In modernity the gov-

ernmentality¹¹ practices were carried out by the church, the family and the state. In post-modernity, the means of governing happen beyond that and in other social and economic instances, the power becomes relational and not vertical. Foucault, according to Fischer (2011, p. 239), binds to power the idea of pulverization, revealing it in all relationships and places, reason why it was classified as the herald of persecution, lack of hope and perpetual imprisonment.

In the elected magazine it is possible to observe the action of economic neoliberalism interests for the formation of a voracious consumption collectivity, eager for satisfaction and for a happiness associated to the advertised products, while the present statements in this magazine act directly in the direction of gender technologies used in reassertion of patriarchal structures of society, which in line with the philosopher (Diaz 2010) is the biopower itself in action. This thinker observes sexuality and sex itself from a biopolitics¹² point of view. We reiterate the attractive and deep waters of Cultural Studies as our analysis's space of location, understanding that Cultural Studies represent significant disruptions.

(...) Where old schools of thought are disrupted, old constellations displaced, and old and new elements are regrouped around a new set of assumptions and themes. Changes in a problematic significantly transform the nature of the questions proposed, forms proposed and the way they can be adequately answered. (Hall, 2006, p. 123)

We have chosen the speech analysis as a driving wind for our sails on this journey to new lands, including those lands as places that allow all men and women to live the full exercise of the capacity of choose, stripped of paradigms imposed by any kind of interests. Thus we hope to create means to open cracks and break the iceberg that keeps women subject to “sexualities devices” considering these as “[...] all the speeches and practices that proliferate around the body and its pleasures that were both causes for the newborn capitalist economy”, subsequent, neoliberal, as observed by Diaz (2010, p. 2).

Approach and methodological strategies

This research was conducted in 2015 according to our interests as researchers from *Nós do Sul* - Research Laboratory and Research on Curriculum. Crossing a post-critical attitude of investigation, we launched a meticulous look on the material, and like Silva (2006, p.16) we believed that “selection is an operation of power.” Therefore, we did not adopt a predefined methodological strategy, we allowed ourselves to make a bricolage that consisted of a “composition made by heterogeneous” (Paraíso, 2013 p. 36). To this end, we have understood the concepts as theoretical and methodological tools and we have operated with some approaches related to the concepts of philosopher Foucault, for who “the speech describes not simply the objects which are outside the speech itself, the speech ‘creates’ the objects in which it talks about” (Silva, 2000, p. 43). The material was exposed in a newsstand in the

¹¹ Foucault (1978-1979) meant by governmentality the set of technologies that enables one to perform a specific form of power where the subject is the population.

¹² Foucault (1978-1979) meant by governmentality the set of technologies that enable to perform a specific form of power targeting the population.

city of Rio Grande/RS in Brazil, drawing our attention by statements present on the cover material. Scientific curiosity moved us to question: which discursive practices and what relations of power and knowledge moved the engines of that speech? In addition, what sort of effects they could provoke in subjects for whom they were addressed?

We intended to map the conditions of possibility from knowledge and its links with power relations. We intended to explain the existence and transformation of knowledge, placing them as parts of power relations. We paid attention to the multiplicity of power relations, conflicts and their dispersions. We paid attention while making our analyzes, in a micro-physics of power and in its small cleverness in their productions (knowledge, practices, subjects, conflicts, reasonings, thoughts) and in its exclusions. (Foucault, 2009, cited by Meyer and Paraíso, 2014, p.41)

This research focus on the statements exposed in *Guia Astral's* covers, without analyzing the content of the respective reports that we intend to do in the future. We have determined the sample as seven copies, one from 2015 and 6 editions from 2014. It should be important to clarify that this magazine has a monthly printing and circulation and it has being in the market for thirty years, since 1985, with an initial print run of 40,000 copies. In five years, in 1990, reached the number of 250,000 copies while in 2010, last updated count from the publisher's website, reached 14 different segments in the consumption market and the circulation of 45 million copies. The magazine costs R\$ 2.50. There is no age restriction on the cover.

We dare to explain the importance of the methodology during the research as the meaning of the compass to the navigator, which without it depends on the sky visibility to navigate, but if clouds hide the stars there is no way to proceed. Our compass differs from the usual because it does not point the needle to the north, we do not believe in permanent and static things, but in the eternal movement of subjects and objects who as living beings can create and recreate meanings. We have built our compass with the art of poetry because as Meyer and Paraíso (2014, p. 42) we are pleased by the navigation, to overcoming obstacles, to the dissipation of clouds, doubts and to the constant sight of new horizons. And then to write suggestions of routes, to define cartographic maps and, who knows, to set a start and opening to transgression, to actions that subvert and multiply perceived senses in order to serve the needs of the contemporary.

Reflections and analysis

The cover of *Guia Astral* from 2015 is arranged in the figure below. Considering gender as a social and historical construction, the gender technologies in the construction of the magazine statements allows the understanding that *Guia Astral* is being addressed to a particular type of subject and, furthermore, that it operates for the construction of female images, working in production of bodies and female meanings. The woman presented on the magazine cover is a woman seen as a sexual object, a body at the service of man. Why do women need to be "good at bed"? On the cover below, it is written "Predictions and tips to have your boyfriend eating out of your hand", this statement shows a lack of respect for this other being mentioned in a derogatory way. At another point, we realize that a specialist, the subject here

authorized by the voice of science to offer tips on sex, is exactly who plays the voice about the guidelines that function as educational instances directed to the readers.



Figure 1. Photograph of *Guia Astral* Magazine cover, 2015, personal archives of the researchers.

In modern societies – at least in Western societies, considering especially the Brazilian one – sexuality seems to assume centrality. Everywhere products appealing to sex are commercialized, a lot of experts and celebrities want to teach us techniques and strategies to keep our bodies attractive and young; doctors and psychiatrists and counselors, religious counselors, etc. prescribe appropriate sexual practices and condemn many others. (Louro, 2010, p. 333)

The following six selected covers from *Guia Astral* magazine were selected among twelve other editions of 2014, taking as analysis points the images and statements written on them. We launched our lights on five recurrent points in all editions, namely: strong sexual appeal; the importance of male satisfaction as crucial attribute for happiness in the relationship, the promotion of magical thinking as the solution for health, financial and relationship problems; the presentation of thin and young bodies as the only way to represent woman.



Figure 2. Covers from *Guia Astral* Magazines, 2014, (adapted from): <http://guiaastral.uol.com.br/2011/revista/edicoes-anteriores/>

Explorers often find out the unexpected when they are distant from their lands. The same happened to us when we perceived that no black woman was represented in any of the observed issues. Even not being the theme of this research, it is impossible not to point it out given the seriousness of the fact, this confirms the absence of a close representation of the reality of Brazilian women, which moves away from a white European model. Brazilian people is constituted by racial miscegenation.

The questions studied in this work represent sexist social advices in which the social constructions remain at the service of the male sexual power, even women, by depravity¹³ strategies, are subtly taken to contribute to the maintenance of the patriarchal scheme as widely exposed by Diaz (2010).

Conclusion

The process of “manufacturing” the subject is continued and in general very subtle, almost imperceptible. Before trying to perceive it by reading laws or decrees that install and regulate the institutions or perceive it in solemn speeches of the authorities (although all these instances also make sense), our attention must turn especially to the daily practices that engage all subjects. They are, therefore, daily and common practices, gestures and trivialized words which must become targets of a renewed attention, questioning and, in particular, of mistrust. The most urgent task could be exactly this: suspect of what is considered as “natural”. (Louro, 2007, p. 63)

The *Guia Astral* magazine adapts to the words of the author aforementioned, because it has presented the chosen questions in a methodology under the cloak of apparent naturalness, but however it treats sexuality as a body of power, sexuality devices that according to Foucault started in the beginning of modernity, a period when the bourgeoisie treated their sexual habits in a so “hygienic” way, seeking to control their desires to have a healthy offspring. Diaz (2010) reinforces Foucault’s idea that this control was transferred to the collectivity, which under remnants of the Victorian period, tried to impose a prohibition on the approach to sexuality. However, such an attitude brought just the opposite effect to this society and a vast multitude of discourses on sexuality and activating practices of desire inevitably appeared. In all these speeches woman’s place is placed in a subservient position to man, giving her the inability to obtain personal fulfillment and success while distant of a male “protection”. There’s a benevolent violence in contemporary societies (Felipe, 2015), the author clarifies that this violence emerges in the form of intrusive or controlling attitudes that takes off the freedom of women, as well as gender technologies at the service of biopower, with control behaviors, ideologies and objectified consumption by neoliberalism.

The covers of *Guia Astral* magazine are nothing more than the tip of the iceberg and its major remaining part consists in exercising the neoliberal capitalist power and different forms of governmentality. Science, religion and the traditional institution of family remain educating women and the human collective itself in order to maintain the patriarchal and ancestors

¹³ “Depravity is the smartest strategy for privation. [...] It is in fact an insidious technique – making the continuous deprivation agreeable and makes servitude something perceived and experienced as freedom of choice” (Bauman, 2013, p. 34).

forces of power. These forces are a heritage currently multiplied by media figures that continue perpetuating the idea that a woman is a male pleasure satisfaction object. Today, in the twenty-first century, women are still at the service of men in many cultural devices. Patriarchy is maintained. We leave expressed here our social commitment to this article and our desire to promote new knowledge and endless insights, with this body of knowledge becoming a light to help us reach desired lands, respect and appreciation of women in the contemporary society.

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THE INTRINSIC AND THE EXPLICIT. ANTAGONISM, VIOLENCE AND CONFLICT IN ASPECTS OF THE FEMALE UNIVERSE¹

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ABSTRACT

This current article discusses issues related to respect, equality, dignity and constitution of the Female Identity and the search for her claim as a human being, which should be considered as an integral part of humanity and not a mere reproducer. The woman deserves to have all her rights guaranteed and have her own voice. When we analyze the women's history in society, we realize that their participation as a historical and social subject has always been denied, prevented or put in the background. Surviving in the shadows of a world dominated by men, a woman can never develop her identity guided by her own perception. We will cover some crucial aspects of the castration of the female identity, its development and the use and abuse of brutal mechanisms aimed at suppressing, submit and annihilate the woman.

KEYWORDS

Gender Issues; Violence against women; Power relations; Gender technologies.

Right to respect, dignity and identity: an ongoing struggle

One of the first things that draws our attention when we analyze the modern world is the question of identity and its apparent constant crisis. This crisis still seems more pertinent when referring to gender issues. After all, ever since the world began, traditions and cultural issues indoctrinate and push people to fulfill what the established rules refer to as the functions of each, according to the understanding of what is right and accepted in each society. Logically, certain functions are often imposed by others, directly or indirectly, because there have always been several mechanisms and technologies dedicated to the social direction of people that permeate society and its institutions, such as family, school, church. After all, as stated by Foucault (2008), the notion of tradition aims to provide a temporal and unique importance to a set of phenomena, while successive and identical for a given time, creating meaning and favoring the emergence of a collective consciousness of what is agreed or regarded as being right, forming the cultural conceptions, their socialization process and identity formation.

The "male" and "female" are cultural creations and as such, are behaviors learned through the socialization process that determines the sexes differently to meet specific and several social functions. This learning is a social process. We learn to be men and women and to accept as "natural" power relations between the sexes (ALVES. PITANGUY, 1985, p. 55).

¹ Work presented at the GT "New (and old) Gender technologies: biopower, micropolitical and devices" of the V International Congress on Cultural Studies: Gender, Human Rights and activism.

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There is no way to study the issue of identity formation, be it specific, as in the case of gender, or general, such as the cultural event of a people detached from power relations and in this respect, with regard to our object of study the female identity has always been hampered because of the power and the relationships that it has on society. According to Foucault (2004), power is something immaterial and insubstantial, but it has a number of mechanisms by which it exercises its activities and such mechanisms are systematized by composition procedures of individual forces, division of time, spatial distribution and activities control, which end up generating the standardization and massification of our society, but also ensure an infinitesimal distribution of power relations, creating hierarchies and spreading the illusion of power, permeating all the institutions and individuals at varying levels and domains, generating mechanisms that become accepted culturally.

The subject's position is also defined by the situation that he is able to occupy on the several domains or groups of objects: he is subject who questions, according to a certain grid explicit questions or not, and who hears, according to some information program; He is subject who observes, according to a table of characteristic features, and notes that, according to a descriptive type; he is situated at a optical perceptive distance whose boundaries delimit the amount of relevant information; uses instrumental intermediaries that modify the information scale, shift the subject in relation to the average or immediate perceptual level, ensure its passage from a surface level to a deep level (Foucault, 2008, p. 58).

Therefore we state that the title and subtitle of this article have been well chosen in order to represent the various levels of power that the female identity was submitted: the ills that pervade the female universe, sometimes creating situations that reduce the figure of the woman so much that they end up making her voiceless, turning her into a mere object, which can be exchanged, sold, molested, generating intrinsic and harshly loaded pains by the victim itself, who feels so humiliated, frightened and helpless, that does not identify another way out, other than suffering alone. Because the exposure of the suffered brutalities in many cases, only serves to make the victim suffer again, or be penalized for having been the victim of an act committed by another, simply because the society is chauvinist, besides not recognizing the specific needs of women, of being unable to provide security and respect, has the sad habit of blaming the victim and minimizing the perpetrator's guilt, as we will show later, in a brief review of women's history.

Some maladies are explicit, such as sexist jokes, spoken by innocent jokes, the sharp wage gap between men and women engaged in the same positions, historical devaluations that have occurred and occur ahead aggressions committed against women in times of war and dictatorships however, even with known factors, offenders and victims, such heinous crimes do not seem to cease and are often placed in the background, as if they were minor crimes since, after all, the victim is a woman. Humanity seems to accept as natural the fact of being unable to ensure the physical, moral and psychological integrity of women, not only in conflicts, but also in cultural, social, political and economic issues, as well as failed in more than two thousand years to ensure that the human being actually become human regarding respect, dignity, humanity issues and have decent attitudes to be considered as such, because the fact of being born Homo Sapiens, unfortunately, does not guarantee neither humanity nor the intelligence to act with respect and dignity.

The strength of the masculine order is evident in the fact that it dispenses justification: the androcentric⁴ vision imposes itself as neutral and does not need to be stated in speeches that seek to legitimize it. The social order functions as a huge symbolic machine that tends to ratify the male domination on which is founded: the social division of labor, very strict distribution of the activities assigned to each of the two sexes, your site, your moment, your instruments (BOURDIEU, 2002, p. 18).

Times change, but the challenges remain and the maxim that seems to always stay untouched is that the quest for power spares no effort, even if this part of society has to be repressed, pruned in its potential and relegated to the background, as can be seen doing an analysis of female trajectory and its contributions to the world in which we live, for example. As this article deals with the search for respect, equality, dignity and constitution of the Feminine Identity, however at times we make general references, these will only be instructive to return to our object of study.

Human beings seem addicted to power at many levels, from the conquest of the world, to the domain of your own television remote control, and eager to meet this vice and hold the maximum power, as long as possible, humanity can envision a parade of unreasonable actions, of individuals who lead nations to collective delirium and crash unimaginable wars of institutions, systems and governments strive real battles and use all possible weapons to hold such power, for the most diverse reasons, including the political, economic, military and religious.

During the course of our history we have seen the Church do this and hang their “holy” fight by taking Jerusalem. We saw the feudal lords dominate Medieval Europe with an iron hand and later mill owners recapitulate such actions in their little colonized fiefdoms. And there have been sequences of emperors, dictators, military regimes and the industrial, French and American revolutions, until we get to the capitalist system and the dominions, submissions or indoctrination, they came shaped like large corporations, television, internet, as long as the man is man, there has always been someone to tell what somebody’s place is and what position a person must occupy within a society, being the role of women, apart from some rare exceptions, always placed as secondary.

[...] This is where we encounter a new paradox, able to force a complete revolution in the way to approach what has been tried to study in the form of “women’s history”: don’t the invariable that remain, above all the visible changes of the womanhood, and are still observed in the relations of domination between the sexes, force to take as a privileged object the mechanisms and historical institutions that in the course of history, have not ceased to remove from this same story such invariable? (BOURDIEU, 2002, p. 10)

Usually when a story is told, it is told by the bias of the winners, as we live in a society dominated by men, androcentric and linked to patriarchy, the story has always been told and disseminated by the male point of view, even because women within this “pseudo” history

⁴ Androcentric, comes from androcentrism, a term that is linked to the notion of patriarchy, but it does not refer only to the privilege of men, but also the way the male experiences are considered to be the experience of all human beings, creating a universalizing sense and used to refer to both men and women, without recognizing the wisdom and female experience, for example by reducing the human race to the term “man”, we have a male-centered behavior. The first reference registered of this term was made by the American sociologist Lester F. Ward in 1903. The opposite of androcentrism, relating it to the woman, it is the gynocentrism.

of mankind were considered to be subordinate and second-line beings, so since ancient times, or had to accept what men granted or had to fight to get what were considered rights.

In Greece the woman occupied position equivalent to the slave in the sense that they merely performed manual labor, extremely devalued by free man. In Athens it was to be free, first, to be a man and not a woman, to be Athenian and not a foreigner, to be free and not a slave. The statement of Plato well expresses this reality: "If nature had not created women and slaves, it would have given the loom the property of spinning itself". [...] By stating that "the Gods" created the woman for domestic duties, the man for all others, Xenophon, in the fourth century B.C., expressed a kind of naturalistic argument that still demarcates spaces for the sexes. On the other hand, the same Xenophon, dealing with the education of women, reveals how much social and coercive is learning these "natural" functions: "... living under a close watch, see the fewer things possible, listen to the fewer things possible, ask the fewer questions possible" (ALVES & PITANGUY, 1985, p. 11-12).

Soon, the shackles that imprison women were cruelly transmitted and absorbed through the habits and culture since before Christ. Therefore, we assume that the concept of the social role of women and of what it is to be a female has always been given from a male reference, of course, as the rules are originally determined by men, only they held the rights and all rights suppressions and atrocities committed against women were also in the background, after all, they were a second-line human being who should not have the same rights as men, because they were the ones who determined not only what the rights were, but also who could enjoy them. Right now operates as a legitimating instrument of female inferiority and male dominance and the stigma of such conceptions was being spread since then, century after century, until such privations and aggressions are regarded as normal situations, as to silence so deeply the voice of women, who after centuries of continued oppression, ended up incorporating the male vision of what it is to be a woman, compromising the analysis and formation of a women's conception of the subject as well as resulting in the formation of their Feminine Identity masculinized.

Women - except in certain conferences that remain abstract manifestations - do not say "we". Men say "the women" and they use these words to designate themselves, but do not put themselves authentically as Subject. Proletarians made the revolution in Russia, the black people in Haiti, the Indo-Chinese beat up in Indo-China: Women's action has never been more than a symbolic agitation; They only won what the men agreed to grant them; they took nothing; they received (See Part II, § 5). That's because they do not have the concrete means to meet on a drive that would state in opposing. They have no past, they have no history, nor own religion; they don't have, as the proletarians, a working solidarity and interests. (BEAUVOIR, 1970, p. 13)

According to Bourdieu (2002), for the symbolic domination to function, it is necessary that the dominated incorporate the structures of domination so completely that their submission ends up being an unconscious act, that is, the domination was so effectively repeated that ended up being incorporated by habits, culture and has become something accepted as normal. As Beauvoir (1970), the ties that bind women to their oppressors are not comparable to any other, for the establishment of the division of the sexes is, first of all, a biological

given and not a moment in human history. But the subversion of the act of domination in a cultural act and socially acceptable, does not turn it, in fact, into something ordinary, as well as the distinction based on a purely biological aspect, does not fit as a determinant of potential and capabilities.

The fight against discrimination thus implies in recreating a self-identity that goes beyond the hierarchies of the strong and the weak, the active and the passive. Identity in which the differences between the sexes are of complementarity to and not of domination. In which strength and weakness, activity and passivity are not put as opposite poles defining male and female, but as part of the dialectical totality, contradictory of a human being. (ALVES. PITANGUY, 1985, p. 57).

Simply omitting the history of women, of all repressions, violence suffered and the enculturation of the concepts deployed by the oppressors eventually becomes an extreme psychological torture because it works daily in all societies at different levels. In this regard, the fact of not discussing issues that occurred in the past, does not make them disappear, but it can sure help make them more acceptable in the eyes of society. For example, it is undeniable that the Holocaust was an absurd genocide and one of the largest atrocities in humanity, however during the Second World War, many other abominable situations occurred in parallel, including a rampant sexual violence against women. In situations of war and dictatorships, one of the most common practices of humiliation and domination is the heinous act of sexual violence, particularly against women, and however abominable that such immoral violence is, it has always occurred and still is seen in current conflicts, such as in Bosnia, Afghanistan, Democratic Republic of Congo, Iraq, Libya, Mali, Myanmar, Somalia and Sudan, among others, unfortunately, without the occurrence of investigation or punishment.

The American researcher, Dr. Rochelle Saidel is the founder of The Remember the Women Institute⁵, based in New York. Her research focuses on women's marginalization within the religious and Jewish interfaith dialogue, achievements and exclusion of women in the general history, the effects of women genocide, with an emphasis on women in the Holocaust context and its consequences, including the post-Second World War immigration, exploitation of women and the effects of such systematic culture accepted as correct, within societies. She is the author of the book *Sexual Violence Against Jewish Women During the Holocaust*⁶, which covers the history of these victims, launches questions about the reasons of the violence they have suffered and have not been registered because when searching the suffering of women during the Holocaust, Saidel came across reports of sexual violence that went unnoticed, left in the background, or forgotten by most historians.

According to Seidel, in an interview with journalist Leticia Sorg, from *Época Magazine*⁷, on July 18, 2011, sexual violence has no relationship with sexual desire, it is related to issues of power, because sexual violence is an act of power, used as a weapon of war. Rape always happens in all conflicts, but the biggest difference is that in Nazi Germany, the law considered

⁵ The Remember the Women Institute website: <http://www.rememberwomen.org/>

⁶ Book translated into Portuguese by the name of *Violência sexual contra mulheres judias durante o Holocausto*, 2010.

⁷ The full report of Dr. Rochelle Saidel, to *Época* magazine can be found at: http://www.rememberwomen.org/Library/News/news_imgs/2011/epoca_violencia_20110718.pdf

rape illegal. The most frightening in the reports exposed in the book is that the author found out that no one had asked the women what they had gone through in the concentration camp. It also reports that most men might not want to see that women were raped and that they failed to protect them and that some experts also said that portray the suffering of women took to focus the fact that the Holocaust was the extermination of Jews. And at this point, we place ourselves next to the author when she states that if it is possible to study the Holocaust in different countries with different ethnic groups, why not search the female perspective? Unfortunately, the answer seems to be clear: there is no interest and the reasons are many.

Barbarism occurred against women during the Second World War, it did not choose sides, sexual violence made no distinction between Axis and Allies. Violence against women in times of war are intensified because they suffer the same physical and psychological traumas as men, plus sexual barbarism through multiple rapes. A movie that portrays this atrocity also in Germany is *Anonyma, eine Frau in Berlin*⁸, directed by Max Färberböck, based on the book with the same name, written by Marta Hiller, a German who suffered the horrors of sexual violence of World War II when she was living in Berlin, capital of Germany, because German women, as well as Jewish women have also been raped. In Germany, such a heinous act was committed by Russian soldiers at the end of the war. Historians point out that 100,000 rapes were committed in the capital between April and September of that year, according to official notes collected in Berlin hospitals. In total, it is believed that about 2 million German were victims of sexual assaults committed by Russians.

In the Bosnian war⁹, mass rapes have occurred and this heinous crime was systematically used as a weapon of war. It is estimated that between 20,000 and 50,000 women were raped. The numbers are not accurate and probably will never be known for sure, since many were killed and many of the survivors chose to remain in silence for fear of being stigmatized, the record of abuses suffered by women being reported by only some of them. The proof that the suffering of women is seen as something smaller came in May 1996 by the hands of the International Hague Tribunal that condemned the accused for crimes against humanity by participating in the extermination of Muslims in Bosnia. However, rape and all forms of sexual assaults that took place during the war period have not been tried by the court because they are considered isolated actions.

Therefore we have that, no matter on which side the woman is, in which country and in what time the war situation occurs, the female will be a potential victim of the greatest barbarities and atrocities possible. Their stories will be omitted from official reports, their suffering will be stifled and the world will go on unpunished, after all, only men have the right to have rights, respect, dignity, humanity, identity and voice.

Historical research cannot be limited to describing the changes of women's condition in the course of time, not even the relationship between genders at different times; it should endeavor to establish, for each period, the status of the agents system and institutions, family, church, state, school, etc., that with weights and different measures at different times, contributed to *pluck* from history, *more or less completely*, the relations of male domination (BOURDIEU, 2002, p. 100).

⁸ Book translated into Portuguese by the name of *Anônima - Uma Mulher em Berlim*, 2008.

⁹ The information given were based on article by PERES, Andrea Carolina Schvartz . Rape fields: women and the war in Bosnia . Cad . Pagu [online] . 2011 , n.37 , pp . 117-162 . ISSN 0104-8333 , available at: <http://www.scielo.br/pdf/cpa/n37/a05n37.pdf>

Unfortunately, the oppression of the female gender is so deeply rooted in the cultural, political, social and economic process that any position that the woman takes against such a disparity, reaffirms the oppressive process because if she accepts it, she is a victim; if she renounces it, she is doubly attacked by the whole society that accepts and perpetuates the status of women, denying their role and their equal status. According to Beauvoir (1967), society is dominated by the male code, which in turn imposes on society a level of obedience and rules that aim the interests of males, that end up defining the female condition in a way that is a source of torment for both sexes, because they charge postures and actions to reaffirm the established code, so that both sexes are hostages of internalized cultures, contributing for them to remain immutable and preventing critical reflection of their real objectives, which are nothing more than the submission of a being human to another.

[...] the woman has always been, but the slave of man, at least his vassal; the two sexes never shared the world on equal terms; and even today, although her condition is evolving, the woman bears a heavy handicap. In almost any country, her legal status is identical to the man and often this latter undermines her considerably. Even when the rights are abstractly recognized by them, a long habit prevents them to find in habits concrete expression. Economically, men and women are like two varieties; on equal terms, the firsts have more advantageous conditions, higher wages, greater chances of success than their newly arrived competitors. They occupy in the industry, politics etc, biggest number of seats and the most important positions. In addition to the specific powers they have, they are covered with prestige whose tradition the child's education holds: The present involves the past and all past history was made by men. By the time women get to take part in the development of the world, this world is still a world that belongs to men (BEAUVOIR, 1970, p. 14-15)

It is among the small daily struggles and frustrations that the woman tries to call for a historical justice, which has always been denied since the beginning of time. It is in the middle of their search for a true identity, facing a reality that charges the exact opposite, that the woman suffers in reinventing herself and actually seeks access that should have never been denied for her gender, freedom, respect, dignity, security, integrity, equal opportunities and the right to an identity is the least that every human being should receive simply by virtue of being human.

Final Conclusions

Violence related to the female gender is present in several ideas and suggestions conveyed daily in our society. They reach everyone by the cultural and social reproduction of habits, reinforced by messages conveyed in families, schools, churches, means of communication, that laud a real dictatorship of what is culturally accepted as the role of women, establishing limiting patterns of their freedom, individuality and equality, encouraging them to accept the reduction of the dignity, integrity and security of women, after all, the chauvinist society believes that the status of women is lower, perpetuating aggression and violence committed against the female gender, which are based on a biological condition.

The most amazing thing is that such violence affects all ages and it has been incorporated on us so naturally that almost no one finds it odd to gift a girl with a baby toy, a little

stove and all those toys that are copies of real things from a house, or an absolutely perfect doll, thin and owner of a standard body and beauty almost impossible to be achieved. However, behind these innocent toys there is the strengthening of the idea of directing the life of that little woman to take care of the home and to be a housewife, mother and first responsible in the education of children, the eternal ornament object and husband fetish, to preserve a submission and obedience condition, transforming toys into indoctrination objects, reaffirming values as the most appropriate and best to be performed in life, turning her into a passive being front of the condition that has been led to her.

The best weapon against submission is knowing our own history, to fight for our rights, dignity, freedom, equality, integrity, respect and continue to seek the development of a Feminine Identity. This is not an easy task because it involves deconstructing long-standing cultured stereotypes, breaking the long solidified shackles and following very attentively and critically everything that is offered to us about what it is to be a woman.

And as social beings, all issues that permeates us end up interfering in everything around us, no matter how distant such facts are, the suppression of a right, of a freedom, of the preservation of the dignity and physical, moral and mental integrity of the woman in a country ends up hitching such removal of these same rights, freedoms, etc., for all women, because while one of us is not being treated with respect, equality, integrity and dignity, that means that this aggression is being directed to all of them, as gender as females and in this case, either all have the same rights, or none of us will never have.

Unfortunately, nothing seems more appropriate than recall the words of Nietzsche (2004), who advises us that whoever fights monsters should see to it that in the process he does not become a monster, after all, the story proves us how much the power and all the mechanisms of domination can subvert the human being and turn it into one of the most hideous, disgusting and real monsters.

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GENDER POLICIES IN BRAZIL: THE NATIONAL PLAN OF POLICIES FOR WOMEN (2013-2015)¹

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ABSTRACT

Public policies, in general, are proposed as government plans, which begin from the identification of a problem that requires an intervention from the State for its solution and the assurance of a better quality of life for the population. With this, in Brazil, the National Plans of Policies for Women (NPPW) were put forward as a way to systematize the actions intended for Brazilian women. The present work has as objective to analyze the III NPPW (2013-2015), especially the first chapter named “Equality in the labor market and financial autonomy”, based on the three analytical dimensions from Peter et al. (2007) – the descriptive, the conceptual and the normative ones. The results show that women are the majority in the Brazilian population and, still, even nowadays they suffer with gender inequality, spending the greatest part of their time taking care of the house and kids and being paid lower salaries than men. From the first chapter, autonomy and equality are the main values used to justify the actions towards women’s empowerment, so that opportunities in the labor market and income are created to reduce the situations of poverty and social vulnerability which they are in.

KEYWORDS

Autonomy; equality; women; National Plans of Policies for Women; labor.

Introduction

This work is articulated to a network research denominated “Public policies of social inclusion and gender transversality: emphasis, pressures and present challenges”, which involves a team of researchers from four Brazilian Universities (UFRGS, UNISINOS, UNIJUÍ and UFRB)⁴. Specifically, in this research we analyze the first chapter “Equality in the labor market and financial autonomy”⁵ of the National Plan of Policies for Women (NPPW) regarding the period between 2013 and 2015, understanding it as an educative instance and as a document for gender production.

Plans may differ according to their intention, ranging from business plans, school plans, financial plans, government plans, among others. Sanches (1997, p. 192) defines government plans as a document where a certain government entity “defines the politic-pragmatic expression of its actuation, expressing by means of strategies, guidelines, programs and local

¹ This work was presented in the Work Group “Public policies of gender and agency: from body discipline to inclusion and assurance of rights” in the V International Congress in Cultural Studies: Gender, Human Rights and Activism.

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⁵ We worked with this chapter because it is directly related to the theme of our research in the Post Graduation Program in Education in Sciences of UNIJUÍ.

or regional objectives its main concerns and the emphasis that will be given to its actions in a certain period of time”.

But, according to Vieira (2003, p. 21), a plan is more than that: “it is the result of a transformation of the political program (...) by means of planning techniques, into a governmental instrument. This, being a more rigorous and precise scheme is, now, a calculation to support the action”.

272 | To Ferreira (1994, p. 59), a notion of plan is “the systematized and justified presentation of the decisions made, related to the actions to be taken. That is, the plan is a document that says what will be done, as well as when, how and by whom, to reach a certain result”. A plan may also contain “the explanation for the reasons why the decisions were made: research elements, studies and analyses carried out to come to those decisions” (Ferreira, 1994, p. 59).

In Brazil, policies for women are guided by the schedule of the National Plans of Policies for Women. Until this moment, three plans were elaborated, resulting from the 1st, 2nd and 3rd National Conference of Policies for Women (NCPW), organized by the Secretariat of Policies for Women (SPW)⁶, which took place in 2004, 2007 and 2011, respectively. So, in 2014, the NPPW celebrated its first decade of existence.

In this context, this research seeks to analyze the first chapter of the III NPPW (2013-2015), based on the three analytical dimensions from Peter et al. (2007) – the descriptive, the conceptual and the normative ones. The descriptive dimension identifies relevant key-elements, while the conceptual dimension explains values, principles and suppositions present in the object of the research, in this case, the NPPW (2013-2015). The normative dimension, in turn, involves the evaluation of principles and values that must guide the public policy and its application. This type of analysis must highlight the values found after the descriptive and conceptual analyses are carried out.

The NPPW (2013-2015): Autonomy and Equality for Brazilian Women

The NPPW (2013-2015) consists of a plan from the Brazilian Government and, thus, deals with the systematization of actions intended to be developed, as well as the information and principles that guide and support these actions. It is a guideline, presented as a written document, which makes formal all the different moments of the decision making process. Therefore, it is constituted as a structural element in the configuration of a democratic State.

The NPPW (2013-2015) is organized in ten chapters as follows: 1) Equality in the labor market and financial autonomy; 2) Education for Equality and Citizenship; 3) Women’s health, sexual rights and reproductive rights; 4) Fighting all types of violence against women; 5) Empowerment and participation of women in spaces of power and decision; 6) Sustainable development with social and economic equality; 7) The right to the land with equality between women from countryside and jungle areas; 8) Culture, sports, communication and media; 9)

⁶ The current SPW, today with Ministry status, was, in 2002, linked to the Ministry of Justice and named as Special Office of Policies for Women. In 2003, it was transformed in Special Secretariat of Policies for Women and considered a branch of the Presidency of the Republic. It was only in 2010 that it got the current name –Secretariat of Policies for Women, having as objective “to promote equality between men and women and fight all kinds of prejudice and discrimination inherited from a patriarchic and excluding society” (SPM, 2015, no p).

Fighting racism, sexism and lesbophobia; and 10) Equality for young and elderly women and for women with disabilities (Brasil, 2013).

As mentioned above, we are especially focused on the first chapter, named “Equality in the labor market and financial autonomy”, since it is our interest to research programs that intend to include women productively in the public labor market⁷, such as the National Program of Access to Vocational Education and Labor Market, The “Mulheres Mil” Program and the Pro-Equality of Gender and Race Program.

Using the three analytical dimensions from Peter et al. (2007), we identify, by means of the descriptive dimension, relevant key-elements in the NPPW (2013-2015), a document that was elaborated within an unprecedented historical and social context in the country, governed for the first time by a woman and where the women are more than 52% of the Brazilian population and subjects of their own lives. Besides this, this document is inserted in a scenario of women’s claims such as the construction of day care centers, the combating of violence against women, the pursuit of equal salaries between men and women, etc.

Chapter 1, “Equality in the labor market and financial autonomy”, reassures the importance of the continuity of policies for financial autonomy and equality between men and women in Brazil, with emphasis in the public labor market. Such policies aim at reaching financial independence by means of professional training for women to work in rural and urban productive sectors, as well as the access to the labor market and the guaranty of their rights.

In Brazil, according to the Summary of Social Indicators (IBGE, 2014), Brazilian women are 79.9 million of the working-age population (WAP) in the country. From these, 44.4 million constitute the economically active population (EAP) and 35.5 million are the economically inactive population (EIP), while men are only 15.6 million of the same population.

Other figures that call our attention are the ones related to double shifts done by women in Brazil. Many of them perform their activities at work and after that they have to take care of household tasks and kids at home. According to data collected by IBGE (2014) the number of women who have double shifts is higher than men who do the same, corresponding to 35.7 million and 25.2 million respectively.

Even with the growing participation of women in the public labor market, the number of employed women is eminently urban. It is necessary to give more attention to the data regarding the participation of women in activities in rural areas, since a great part of these activities are intertwined with the care given to the family and the house and is classified as “domestic chores”. Thus, the real contribution from these women to the production and family income is misinterpreted (Brasil, 2004).

Besides the figures for economically active women in Brazil, one of the most significant evidences of the gender inequality in the public labor market is the difference in the average income for men and women. While women get an average salary of BR\$ 1,614.00 (one thousand, six hundred and fourteen Reais), men get BR\$ 2,146.00 (two thousand, one hundred and forty-six Reais) (IBGE, 2014).

⁷ We use the term “public labor market” according to the feminist approach as opposed to the terms private, domestic or familiar labor. The labor in a private space “(...) has posed as confining and restrictive, a space from which women must migrate out in order to break free and carry out the freedoms men take in the public space. This public space figures as one of freedom and emancipation, and it is characterized by the opportunity for work and education and by the protection of the law” (Chanter, 2011, p. 28). According to this author, the private work is marked by the feminine, while the public work is marked by the masculine.

Thus, it is possible to point out that public policies in Brazil are not neutral; they are governmental strategies to try to solve a social problem that affects mainly women from lower social classes. In this perspective, the policies for employment, labor and income have been implemented based on a demand for social inclusion, and they are present in the official discourse under the prerogative of minimizing the unequal gender division in the labor market and assure the women's participation in the development of the country.

In this context, it is justified the importance of this first chapter of the NPPW (2013-2015), which has as objective

To promote equality in the labor market and the financial autonomy of women from the city, the countryside and forest areas, considering the inequality between men and women, the inequality of races, ethnicity and social classes, and developing specific actions that contribute to the elimination of the unequal gender division in the labor market, with emphasis in policies of eradication of poverty and valorization of the women's participation in the development of the country (Brasil, 2013, p.14).

To achieve the proposed goals and the fulfillment and effectiveness of public policies, this chapter presents seven courses of action and 46 actions that guide the development of programs, projects and political and cultural actions to assure the valorization, recognition and promotion of women in Brazil, summarized as follows:

- 1) Insertion and permanency in formal employment relationships and in management positions: In this perspective, some points are established, such as: offering of vocational courses, campaigns for the valorization of women's work, promotion of women's insertion in the labor market, wage equality, production of statistical data about the work carried out by women;
- 2) Technical assistance and rural extension services, access to funding and credit, support to entrepreneurship, associations and cooperatives and to product trading: It may be understood as an instrument to the promotion of practices in solidarity economy, both in urban and rural areas.
- 3) Offering of public facilities and increase of free time: It involves the construction of daycare centers, nursery schools, full-time schools, universalization of maternity leave and extension of paternity leave, promotion of the culture of sharing household tasks between men and women, offering of social facilities that contribute to socially share household tasks, access to low-cost food, support to the provision and consumption of food (popular restaurants, community kitchens, food banks, among others);
- 4) Encouragement to professional qualification: It is similar to item 1, with an emphasis in training and education for the public labor market, in jobs and professions that do not reinforce the gender division;
- 5) Formalization of domestic workers' rights: The guidelines proposed here aim at assuring to the domestic workers the same rights established in the Consolidation of Labor Laws (CLW) as to the other wage workers;
- 6) Protection and social security: It is an instrument to value the unpaid domestic work, assuring the right to pension for low income housewives and extend the registrations of women in the Brazilian social security system.

7) Obtainment of civil and legal documents: It is related to initiatives regarding the free issuing of Birth Certificates and other basic documents for women.

We highlight the importance of the first course of action, since the social, politic and economic differences between the genders, which are discussed in the first chapter of the NPPW (2013-2015), are confirmed in Wangari Maathai's words, Peace Nobel Prize winner, who stated that "the closer to the top we get, the less women we meet there" (Aliche, 2014, p. 6).

We also highlight that all the guidelines consider the non-discriminatory work on account of gender, origin, race, ethnicity, social class, age, sexual orientation, gender identity or disability, and the responsibility for their implementation falls on different government offices⁸, which leads us to the second analytical dimension: The conceptual one. This dimension explains the values, principles and suppositions of the NPPW (2013-2015). According to Yeo (1996, p. 18), the conceptual analysis is used "to sort out the various meanings of key concepts and to unpack terms loaded with values and questionable assumptions".

When analyzing the first chapter of the NPPW (2013-2015), we understand that it is inserted in the shared responsibility paradigm – intersectoriality⁹ - not fitting only to specific bodies of public policies for women to promote gender equality and autonomy, but also to all offices and agencies, in the three federative levels, both horizontally (among ministries) and vertically (at state, district and municipal levels). It is a task for the SPW the horizontal coordination, it being responsible for the articulation of the other offices and agencies, the organization of the developed work, and the follow up and evaluation of the results.

Besides the different offices and agencies involved, the III NPPW encompasses programs and actions that consider multiple women, in their differences and inequalities – intersectionality¹⁰ - as women from different social classes and educational levels, women from urban and rural areas, young and elderly women, women with disabilities, women from different races and sexual orientation.

On the other hand, the normative analysis involves the evaluation of principles and values identified which must guide the first chapter of the NPPW (2013-2015) and its application. By means of this analysis it is possible to describe the values that were chosen to inform the critiques and recommendations that follow the descriptive and conceptual analyses. In this plan, the guiding values and principles of the first chapter are: autonomy, labor, equality, education/qualification, valorization, solidarity economy, assurance of rights, and gender division of labor.

⁸ Ministry of Education (MEC), Ministry of Social Development (MDS), Secretariat of Policies for Women (SPM), Department of International Relations (SRI), Ministry of Labor and Employment (MTE), National Youth Secretariat in the General Secretariat of the Presidency of the Republic (SNJ/SG/PR), Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MRE), Secretariat of Policies to promote Racial Equality (Seppir), Ministry of Agrarian Development (MDA), Secretariat of Human Rights (SDH), Secretariat of Social Communication (Secom), Ministry of Tourism (MTur), Ministry of Social Security (MPS), Department of the Treasury (MF).

⁹ According to Heilborn, Araújo and Barreto (2011, p. 37), "intersectoriality" is understood as the promotion of integrated actions among the different offices and agencies (...) allowing a better use of the accumulated knowledge and experiences, and collaborating to reach common goals, under such a coordination that aggregates all the contributions".

¹⁰ Intersectionality considers the existence of subordination axes, which generate situations of inequality and discrimination such as racism, patriarchy and class oppression (Heilborn et al., 2011).

These principles constitute fundamental elements to eliminate the unequal gender division of labor, with emphasis in the eradication of poverty, the valorization of the work performed by women and in the assurance of their autonomy and participation in the country's development.

In this first analytical phase we point out the values of equality and autonomy as the conductors of the justifications of the areas of action of the first chapter of the NPPW (2013-2015), which reinforces that these areas deserve to be extended "in order to build permanent, democratic and transparent bonds" (Silveira, 2003). In an initial effort to understand it, we may say that the term "equality" is generally linked to the negative prefix "in-equality".

Great part of the arguments in the justification of the chapter is based on the arguments of "in-equality" of power between men and women, and for this reason they legitimate actions that are justified in the sense of public policies that ponder the different impact for both, moving towards the changing in the gender inequality.

We also point out the importance of labor as a way to provide women's autonomy, present since the I NPPW (2004), considering that

it must be assured to women the power to decide about their lives and their bodies; it must be assured the conditions to influence the events in their communities and in their country as well as the conditions to break the historical legacy, with the cycles and spaces of dependency, exploitation and subordination that constrain their lives in the personal, economical, political and social plans.

We observe that the III NPPW, in its first chapter, refers mostly to strengthening the participation of women as subjects of rights. So, it takes the different groups of women – white, black, Amerindian, young, elderly, disable, socially vulnerable, homosexual, heterosexual, etc. – as the subjects of the transformation, and the practices of the policies are thought in the sense of extending their autonomy.

The III NPPW acknowledges the legitimacy of specific actions to the empowerment of women who, as a social group, claim that they are still under conditions of subordination in the contemporary society. Agamben (2009, p. 59) discuss the singular relationship [between men and women] "with the time itself, which adheres to this and, at the same time, takes distance from it". Therefore, in the present days, it is necessary to rethink cultural processes as areas of political actions, since the relationships, social positions and priorities have changed as time passed.

The first chapter of the NPPW emphasizes that the effective space of women in the economic work set in Brazil is recent, so that women need to be assisted by public policies. It considers that the logic that permeates the political propositions, even now, is that women and men play different roles in the contemporary society and, because of that, they have different needs.

Thus, we understand that public policies involve choices, disputes for power and

[...] they are not incidental neither they answer to ineluctable necessities of the government. Consequently, the fact that some questions (and not others) become object of decisions and public actions is something that needs to be explained in each specific situation and it is related to the social construction of proposals in the corporate and government contexts (Menicucci, 2006, p. 143-144).

So, the public policies to the development of autonomy and insertion of women in the public labor market, such as the NPPW (2013-2015), are not mere incidental facts, but indeed, they are an attempt by the Brazilian government to give an answer to the articulation of women for a change in the discriminatory practices and standards, resulting in the creation of policies and programs for the productive inclusion of women and the assurance of employment and income.

Conclusion

The NPPW (2013-2015) is a technical, strategic and political instrument that commits public officials and managers to the introduction and implementation of public policies for Brazilian women. In its first chapter, it reassures the guiding principles of the National Policy for Women, such as: the autonomy of women in every dimension of their lives; the search for effective equality between men and women, in all ambits; the respect to the diversity and the fight against all types of discrimination; the active participation of women in all phases of the public policies (Brasil, 2013).

By means of the analysis based on the three dimensions of Peter et al. (2007), we notice that all of them – the descriptive, the conceptual and the normative – present concepts, principles and values that are separated for analysis and classification, but constantly interact so that the public policies for women may be put into practice, and the financial autonomy and the equality in the public labor market become assured rights for Brazilian women, minimizing this way the situation of poverty and social vulnerability which they are in.

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THE INFLUENCE OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN THE FORMULATION OF PUBLIC POLICIES ON GENDER: THE 1325 UNSCR IN AFRICA¹

Rhaíssa Pagot²

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ABSTRACT

Resolution 1325 of United Nations Security Council was adopted in October 31, 2000. It is considered a milestone in the effort to put women at the highest levels of decision-making of governments, in the peace negotiation process and peace operations. The aim of this study is to understand how this Resolution influenced the formulation and implementation of public policies on gender in African Great Lakes Region, specifically those related to sexual and gender-based violence. The countries that comprise the region are Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda and Uganda.

KEYWORDS

Resolution1325; International Organizations; public policies.

Introduction

Since the mid-1980s gender studies have been included in the studies on war, conflict, peace and security. This need arose from the perception that women are different from men, and this may contribute to these issues differently. The idea of giving the woman functions equal to those of men took to be effective in practice because it required the revision of concepts, terms and practices in the impregnated and, therefore, the International Organizations (IOs).

There is significant interference of IOs in the formulation and implementation of public policies on gender. However, these often do not reveal the specifics of each state and even less the cultural diversity that they have. Thus, the idealized policies by IOs reflect the wishes of these to increase the number of women in all environments. However, the increased presence of women in various sectors does not guarantee that there is necessarily change in the structure of thought of those sectors, much less society as a whole.

On October 31 2000, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) unanimously adopted Resolution 1325. It demonstrates the importance and encourages the participation of women in promoting international peace and security. Moreover, it establishes points on which the member states and the international community must address to ensure gender equality. Africa, as a continent marked by conflict, is considered its focus of implementation. International pressure and the growing need for legitimation as states seeking gender equality, there was the gradual formulation and implementation of public policies accordingly.

Studies on the influence of international organizations in public gender policies found fertile ground in Brazil; however, there is little about this subject in Africa. This approach has proved valuable in achieving the objective of this study: to understand how Resolution 1325 influenced the formulation and implementation of public gender policies in the countries of the African Great Lakes Region: Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda and Uganda.

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Public policies on gender

While studies on gender have been consolidated in Brazil since the late 1970s, public policy with this approach have proliferated from the 1990s. This way, it also assigned the role of international organizations in the formulation and implementation of gender sensitive policies (Farah, 2004). By public policies in the broadest sense, Stromquist (1996, p. 27) means that are “official declarations of intent to act on certain issues.” From this meaning, you can check what the gender sensitive public policies, the desired effect on them and their enforcement mechanisms, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1 – Gender sensitive public policies

Models	Desired effects	Implementation mechanisms
Coercion	Eliminating gender discrimination	Withdrawal contracts and penalties to encourage compliance
Support	Institutions/units to promote gender issues and to monitor the coercive and constructive gender legislation	Funds to create new institutions
Building	New behaviors and attitudes of women and men in society	Resources services provision

Source: Adapted from Stromquist (1996, p. 31).

As Table 1 shows, coercive policies would be those which, to eliminate gender discrimination, used penalties that would encourage obedience. The support policies are those concerning the creation of committees, institutes that help to monitor the legislation already established on gender in the country. Public building policies are aimed at raising awareness and establishing new behaviors and knowledge. The intention is to inform the population, deconstruct stereotypes and standards and achieve gender equality.

The formulation and implementation of these policies at a national level suffers a significant influence of the suggestions made at the international level, such as conferences, declarations, Resolutions. However, the latter have a more comprehensive nature and its focus is on changing the social system, since they are recommendations to the countries and have no legal obligation. Nevertheless, the country endorsing these international recommendations tend to be seen as democratic, progressive, fair and protector of human rights. Still, there is no obligation to implement these policies, but legitimize them. Even having made a commitment, the States do not respect or do not perform with commitment equal to the speech all time (Stromquist, 1996; Ferreira, 2004).

As the present study addresses the topic women, peace and security, it is essential to define it. The pillars of Resolution 1325 are: 1) the participation of women in issues related to peace, security and conflict; 2) the inclusion of women and a gender perspective in conflict prevention and Sexual and Gender Based Violence (SGBV); 3) the protection of women and girls and their rights in peacetime and during conflict; 4) the inclusion of women and the gender perspective in relief and recovery activities. This essay will focus on the topic 2. According to the Resolution, in its tenth article:

Calls on all parties to armed conflict to take special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse, and all other forms of violence in situations of armed conflict (UN Security Council, 2000, p.3).

So, SGBV means to UNSC rape, sexual abuse and other forms of violence in situations of armed conflict.

History and objectives of UNSCR 1325

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) of 18 September 1979, which entered into force on September 3 1981, was one of the most important steps so far taken by the United Nations (UN) on gender (UN General Assembly, 1979). The Beijing Declaration and Platform of Action (1995) shows in topic 28 on women as key to establishing peace. Topic 29 talks about the elimination of all forms of violence against women and girls. Moreover, one of the main items of the statement addresses the issue of women and armed conflicts, which are brought explanations and data on types of violence suffered by women in such situations (United Nations, 1996).

The Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Operations (2000) brought the issue of women in peace operations accurately. The document incumbent upon the States to ensure equality between men and women, and demonstrate the benefits of a gender perspective in peace and security. It came from a homonym seminar based in Windhoek, Namibia, 29 to 31 May 2000 (United Nations, 2000).

Based on this July 2000 document, the UNSC unanimously adopted on 31 October the same year Resolution 1325. The production of statistics on the matter, the inclusion of gender in the reports produced by the UN and the importance given to women in peace missions and decision-making are the main landmarks of the Resolution (UN Security Council, 2000). To achieve its bold objectives, it is recognized that a joint effort is necessary between the Member States, UN agencies, the organization's Secretariat, regional organizations, NGOs, women's organizations, among others. Thus, although there were previous documents on the subject, Security Council Resolutions tend to have a more persuasive effect on Member States than declarations and conventions (Sully, Beham & Sands, 2014).

Regionally, the Charter of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) (1963) had no mention of gender. The Constitutive Act of the African Union (AU), 2002, mentions the promotion of gender equality, including underscores the need for women's participation in decision-making in conflict situations. Increasing the number of women in the structure of society, not just in certain situations, is critical to achieving a culture of peace and tolerance. It was up to the OAU and now it is up to AU to encourage governments to create prohibitive laws, punish perpetrators and assist women as victims, or female genital mutilation, rape, child marriage or other practices that violate human rights (Murray, 2004).

The AU Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa (2004) and the Protocol to the Charter on the Rights of Women (2004) demonstrated the commitment to incorporate gender issues. The Gender Policy of the African Union, established in 2009, was the latest attempt by the AU to achieve its bold objectives in relation to the theme that continent. Even this policy is understood the Regional Action Plan (RAP) for Africa implementation of Resolution 1325 (SANTOS, 2011).

282 | At the national level, it is up to each government to create its National Action Plan (NAP) to implement the Resolution. They are fundamental to articulate and establish responsibility and goals for those involved. In order to know what the evolution of the process, the civil society organizations draw up the Civil Society Monitoring Report (CMRS). This report is in the progress of each point part listed in the NAP, as each actor is acting, meeting deadlines and what are the challenges in the implementation of Resolution 1325. These UN reports have enough information to produce their own documents assessing the performance of countries. Thus it is possible to set new goals and understand the barriers.

Public policies related to SGBV resulting from Resolution 1325

The creation itself of a NAP by a State sets the formulation of public policy, according to the definitions presented in the first section. However, from that time until the formulation and implementation of fact public policy directed to the issue of SGBV there is a significant amount of time. There is a specific indicator in the NAPs that this study addressed: number and quality of laws and gender-sensitive policies. This indicator was used as the basis for the analysis of all of the following tables, which present public policy on SGBV in the four countries of the African Great Lakes Region: Burundi, Rwanda, Uganda and Democratic Republic of Congo, in that order (see next page for table).

Table 2 - Burundian public policies related to SGBV

NAP year	NAP objective	CSMR year	Policy in CSMR	Policy year	Description	Policy type
2011	Establish mechanisms in the fight against SGBV and justice post transition that integrate gender	2010	Article 559 of the new Criminal Code	2009	Treating rape and SGBV as crimes that should be punished according to their severity: they are irreducible, inalienable and unpardonable	Coercion
		2011	Article 563, section 4 of the new Criminal Code	2009	Severe punishment for those who commit sexual harassment	Coercion
			Article 554 and 558 of the new Criminal Code	2009	Definition of rape and stipulation for the appropriate punishment	Coercion
			Regular awareness campaigns of the population about the risk of not going to a hospital after being the victim of sexual violence	Since 2010	The victim has to go to a hospital within 72 hours after the incident to prevent sexually transmitted diseases. Propose different treatment by health teams	Building

Source: Prepared from Ministère de la Solidarité Nationale, des Droits de la Personne Humaine et du Genre (2011), Bitsure, Nyanzobe e Nisabwe (2010), WAP/RAP and Fontaine-ISOKO (2011).

It is noticed that the four SGBV related to policies in Burundi, only one is building. Coercion policies are items from the same Criminal Code, dated 2009. Despite Resolution 1325's efforts since the year 2000, the mechanisms took a little longer to be formulated. Much of the delay is due to the fact that democratic elections in that country have occurred in 2005. However only the concern to integrate gender was present throughout the transitional justice process and beyond, as demonstrated by the objective of the NAP in table 2 (Uvin, 2009).

Table 3 - Public policies in Rwanda related to SGBV

NAP year	NAP objective	CSMR year	Policy in CSMR	Policy year	Description	Policy type
2010	Establish a mechanism to integrate gender and combat SGBV in all institutions responsible	2010	Law n° 27/2001	April, 28, 2001	On the rights and protection of children from violence	Coertion
			Law N° 47/2001	December 18, 2001	Establishing punishment for offenses of discrimination against women and sectarianism	Coertion
			Law n° 59/2008	September 10, 2008	Provides for sanctions against SGBV	Coertion
		2012	Offices to Access Justice in 30 districts	2009 - 2011	Specialized personnel in preventing and dealing with SGBV	Support
			Hospital Kachru Police, with a special space sensitive to gender and other three district hospital in Gi-hundwe, nyagatare and Rusizi	Since 2010	These spaces provide health care services, legal and psychosocial rehabilitation for women	Support

Source: Prepared from Republic of Rwanda (2010), Balikungeri and Ingabire (2010; 2012).

Rwandan cohesion policies in laws format began to be established in 2001, months after the adoption of Resolution 1325, demonstrating that there was a debate in the country on the subject even before the launch of the international document. However, the most important law of the country directed to SGBV was created only in 2008 and was accompanied by supportive measures disclosed in the following years. The intention to join both types of public policies is not only to punish the perpetrator, but also to prevent and provide special-

ized assistance to victims, for now forgotten by coercion policies. It is the understanding that in a patriarchal social structure such as Rwanda, advances in gender-sensitive public policies are amazing and are examples to the world on the issue of gender equality in the public sector. But the advances are less significant as the SGBV (East African Community, 2009).

Table 4 - Uganda public policies related to SGBV

NAP year	NAP objective	CSMR year	Policy in CSMR	Policy year	Description	Policy type
2008	Improve the legal and political environment in relation to the enactment of laws and policies on SGBV 2010	2010	The Domestic Violence Act	March 17, 2010	Provides protection and assistance to victims of domestic violence; punish the perpetrators and establishes rules and procedures to be followed	Coertion
			The Amending Law of the Criminal Code	July 20, 2007	Several provisions to deal with civil and criminal matters in the case of sexual offense	Coertion
			Prohibition of Female Genital Mutilation Act	March 17, 2010	In addition to prohibiting the practice of female genital mutilation, provides for the punishment of perpetrators	Coertion
			National Development Plan	2010 - 2014	The plan, among other things, cites gender issues as constraints to development; thus it includes measures aimed at gender equality and sexual violence	Building

Source: Prepared from Ministry of Gender, Labour & Social Development (2008) and Rubimbwa (2010).

The Ugandan Prohibition Act of Female Genital Mutilation, 2010, is relevant because the country is often accused by the international community of perpetuating it as part of the rituals of some local tribes. The issue on the subject made it resorted to two fronts to combat female genital mutilation: A policy of coercion and construction. The National Development Plan notes that the Government considers that the purpose of this practice is essential to achieving the country's development. The Domestic Violence Act is similar to the Brazilian Maria da Penha Law in several aspects, including the severity of the punishment (UNFPA & UNICEF, 2010).

Table 5 - Democratic Republic of the Congo public policies related to SGBV

NAP year	NAP objective	CSMR year	Policy in CSMR	Policy year	Description	Policy type
2010	Ensure the safety of girls and women, and ensure the imposition of sanctions established by international law in the fight against SGBV	2010	Law N° 018 and 019/2006	July 18, 2006	Law about sexual violence and impunity	Coercion
		2012	Law N° 08/011	July 14, 2008	Protecting the rights of people with special topics on women's rights	Coercion
			Constitution	February, 2006	Promote gender equality in all the institutions and combat SGBV	Coercion / building

Source: Prepared from Ministère du Genre, de la Famille et de l'Enfant (2010), CAFCO (2010), CAFCO, CJR 1325 & RECIC (2011).

The three public policies related to SGBV are mainly of coercion, this situation is explained by the country still in civil war and has a peace mission there, MONUSCO (United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo). The Constitution of 2006 can be considered a construction policy to pay attention to the fact that it also seeks to promote gender equality. What draws attention in Table 6 is the objective of the NAP, which refers to “sanctions established by international law in the fight against SGBV” (Ministère du Genre, de la Famille et de l'Enfant, 2010, p. 2) It is the own Resolution 1325 of these mechanisms of international law.

The analysis of public policies of different States presented suggests that coercion is still the majority. The implementation itself of these policies is the responsibility of various bodies. The judiciary and the police often implement coercive policies. However, Rwanda NAP, for example, the phase of implementation is the responsibility of Hospitals in a case and the Access to Justice Office in another.

Final considerations

The number of policies created, a median of four between countries, is relatively small considering the number of recommendations in Resolution 1325. Rwanda is the country with more targeted policies to SGBV: five; and the Democratic Republic of Congo has less than the others with three. While they are countries that have experienced armed conflict recently - the DRC still does - it is at least important that there were more political construction and support. Building policies would help people to understand the problems arising from the SGBV practice and support would watch the women who have gone through such a situation.

While Resolution 1325 is not the first document on gender, all public policies related to SGBV in the countries analyzed in the region of the African Great Lakes were created after its approval in October 2000. If these States have had an interest, either by internal pressure or by choice of the government to formulate and implement public policies sensitive to gender, Resolution 1325 boosted it. There are no direct sanctions if it did not implement a NAP, however there are incentives for this to be done. It is expected, therefore, that this study was able to demonstrate the influence of Resolution 1325 in the formulation and subsequent implementation of public policies on gender in the countries of the Great Lakes Region of African.

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BLACK WOMEN'S THOUGHTS AND BLACK LESBIANISM IN A PORTUGUESE-SPEAKING CONTEXT¹

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ABSTRACT

The first part of this paper presents the thoughts of black women regarding feminism, taking into consideration that the fight for black and lesbian visibility is closely linked to the (re)formulation of intersectional feminism, carried out by intellectual black women. Later on, we attempt to discuss the invisibility of the black LGBT community, especially the absence of black lesbian women in the Portuguese-speaking context. It is believed that, with further theoretical study on black lesbianism, it is possible to think about elaborating new concepts for lesbian, feminist, post-colonial and lusophone theories and, most importantly, for the field of Cultural Studies.

KEYWORDS

Black lesbianism; identity; invisibility; black women's thoughts; post-colonial thinking.

Black women's thoughts and intersectionalities

Issues like the right to vote, to work, to maternity, of body integrity, the fight against domestic violence, and others, have brought important advances in the improvement of quality of life for many women, mainly for heterosexual white women. Even though numerous feminist movements have come up, throughout the centuries, dealing with the protection of human rights, women's participation in politics, specific legislation for that subordinate group, neither of these social movements was able to reflect on the situation of black lesbians.

Besides reflecting on the purposeful neglect of lesbian identities, this paper also takes into account the issue of lesbian's color/race which becomes an added focus of discrimination.

In this preliminary work we focus on the state of the art⁴ and on the first exploratory approach of the field. This paper is part of some recent research conducted in the field and it aims to highlight the author's point of view as a race, gender and sexuality relationships' researcher. In addition to reflecting upon the influence of black women's thoughts as a driving force for the discussion about intersectionalities and black lesbianism in a Portuguese-speaking context.

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⁴ "State of the art" refers to one of the fundamental stages of scientific work. It refers to the careful reading/analysis of what has been achieved/discovered in a field at a particular time. It is considered a meticulous and difficult activity, given that it prompts the researcher to do some in-depth analysis and critiques, this way avoiding the repetition of data already published too many times or unnecessary research. The state of the art of something is particularly helpful when improving theories, paradigms and concepts.

According to Alex Ratts (2007), in his paper “Between personas and black gay and african-lgbt groups”, most of the studies conducted in Brazil, address the male homosexual and bisexual universe. The issue of lesbianism is addressed in a non-racialized way and the focus is on white women from a middle or upper social class (Ratts, 2007, p. 1). The author even states that “among the intellectual black activists, only a few people have been writing for and standing for the visibility and emancipation of black lesbians, gays and bisexuals.” (Ratts, 2007, p. 4). As a result, the author mentions three intellectual African-American women who have publicly proclaimed their lesbianism: playwright Lorraine Hansberry, poet Audre Lorde and historian Angela Davis.

The history of the struggle of black women that drive the reformulation of feminisms and have fought for intersectional feminism and decolonizing politics, for a long time, is briefly reviewed.

The emerging of Intersectional Feminism has black authors Kimberlé Crenshaw, Audre Lorde and Bell Hooks as some of its most important intellectuals. Intersectional Feminism primarily assists in the organization of the agendas of black women, taking into account their actual needs, given that they are subject to several kinds of oppression that go far beyond their gender. They suffer more violently with a variety of types of discrimination.

It's important to mention the African-American literature which has reached an incredible number of readers, by making and bringing up relevant questions, mainly regarding racial oppression. At the same time, the books about intersectional feminism, already published worldwide, are able to therefore bring together, in addition to racism, segregation, capitalism, social class discrimination, and also connect the discussions around lesbophobia, misogyny, male-supremacism, resisting imperialism, heterosexuality and eurocentrism in the United States.

Author Mariana Jafet Cestari (2013), in her research, approaches historical facts on the struggle of black women who militate in national (Brazil) and international political meetings and, in a peculiar way, in feminist meetings. The author cites an idea by Lélia Gonzalez, in which she states that it was in the black movement that black women found a space for political discussions on the racist structure and its everyday practices (Cestari, 2013, p. 01). However, besides issues directly related to racism, black women experienced white and black men's misogyny. This symbolic violence was also the subject of meetings by black women, even before the creating of an organized black women's movement. This invisibilization and exclusion black women suffered also took place in the universal feminist movement:

According to Sueli Carneiro, the black women's movement is characterized by the need to establish a political identity regarding the feminist and black social movements, which, ultimately, determine their existence and ambiguities. Projecting different parties, Brazilian black women who kept both a rejected and close relationship with feminism – separating in their statements, for example, by using the adjectives “Western” and “black” – exposing their silent and invisible position in Brazilian society and history. Thus, in the feminist's field, as subjects of their own opinions/statements, the distinction made in regard to mostly white women, paradoxically made these women visible and heard. (Cestari, 2013, p. 13 as cited in Carneiro, 1993, pp. 14-18)⁵

⁵ Carneiro, S. (1993). “The National Organization of Black Women and Political Perspectives”, *Cadernos Geledés*, Nº 4 (pp.14-18).

It is clear that the different resistance strategies in the thinking defined by black women is strengthened by the demarcation of black feminism.

In the paper "Black Women: Shaping Feminist Theory," by intellectual Bell Hooks, one can reflect more deeply on exclusionary practices by many white women that dominate feminist discourse that in various ways silence black women. Leaving no room for any overture or the birth of new theories and the broadening of feminist ideas.

"White women who dominate feminist discourse, who for the most part make and articulate feminist theory, have little or no understanding of white supremacy as a racial politic, of the psychological impact of class, of their political status within a racist, sexist, capitalist state." (Hooks, p. 207)

Bell Hooks also brings up another issue that is pertinent to a construction of black women's thinking as participants in a wide organized social movement: "Black male sexism has undermined struggles to eradicate racism just as white female racism undermines feminist struggle" (Hooks, p. 207). So, black men's misogyny within the black movement is the largest limiting factor in discussions that address issues specifically related to black women. And the barrier of racism within the feminist movement creates the biggest limitation in broadening feminist ideas.

In the paper "Our Feminisms Revisited", written by Luiza Bairros, for *Revista Estudos Feministas*, nº2\95 - vol.3, 1995, the author states:

The experience of oppression is given by the position we occupy in a matrix of domination where race, gender and class intersect at different points. Thus, a working black woman is not triply oppressed or more oppressed than a white woman in the same social class, but experiences oppression from a place that provides a different view on what is to be a woman in an unequal, racist and sexist society. (Bairros, 1995, p. 461)

This way, race, social rank and sexual orientation are categories that can only be understood in their multidimensionality and perplexity. According to Luiza Bairros, "from a feminist point of view there is no single identity, because the experience of being a woman happens in a socially and historically determined way". In this sense, Lélia Gonzalez questions Simone de Beauvoir: "[...] when she [Simone de Beauvoir] states that we are not born a woman, but we become one (I usually go back to this line of thought regarding the racial issue: one is born a nigger, a spook, colored, etc.; but becoming black is a victory)." (Cardoso, 2014, p. 973).

"Becoming black" is a social process of identity construction, of political resistance, because it starts with the rejection of allowing someone else's point of view to define oneself and the breaking away from "becoming white"; it means self-definition, the appreciation and recovery of black history and cultural legacy, which reflects a political position of existing in this world in order to perform the lead role of a historical development committed to tackling racism. Unlike Frantz Fanon, the references to Beauvoir are far from revealing a strong theoretical influence in Lélia Gonzalez's thinking, particularly because Beauvoir's wife is white. Lélia Gonzalez refuses the concept of generalization and rescues the "Amefrican" woman. (Cardoso, 2014, p. 973)

Following this line of thought, it is evident that “if you’re not born a woman, you become one,” then you’re not born black, you become black, so the processes of construction of the black and feminist identities, for example, are different for each woman, especially those that have to face sexism, misogyny, social and racial stigmas e all the history of exploitation/colonization of the black, African and indigenous body, that in many ways still exists today.

Note that these ideas are part of the (re)formulations that help understand different feminisms and perspectives of black women and lesbians on politics.

Ignoring the differences of race between women and the implications of those differences presents the most serious threat to the mobilization of women’s joint power. As white women ignore their built-in privilege of whiteness and define woman in terms of their own experience alone, then women of Color become “other,” the outsider whose experience and tradition is too “alien” to comprehend. (Lorde, 2011, p. 5)

Audre Lorde, in this quote, brings about a discussion on age, race, class and gender. It is understood that “failing to recognize the differences, prevents us from seeing the diverse problems and dangers we all face, as women.” (Lorde, 2011, p. 6). With this statement, the author calls attention to the undeniable importance of recognizing the differences and the diverse problems that all women face, not only white women, inviting us to intensely reflect on the intersectional debate.

It is important to remember that during the colonial slave-trading period, the black population did not have the right to dignity or humanity and was considered “soulless” by the Church. Black men and women, in an animal way, were used as “slave reproducers,” that slave-traders free merchandise. There was no black family. Every black person was born as property of a slave owner. They could be rented, sold, lashed, used until their strength gave out. They were simply things, animals, less than people. And black women were used as sexual objects since their infancy, rape and every kind of sexual violence were common, when it came to black women’s bodies. All this context should or should have been discussed in the scope of feminist theories.

It is in this sense that the formulation of Black Feminism occurred in Brazil in the 1980s. Black women started attending universities and having contact with political, cultural, racial, anthropological and sociological theories and concepts. Besides that, the Black Women’s Movement in Brazil was organized by black women who were already a part of different social movement organizations, mainly the Black Movement and the Feminist Movement. And the trigger for the black women’s movement happens as a response to the incorrect perception of universal feminism that didn’t consider, and in part still doesn’t consider, the specificities of black women in the diaspora.

The Portuguese-speaking context and black lesbianism

Portugal has a growing population of black African immigrants and residents, black Brazilian immigrants and residents and a big number of black people born in the country. Racism, xenophobia, symbolic violence and police violence are present in all these commu-

nities. Consequently, in Portugal, irrespective of nationality, the entire black community suffers with the same discriminatory practices based on the color of their skin.

According to Lélia Gonzalez, racism may strategically have two ways of keeping “exploitation/oppression”: the open racism and disguised racism. The first version is found mainly in countries of Anglo-Saxon origin, and the second is prominent in societies of Latin origin. Within disguised racism, “the ‘theories’ of miscegenation, assimilation and ‘racial democracy’ prevail”: this way of expression, the author claims, while thinking of Brazil, prevents “the objective awareness of that undisguised racism and the direct knowledge of its cruel practices”, given that the historically built belief about miscegenation created the myth of the absence of racism in our country. (Cardoso, 2014, p. 969)

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This exploitation/oppression, that Lélia Gonzalez explains, is very present in the Portuguese-speaking context. A big part of the Portuguese black community is exploited in precarious employment, devalued and stigmatized and not acknowledging these people's existence as citizens with equal rights is considered normal. Thus, institutional racism⁶ becomes a daily occurrence. This reality becomes apparent when one realizes that, even if the black person is educated, has a technical or university degree, the chances for academic and professional growth are minimal, almost nonexistent, in Portugal. Besides that, the Portuguese government repeatedly makes things difficult for black immigrants to acquire a residence permit.

This happens with the entire black population, regardless of gender or sexuality. However, when it comes to problems faced mainly by black, lesbian and butch⁷ women, we will evidently find specificities that further amplify discrimination already faced in these women's social condition, who are either frequently mistaken for a man or are publicly humiliated for being “masculine”.

Meanwhile, it is believed that these women are not alone. They belong to a community that is totally helpless and overlooked by the Government, the justice system, the media, academia and by the associative movements presided mostly by white cisgendered, heteronormative people who don't trouble themselves with the total lack of black presence in the places of political cultural and teaching decisions. Thus, it is clear that the black lesbian community is more vulnerable and suffers more with the high unemployment rates, the jobs with no labor rights or guarantees and the lack of opportunities.

And when a black and lesbian woman, comes out to society and to her family, that individual's risk of physical or psychological assault is multiplied numerous times. However, very little is mentioned about data on violence on black LGBT people, and less even about sexual violence suffered by black lesbian women. In the paper called “Trajectories of black lesbian women: communication broke its contract and silence vanished”, author Sandra Regina de Souza Marcelino (2011) states that:

⁶ Institutional racism — consists of the strategy used by racism in order to guarantee appropriation of the positive results that come from the generating of wealth by the privileged racial groups in society, all the while helping to keep the fragmentation of the distribution of these results, in its core. Educational or systemic racism works to induce, keep or condition the State's organization and actions, its public institutions and policies, while also operating in private institutions, creating and replicating racial hierarchies. Source: WERNECK, Jurema. (2013). Institutional Racism: a conceptual approach. Geledés – Black Women Institute. Sao Paulo.

⁷ Butch – a stereotypically masculine or masculine-acting lesbian, who stands out for dressing in a mannish style.

In South Africa, for example, lesbianism is abhorred, and with it, the constant practices of corrective rape⁸ often remain in a state of impunity. In the case of women, according to reports, a quarter of them has been raped before completing 16 years of age. This situation has its roots in “machismo”, poverty, densely populated occupations, unemployment, marginalized men and community indifference. In South Africa, a girl is more likely to be raped than to learn how to read. In Brazil, every two days a homosexual man is murdered. Although the data released by the Gay Group of Bahia (GGB) have very expressive statistics, there is still a major barrier to this type of statement, which leads us to question the invisible numbers of violence. (Marcelino, 2011, p. 6)

These invisible numbers of violence enhance the absence and resistance of black lesbian women around the world, which allows many crimes to still take place in Brazil, Portugal or in African countries.

When the debate is broadened on racism, sexism, lesbophobia and finally reflection on feminist, lesbian, gender, race and class theories, we start to explore a delicate and extremely complex territory, in that the specificities of invisibility and, at the same time types of violence are intensified. Marcelino (2011) reflects on this invisibility of lesbianism:

The fact of being lesbian makes heterosexual women even more vulnerable to the numerous forms of violence against women. The “myth of silence” gains strength from the moment this opposition, normal and unnatural, in the field of sexuality dictates a regularization of sexual practices. Thus, the heterosexualization imposed on the lesbian body is this invisibility and silence, coming from instruments so powerful that they enter body domestication, educational practices and punishment. Fear is a common element and so it is comprehensible to recognize the gulf between violence reports and the visibility of homosexuality. If silence makes data invisible, exposure often punishes. And in this dual tension, the “other” can eventually become the guardian of other people’s moves. (Marcelino, 2011, p. 6)

According to the quote above, it is understood that the “myth of silence” reinforces the idea that heterosexuality is mandatory and that the speech of heteronormativity is something natural while lesbianism is unnatural, much like a disease. Additionally, it ignores the explicit demands against lesbophobia and, through fear, prevents lesbian women from individually and/or collectively revealing their relationships and showing affection in public. This fear also prevents people from exposing violent and discriminatory practices, such as corrective rapes and daily humiliations.

Therefore, it is evident that if a white or non-black lesbian woman is affected by numerous social stigmas, a black lesbian woman carries with her a history of oppression, which differentiates her, as an individual who had their body enslaved for centuries.

The black lesbian is truly outraged with the stigma of a “fine piece of meat” that is only good for pleasuring the opposite sex and lives in constant danger for loving another woman, besides suffering from the total exclusion/invisibility by not having the privilege of whiteness. The black lesbian, especially the butch black lesbian faces, on a daily basis, people’s looks of disdain, wherever she goes and learns not to be surprised by explicit racism and lesbophobia,

⁸ Lesbophobic practice, whereby one or more men rape women who are or seem to be lesbians, supposedly as a way to “cure” them of their sexual orientation.

by hearing “What do you want? Besides being black/a nigger, you’re also a butch/dyke/lesbo?” Black lesbianism is endurance. Every day, black lesbians endure eurocentric-supremacy, heterosexist-supremacy, e misogynistic-supremacy.

Being lesbian in such a male-supremacist, capitalist, misogynist, racist, homophobic and imperialistic culture like the one in the United States is an act of resistance – a resistance which should be welcomed throughout the world by all progressive forces. It doesn’t matter how women live their lesbianism – in the closet, in the legislature or in their bedrooms. They have rebelled against their prostitution by their slaving masters, which corresponds to the heterosexual female who depends on the man. This rebellion is dangerous business within the patriarchy. Men from all privileged levels, from all social statuses and ethnicities have the power to act legally, morally and/or violently when they can’t colonize women, when they can’t limit their sexual, productive, reproductive prerogatives and their energy. The lesbian – that woman who “made another woman her lover”¹ - managed to resist the imperialism of her master in the sphere of her life. Lesbians have decolonized their body. They have averted a life of servitude which is inherent in western heterosexist/heterosexual relationships and have accepted the potential of the mutuality of a lesbian relationship – nevertheless. (Clarke, 1988, p. 1)

This decolonization of body and thought, explored in black and lesbian literature points to the paper “Women in Movement” by Sueli Carneiro (2003, p. 3), who says “While politicizing gender inequality, feminism turns women into new political actors.” Only then does the debate become wider and focused on improving all women’s situation.

According to Audre Lorde (1984, p. 5), female black authors are not used in schools or universities in the United States. This refusal is often justified by white feminist women who say only black women can teach that literature and/or that it is hard to understand. That is, those women cannot understand the discussions that cross race, gender and class relations, having no issues in analyzing and teaching extensive lectures on authors such as “Shakespeare, Molière, Dostoyevsky and Aristophanes.”

This lack of interest is not exclusive to the United States. In Brazil, Portugal and African countries, a great deal of university students cannot quote even one female black author, much less a black lesbian one. Furthermore, there is a total lack of interest from social and human sciences researchers towards the subject of lesbianism in relation to blackness. Therefore, this research aims to approach a subject that is considered obscure and irrelevant by most researchers. Based on the opposite principle, one cannot deny the fact that lesbian studies connected to color/race greatly help in deepening intersectional theories.

Thus, within the universal feminist movement, lesbianity has historically not had space for problematization, mainly in the political arena. In the black women’s movement, based on intersectional feminism, lesbianism became a more debated subject, even if superficially. In the LGBT movement, black lesbians are still faced with total disregard, especially from gays, lesbians and white bisexuals, in the face of alarming data that demonstrate the multiplicity of physical and psychological violence suffered by black lesbians.

This entire framework negatively affects the process of construction of a positive identity for black lesbians. In this way, endurance, most of the time, happens in being (Clarke, 1988).

A black lesbian, like any other lesbian in the United States, can be found anywhere: at home, in the streets, receiving government assistance, social security benefits, standing in the unemployment lines, raising children, working in a factory, in the military, in television, in the public school system in all occupations, in the state's Chamber of Deputies, in the Capitol, attending classes at university or continuing their studies at a graduate school, working in administration, etc. Black lesbians, like any other non-white, working-class and poor woman in the United States, did not suffer the luxury, privilege, or oppression of being dependent on a man. (Clarke, 1988, p. 5)

There are numerous methods of erasing black lesbian women identities and trajectories. But, although never remembered, black lesbian women are everywhere, like the author Cheryl Clarke states (1988). It is believed that the presence of the black masculine lesbian, butch; that of the one who identifies herself as more feminine, lady, femme; or of the one who doesn't identify with binarism or normativity, who likes to dress based on a mix of what is considered feminine and masculine, queer, confronts society with their existence.

When they are assumed, they face conservative reactions, family disapproval, repudiation of coworkers, job demission, church expulsion, lack of understanding from friends. This confrontation and audacity, of wanting to be as a person that deserves respect and equality of opportunity like everyone else, shows that whether it wants to or not, society will have to see and live with this diversity of black identities, lesbians, queers, marginalized and mostly peripheral.

To be a black women or a black man, gay, lesbian, a crossdresser, bisexual, transgender, are all plural socio-cultural constructions. However, a place of speaking and activism is being built by black people and personas who identify with and are identified with the LBTT scene, without necessarily exposing their privacy and by using a variety of lingos and sources to amplify their voices (Ratts, 2007, p. 12).

In support thereof, it is possible to consider that the fight for black lesbian visibility is not limited to explicit complaints or street activism. One can recognize that the vast majority of black lesbians cannot or are not able to "come out" for religious, cultural or family reasons (not including all the kinds of oppressions already mentioned), Regarding that, we understand that there are different resistance strategies and, at the same time, a complexity in the experiences of these women, which requires further theoretical study.

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WOMEN EXCLUSION PRACTICES IN INSANE ASYLUMS - PORTO ALEGRE/BRAZIL, 1940s¹

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ABSTRACT

The article discusses historical aspects of the social exclusion of women considered mad and admitted to the São Pedro Psychiatric Hospital of Porto Alegre (HPSP) during the 1940s. Data was collected from hospital (medical records) and journalistic sources. We discuss historical parameters of insanity and their sensitivities relating to females in Brazil (Rio Grande do Sul). The theoretical aspects of analysis are related to the History of Sensitivities (Cultural History).

KEYWORDS

Sensitivities; social exclusion; women; insanity; insane asylum.

Women in Insane Asylums

The following three cases are taken from medical records relating to the 1940s, in the São Pedro Psychiatric Hospital (HPSP) in Porto Alegre (Rio Grande do Sul - RS, Brazil) and are stored in the Public Archives of Rio Grande do Sul in Porto Alegre. They represent a tiny sampling of the many stories of hospitalized women, who were, like all other patients, treated with the same organicist techniques used at the time (insulin therapy, shock by cardiazol and malariatherapy³). Most of them were discharged without a cure, as stated in the records. Their life stories and the reasons why they “went mad” were never taken into consideration. Homogenizing means of therapy were generally used, including the preconceived discourse about women at the time. These cases are considered under two different prisms: the psychiatry of the time and the cultural history of sensibilities.

Case 1 - Female, 37, housewife, from Porto Alegre. [Information obtained from medical record No. 12182 of the São Pedro Psychiatric Hospital of Porto Alegre; Box 485; 1941]

She was sent by the police chief and we have the following story told by her son (reported in the “commemorative sheet”, data collected by social worker): “Six years ago she became a widow. Three years later she ordered her husband’s tomb to be opened to remove the bones, but that was not possible as the body was found to be preserved. She was very impressed and turned to spiritualism and managed to speak to the spirit of her husband, and he told her the doctor who treated him had given him an injection that killed him because the doctor was in love with her. She also turned to fortune tellers and had the same

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³ At the time these fell under the general designation of “convulsive therapies”, i.e. techniques that caused seizures and that would cure the insanity symptoms, particularly hallucinations and delusions. See SANTOS, 2013.

confirmation. Every year she keeps having the grave opened and the body is always found to be preserved. She then decided to tell the police about the crime that the doctor had committed. On this occasion she was taken to this hospital". Upon examination, the doctor, downtown, says: "Calm, oriented, normal exam. Went to the police station, searched Dr. W. working there, accusing him of killing her husband five years ago. Came to this conclusion because this Dr. tended to her husband at 11 am and he died at 11 pm. That doctor did so because he fell in love with her and she claims to have been sought by him numerous times after her husband's death. It is evident that the patient has been systematizing an erotic delirium, based often in morbid interpretations. She has no education and only knows how to write her name". The diagnosis for this patient was "sensitive paranoia". She was treated once with convulsive therapy (type non-specified) and was discharged within a month (with no improvement) to be cared for at home.

We can only ask what supports this doctor's conduct. Several other patients received high doses of drugs and several sessions of convulsive therapy for similar delusional symptoms (not in content, but in intensity), but she was discharged after a month (a very short time for the average admission)? We can also think of "compulsory medical immunity" as a doctor was accused of the husband's death (perhaps by therapeutic error). Some variants are at stake: for example, the accused doctor worked for the police. Couldn't this be a true story of seduction, like the many in literature and even in historiographical texts? The patient's imaginary was denied as a reality, whether actual (real case of seduction where the other person was killed) or symbolic (psychological). Once again, it was disregarded as a fact that acted in this particular person, and therefore should have a place in the patient's treatment of this patient (was she?). In other words, ravings are historical. Erotic delusions can be cured when they occur, if the contents are adequately worked on with the person. In most cases they are symbolic of specific sexual problems. Perhaps what has contributed to the dismissal of this story as a delirium was the fact that the patient had sought an "explanation" in spiritualism. Resorting to spiritualism (and its imaginary) was common practice in our country in this period, but this practice was considered inappropriate for the scientific thought increasingly settling in the medical community. Yet none of this was taken into account. What was left was "discharged to be cared for at home, without improvement".

CASE 2 – "Female, 12, student, from Porto Alegre. Diagnosis of schizophrenia. She was a private patient, i.e., whose family funded the whole treatment. [Information obtained from medical record No. 11631 of the São Pedro Psychiatric Hospital of Porto Alegre; Box 485; 1941]

Admitted July 1941. She was transferred from isolation at the St. Joseph Hospital, where she was hospitalized with typhoid fever. In this hospital, she was in a state of psychomotor excitement, anxious mood, physically weakened and clouded of consciousness. Cried a lot and had no appetite. The recommended treatment for the diagnosis of schizophrenia were numerous sessions of insulin therapy (hypoglycemic coma), totaling 60 in this hospitalization alone. She started to show intolerance to insulin on the first session, and had a serious seizure during the coma. Still, though the patient was "under observation", the sessions continued. A few days after admission she had the following medical developments: "Upon arrival at this hospital, [the patient] presented a typical clinical picture of confusion. She showed improvements on the short term, becoming a close friend of the sisters. Afterwards she became agitated. After one week of psychomotor excitement, she entered a phase of indifference,

not looking for the sisters as before. She was taken to the insulin therapy service and her mental state has rather improved, as has much of the somatic. Today she presents well-nourished to exam, and apparently with a well-suited attitude. She does not make eye contact and the nurse tells the patient does not look at anyone. Keeps the labial commissure slightly skewed to the left. Sometimes outlines a disheartened smile. Speaks only if questioned. Answers correctly. Is focused on the self, place and time. Sometimes needs some insistence to reach the end of the answer. Shows no incoherence of thought, does not manifest delusions and denies pseudo-perceptions". The patient's unstable condition continued, with various complications upon insulin administration (fever, convulsions). In early October she left the hospital to spend the day out at the request of her father. Four days after this outing, it is noted in the chart that all previous symptoms cleared, she presents easy communicability, is well suited and consistent and has behaved well on the outing with her father. Her somatic state is excellent. She was discharged December of the same year, with a note stating that she showed resistance to insulin and was cured of acute mental disorders.

This patient was then re-admitted in February 1945, now 15 years old. She lived in Venancio Aires, upstate. She was in a state of agitation, with logorrhea, abundant gesticulation and speaking theatrically in a declamatory tone. The administered treatment is electroshock therapy⁴, many sessions. In April, the excitation manifestations have dissipated, and she is "calm, adapted and coherent. Works in the laboratory with interest". In May she is recovered from the psychotic state and can go on an outing in the company of family (father). Upon return her mental state has worsened and she is indifferent, with incoherence of thought and language, disheartened laughter, disregard of attire. She was then subject to treatment with electroshock therapy. Still in May, there is a note in the chart saying "the patient has not menstruated in months". Later this month, after several sessions of electroshock therapy, she once more leaves the hospital for the day in an outing with a family member (undisclosed) and "behaves in a suitable manner". In July, after a few more sessions of electroshock therapy, she is discharged, lucid, calm and consistent. In April 1952 she was admitted to the Mental Prophylaxis sector of this hospital, which was an open service, now called outpatient. There are no major notes in the chart on this period. In May 1953 the hospital received a letter from the Canoas deputy, asking if she really was hospitalized there from 1941 to 1944 and justified this question by saying "there is in this police station a police investigation favoring her, which would be the offended". She tried to sue her father. At this time the patient was 24 years old. There are no other data in the chart and the story reported in this source ends here.

Analyzing this case, we would primarily see: if the initial disease was proven to be typhoid fever, symptoms of agitation and confusion could be explained by this toxic presentation. The diagnosis of schizophrenia was unnecessary to accommodate these symptoms. If the patient already showed intolerance to insulin therapy, why continue to an extreme where she had seizures and then became resistant to the point of no longer entering the induced coma? This treatment lasted from July to November. In December she was discharged. Mid-

⁴ This treatment instituted in the HPSP in 1944. Advocated and initiated in Europe by Cerletti and Bini in 1938, it largely replaced pharmacological convulsive treatment. It is done with the patient under anesthesia. Its use is extensive and indiscriminate until the present day. At the HPSP it was also used by the sisters to punish patients, as reported by patients, mainly with vaginal electroshock.

way through this hospitalization she went on an outing with her father, and according to him, behaved “well”. When she was readmitted in 1945, electroshock therapy had become the preferred treatment. The teenager, then 15, received around 30 shock sessions. It is reported that in May (she returned to the hospital in February) she had recovered from the psychotic state. Then, two days after this statement, she goes on an outing with a family member. Her mental status worsens the next day, and her chart reads: “proceed with electroshock therapy”. The next “developments” in the chart (on the following two days): “Improving mental state” and “has not menstruated in months”. She goes out of the hospital again with a family member and “behaves well”. More electroshocks. In June, she is discharged - cured!

There are some contradictions and some unknowns in this case. The first contradiction is that schizophrenia had no cure according to doctors at the time. Also electroshock therapy was administered even when the patient did not have “psychotic symptoms”. And what was the problem with her body that caused her not to menstruate? Was she pregnant? And who was with her on her outing? Generally she went with her father. “Well-behaved” depends on the beholder, depends on what you mean about what happened. What does “disregard of attire” mean? This condition was described after an outing with her father. And what could have been the aggression she suffered, which led her to make a complaint at the police station in 1953? As a “private” patient many things could have been done with the family’s agreement.

Little is said about her imaginary, but these symptoms of confusion, irritability, and “theatrical speaking” could symbolize some fact or psychological problem that she had difficulty speaking about. But the main fact is the suspension of menstruation, which suggests a pregnancy; and then, when she became of age, there is an office of a deputy accusing her father of something. Could not this be a case of sexual abuse that made the girl “go crazy”? Much can be discussed on this matter, and this is not the place.

CASE 3 – Female, 22, housewife, married, from Rio Pardo. Diagnosed with schizophrenia. [Information obtained from medical record No. 12127 of the São Pedro Psychiatric Hospital of Porto Alegre; Box 485; 1941]

In the “commemorative sheet”, filled in by the social worker and with information given by the patient’s husband, we find the following story: “Four years ago, a month after the birth of her first child, the patient was washing clothes in a stream when she took a big scare caused by a snake. She started to cry a lot and to speak nonsense and then fled to walk on the road. She had visual hallucinations, but did not explain what she saw. She would not stay in a dark room. A month later she was healed. These symptoms, however, repeat whenever the patient “has family” [i.e., has a child]. Two weeks ago, i.e. two weeks after the birth of her last child, the patient was again upset. She cries a lot and tries to escape. It gets worse at night. She jolts when she goes to sleep and has severe headaches. She complains of chest pain and practically does not eat”. Investigating the rest of the chart, one finds that this woman’s first son died a few hours after birth (four years previously) and she has, at this moment, three living sons. She married at 19, with a 30-year-old man. The doctor’s note reads as follows: “Tired physiognomy. Attentive look. Incomplete answers. Partly oriented to in the self, disoriented in place and time. Left at will, she will remain in silence, side facing us. Does not gesticulate. Poor mimicry. Yesterday afternoon she presented a motor excitation crisis and was aggressive. She walked from side to side, shouting, assaulted other patients and did not listen to nurses. Certificate information is rather instructive. Since her first child, a few

days or a month after birth, the patient has mental disorders similar to those already registered. Diagnosis: delusional syndrome". In this hospital her treatment are several seizures with 'cardiazol'. She was readmitted in 1957 and had several sessions of electroshock therapy (and there is no reported history apart from this one, 14 years ago). The first page of her record, where the patient's identification data is, reads: diagnosis- schizophrenia.

It is noteworthy that, although the doctor qualified the information gathered by the social worker as "instructive", this knowledge does not alter the administered treatment and medical management of the case. Electroshock therapy is used once again in the absence of a deeper and more humane understanding of this woman's life, that is, the loss of her first child. A closer look will find that she has a "delusional" crisis every time she "has family", that is, every time she gives birth. We call this postpartum clinical picture of "puerperal psychosis", described as a psychosis that affects the mother within the first thirty days after childbirth. Symptoms usually include: severe depression, delusions and/or hallucinations related to the child (their death or disability, or that the mother tries to kill them) or even the denial of birth and belief that she is still a virgin. Its etiology, both for obstetricians and psychiatrists, is related to a preceding underlying psychosis (i.e., there were latent symptoms of mental illness before pregnancy) or an organic brain syndrome, caused by toxicity (e.g., the ingestion of some drugs, such as potent analgesics, which produce these symptoms).

Anyway, and this is what we are trying to demonstrate in this paper, this patient's delusional presentation was anchored in a real historical experience: the neonatal death of a child. Yet this was not taken into consideration; personal history is buried once more. This was surely a problem the patient did not deal with, and every time she had another child, that past experience returns in her imaginary. At the same time, however, we must not establish such a rational a causal relationship with this fact. If it were so, the mere fact of telling it to the patient might already have cured her (it is almost certain that someone, a family member or friend, may have mentioned this situation to her). But remember the snake. The snake, a "cold-blooded" animal, represents a basic human instinct connected with "visceral" reactions. Often it symbolizes fear before certain events, irrational fear not controlled by reason. Jung (2012) states that because of their poison, dreams of snakes often precede physical ailments. "Usually it expresses an abnormal animation of the unconscious" (JUNG, 2012, p. 421). In this case, fear of the sudden appearance of a snake, a very common situation in rural areas, constellated in this woman an absolutely unconscious hazard reaction. It is an archetypal situation humanity has always experienced. In this case, it represented the death of a child and the mother's fear of it. It would be an understatement to say the mother feels "guilty" for the death of the child. The archetypal image and her instinctive reaction are stronger, and more human, than any "guilt" one may have for an event that happened against our will. Guilt would be justified if the mother had killed the child or desired their death for some reason. This does not seem to be the case. This woman's pain, expressed in her symptoms, is more convincing than any reasonable interpretation. But her treatment was "seizures". Did she need any more seizures?

A little more sensitivity, gentlemen!

Since 1986, as a doctor working with psychiatric patients from a Jungian framework (relating to the Swiss psychiatrist Carl Gustav Jung's theory of analytical psychology), I have always questioned the organicist methods employed in most Brazilian hospitals and learned in medical schools. I felt the need to think how, or in what way, this organicist psychiatry settled in Rio Grande do Sul/Brazil, along with its connection to the practice of exclusion of patients in hospitals and the representations physicians, society, family and patients themselves had about mental illness. I then headed to History, and did my Masters and Doctorate in Cultural History in order to research the imaginary and sensibilities about "insanity" in our society. There I came into contact with medical records from 1937 to 1950 with homogenizing treatment techniques, within the São Pedro Psychiatric Hospital of Porto Alegre.

I have always had a concern to understand insanity from the point of view of those who imagine, feel and live it- and not only through the vision of institutionalized medical knowledge, scientifically "suited" to characterize it - in short, I have always shared the idea that the doctor does not and cannot know everything about a disease or a sick patient. The patient's voice has always resonated within me, even when I did not understand what it could mean. It was through the dialogue of Carl Gustav Jung's concepts of Analytical Psychology - with which I have worked for 30 years my practice - with concepts of Cultural History - such as representation, imagination and sensitivity - and the link between these and the data found in the sources, that I found a way to draw a certain picture of the social imaginary of mental illness and, specifically, with the imaginary of women affected by mental illness. Therefore, this article privileges an interdisciplinary approach. We reinterpret the past from shards and traces of it and give new meanings to the facts and to the therapeutic look on mental illness.

The 1940s brought what came to be called "inpatient overcrowding" at HPSP, with an increase of the absolute patient count. In March 1951, a news report in the "Jornal de Notícias" claimed there were 2961 inpatients in 1950 alone, 714 of which did not have a bed. Most patients were women considered "destitute" (1236 destitute men; 1297 destitute women; 239 male pensioners; 189 female pensioners)⁵.

Years later, with the testimony of some employees, this issue was explicit. In 1971 there were more than five thousand patients living in inhuman conditions such as collapsing buildings, bad food, and outdated psychiatric treatment. With only 1200 beds, patients were forced to join two beds and sleep length-wise in groups of up to five, thus encouraging promiscuity and the increase of infectious diseases⁶.

⁵ Source: Diário de Notícias (Porto Alegre), March 22, 1951, p 5 and p. 12. Title: "DESLEIXO E DESUMANIDADE - MERGULHO NOS ABISMOS DA MANSÃO DA LOUCURA - Um inquérito que se torna necessário- Mergulho no abismo- Inenarrável sordidez- Promiscuidade- Uma grave acusação- problema de administração" (NEGLECT AND INHUMANITY – DIVING IN THE DEPTHS OF THE MANSION OF INSANITY – A necessary inquiry – dive into the abyss – unspeakable squalor – promiscuity – a grave accusation – a management problem). Authors: Nelson Grant and Paulo Tollens.

⁶ Source: "Memórias de um velho Hospício" (Memoirs of an old Asylum). Internal booklet. Porto Alegre, São Pedro Psychiatric Hospital, 1975-1979. Made in five "chapters" with text by Rui Carlos Muller (head of the recreation service) and research professor Marta Lília Flores. This booklet was made to publicize the hospital in the year of its centenary, thought to be 1979. It was first written in 1975. Research showed the correct date of the centenary (1984), but these 5 chapters were published in 1979. Courtesy of Dr. Ygor Ferrão, HPSP director of education and research at the time of this research.

Women were admitted in large numbers. Most were brought by their family, especially the husband. Very few had jobs, most were “mistresses of the house” or “housewives”. Some worked as maids - a profession which is very common in Brazil, but only recently regulated. Many lived in rural areas of Rio Grande do Sul and, judging from the records I have had access to, the majority had “mystical or erotic delusions”. Hospitalized women had different diagnoses than men: hysteria, schizophrenia, mystical hallucinations, epilepsy were some of the most common diagnoses.

All cases of hospitalized women (here only three were reported) observed from medical records from 1937 to 1950 have something in common: all are treated by doctors homogeneously, i.e. not respecting each patient’s imaginary or life story. It was enough that a family member reported that the patient spoke of God, practiced some religion or saw figures, for “mystical delirium” to be included in the symptomatology of the clinical picture. Or, in alternative, erotic delusions. Nowhere in the medical record reports does the psychiatrist take into account the patient’s imaginary or their sensitivity to their psychological moment. Years later, in the booklet mentioned in note 6, there are testimonials by patients that had been admitted to the hospital for over 10 years. One says: “I was admitted 14 years ago. There used to be more sisters than nurses, I was terrified of the courtyard, the rooms were closed (cells) and there was a room where the patients were naked and at the end of it there was a small room where the sisters locked the patients to calm them down and gave them shocks [in the vagina] and then left them in a small yard. They only gave soup to men and women, patients were skinny. It’s been 6 or 7 years since everything changed. The kitchen was old, they changed the pots, the floor and it had no guard” (Female patient’s testimony, “Memórias de um velho Hospício”, see note 6)

Analysis of sensitivities (Pesavento, 2003; Santos, 2008) is one of the central elements of Cultural History that surfaced in the penultimate decade of the twentieth century and constitutes another framework for our thinking about insanity. It influences the perception and translation of human experience in the world, through social practices, discourses, images, and materiality. Thus, we work with the translation of the sensible as a form of knowledge of the world - social imaginary, subjectivity, emotions, feelings. Insanity, understood here as a momentary altered state of the human psyche, is a historical question, and consequently cultural and social; it is a broader issue rather than a mere medical or psychological school concern. “Being insane” is a social concept, as explained by Jung (2012).

The understanding of mental disorders involves the understanding of the life story and psychological background of an individual in the most comprehensive way. This story unfolds like a drama, both on an individual level (family environment and psychological background) as well as on a collective one, that is, in living history and in the history of the surrounding world. As we reflect, even if briefly, on the referred cases of women suffering from mental problems and locked up in asylums in the early twentieth century (a reality that is not much different these days – but this is not the place to discuss that), we are sure that psychiatric science, in that historical moment, homogenized human life and its manifestations - religious manifestations, erotic demonstrations, protests against a violent husband, manifestations of loss, among many others. Women, suffering in a world and era dominated by male precepts, were also excluded from the legitimate expressions of their imaginary, be it religious, erotic, or other. This would at least provide some relief from the suffering and would, to a point, be

composed of appropriate symbols for the contents that kept women unbalanced, and perhaps also for their cure.

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BLACK WOMEN AND FEMICIDE IN BRAZIL: VIOLENCE IN ITS TWO FACES¹

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ABSTRACT

Violence against women has gained visibility in recent decades in the academic and in the social sphere in general. In its most extreme form, it is what we call femicide, which is the violent and intentional killing of women by the mere condition of being a woman. When thinking of the need for gender discussion leads us to the race discussions, that leads us to other complex issues such as racism in Brazil, mainly noticed by the growth of the black population victimization index. Studies of this proportion are important in order to build a new theoretical reflection on the possibilities which bring out other singularities of domestic violence against women.

KEYWORDS

Gender; racial discrimination; feminist movements; public policy.

Contextualizing

Violence against women⁴ has gained visibility in recent decades in the academic and in the social sphere in general. The high index registered both nationally and internationally implies a greater concern regarding the adoption of public policies in combating violence against women in the private and in the public space. In its most extreme form, what we call femicide - or feminicide - is the violent and intentional killing of women by the mere condition of being a woman occurs and is, mostly, closely linked to violence committed by men who had or maintained an affective relationship with the victim (Machado et. al., 2015).

It is important to consider that femicide is not an isolated event in women's lives; actually femicide occurs as successive violations [including physical and verbal assaults - such as rape, torture, sexual harassment, deprivation of liberty and a wide range of violence] that take place over their lives. When these forms of violence and abuse result in death, they are called femicide.

Thus, it is urgent to propose a change on the discussion about violence against women and turn it into a discussion of gender-based violence, since we are talking about a violence perpetrated by men against women in a power dynamic that in such cases puts women in a

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⁴ In this work it will be considered only violence against cisgender woman, or women whose gender identity is in consonance with the gender that was assigned at birth - the female gender. We know that the rate of violence against *trans* women in Brazil is quite alarming and deserves special attention, however, to limit discussions of this work, it will not be covered here.

subordinate position, indicating the inequality between genders. To better understand the gender concept, Louro (2000) affirms that:

Social construction made of social differences. Gender refers, therefore, to the way the so called 'sex differences' are represented or prized; it refers to what one say or think about such differences within a society, in a group, in a context. (p. 26)

The process of (de)construction requires rethinking about the representation of places, functions and relations socially constructed as feminine/masculine. Scott (1995) talks about "rejecting an implicit biological determinism when using terms such as 'sex' or 'sexual difference'; the American feminists wish to emphasize, through language, "the social character of distinctions based on sex" (p. 72).

A more detailed explanation, thinking about the need for gender discussion, leads us to the articulation of the race discussions⁵. "Seeks to reflect about the progress of theoretical debate arising from the deep understanding of gender as a social construction and inter-related with other social dimensions such as race" (Garcia, 1998, p. 31).

Gender violence is a symptom of unequal social relations between men and women. In a society where there are still strong remnants of the patriarchy⁶, the woman is placed in a lower position and is, therefore, subordinated to man as his property. Muszkat (1998) expands the understanding of patriarchal culture,

The so-called patriarchal culture - present in the subjectivity of contemporary society - defines men as prestige and power holders, putting women - encouraged to act in gaps of that power through the game of seduction - in a place of weakness and inferiority, making them natural victims of all kinds of prohibition and marginalization. (p. 227)

Violence often occurs because women are not playing the gender roles assigned to them, in other words, when observed transgressions in socially acceptable attitudes and behaviors. There is the social imbalance between men and women, intermediated by power relations that reinforce male supremacy. According to Foucault (1979), violence is characterized by a relation of unequal forces, in which the strongest subdues, exploits and dominates the weakest.

To become man or woman it is necessary to undergo a process called "gender socialization", based on expectations that the culture has for each sex. And the family, as the primary socializing source, that is responsible for shaping the personalities. In this social space, in the confrontation between generations, sexual roles are defined by power relations at a social, emotional or material level. (Muszkat, 1998, p. 226).

⁵ When using the term race, I share the attention of the Black Movement, in the discussion of "situation of black people in Brazilian society, race is the term adopted that can give the true extent of the racism in Brazilian society." (Gomes, 1995, p. 48)

⁶ Although we disregard the universal character, totalizing, fixed and timeless patriarchy, it is important to note that Brazil still has strong remnants of an inherited patriarchal family model from colonization and it was adapted to the social organization marked by, at that time, landlords and slavery, going through subsequent periods of history and guiding the Brazilian legal rules. (Gomes, 1995, p. 48)

According to the Map of Violence (Waiselfisz, 2015), approximately 91.000 women were murdered in Brazil in the last 30 years and, among 84 countries, Brazil occupies the 7th position⁷ with 4.4 homicides per 100.000 women - standing behind El Salvador, Trinidad and Tobago, Guatemala, Russia, Colombia and Belize. The three Brazilian states with the highest murder rates in 2010 were Espírito Santo, Alagoas and Paraná, with a rate of 9.8, 8.3 and 6.4, respectively.

This research [from *Data Senado*⁸] shows that one in five Brazilian women have suffered some kind of domestic or family violence. Husbands, boyfriends and ex-partners continue to appear as the main responsible in 73% of cases. Another worrying statistic reveals that from these women victims of domestic violence, 26% still live with the abuser and 14% continue to suffer such violence. And, according to the Federal Senate (2013), in relation to the aggression suffered in the domestic space, only a third of women notify the abuse to the public authorities.

Waiselfisz (2015) states that majority of femicide usually occurs “at home” and, according to Global Burden of Armed Violence⁹, it is possible to affirm that “high levels of femicide will often be accompanied by high levels of violence tolerance against women and, in some cases, are the result of this so-called tolerance” (p.26). Muszkat (1998) tells us about the difficulty in perceiving this violence, because the violence generated by gender relations happens, in many cases, in the private domain and thus,

[...] it tends to be identified only when there is physical violence, ignoring the psychological abuse that hurt one’s self-esteem, the intercourse practiced by force that leaves no physical marks [...] Violence against women is so naturalized in the culture that many men do not know they are practicing violence, while many women also do not know they are being abused. (Muszkat, 1998, p 227)

In the Violence Map that addressed the question of the race impact on lethal violence, it was concluded that:

a. With few geographic exceptions, the black population¹⁰ is main victim of the deadly violence in the country. b. The white population homicide rates tend historically to fall, while increases the mortality rates among blacks. c. For this reason, in recent years, the black population victimization rate increased drastically. (Waiselfisz, 2015, p. 29)

According to White (2002, p. 148), among the many social representations of black women, their role as victims “is to keep them passive and confused about violence. This stereotype not only influences our intimate relationships, but also our day to day”. This negative construction results in the difficulty of black women in recognizing that their partner

⁷ Comparative data of the World Health Organization from 2006 to 2010.

⁸ In its 6th edition, the *Data Senado* conducted an interview with 1.102 Brazilian women, from June 24 to July 7, 2015.

⁹ Geneva Declaration Secretariat. Global Burden of Armed Violence 2011. Lethal Encounters. Switzerland, 2011.

¹⁰ In 1996, the Ministry of Health (MS) introduces in the Declarations of Death the race/color, with huge underreporting by the end of the century. For this reason, we started working the theme from the year 2000. The MS uses the same five categories as Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics - IBGE, considering the population, by self-declaration, white, black, yellow, brown and indigenous. In the Violence Maps, two categories were used: white and black, the latter resulting from the sum of black and brown.

are being violent and it prevents the victim to make an accusation against the aggressor. Romio (2013, p. 136) notes that “the woman’s culpability for the violation that they are subject to is not unique to black women, but is also amplified by the racial foundations that defines their womanhood in society.”

The positive construction of black women’s identities is damaged by the constant violence they are subjected to, i.e., the lack of discussion in school or non-school spaces. Furlani (2007) says that

[...] identity only makes sense in a discursive chain of differences: “what it is” is totally dependent on “what it is not”. The cultural difference will depend on many processes of exclusion, “who may or may not occupy certain spaces”, division strategies that ultimately define hierarchies, evaluative scales, categorization systems... These aspects are indispensably questionable in Sexual Education that seeks to question sexism, misogyny, homophobia, the many types of prejudice and exclusion. (p. 272-273)

Understanding identities as social and historical constructions as a relationship process between men and women, we dialogued with Carneiro (2003),

The pressing need to talk about racism at broader issues of women is a historic shelter, because the racial “variable” produced inferior genders, concerning a stigmatized female identity (black women), the subaltern masculinities (black men) with less prestige than female gender from the racially dominant group (white women). (p. 119)

Regarding black women, there is another type of violence, when seeking rapprochement with the considered superior white culture, a whitening process, as pointed out by Carneiro (2003),

The hegemonic effects of “whiteness” in the social imaginary and in the concrete social relations is an invisible violence that leads to negative balances for the subjectivity of black women, slithering in their affectivity and sexuality. This dimension of racial violence and the particularities it assumes in relation to women of non-hegemonic racial groups has aroused careful analysis and recreation practices that are capable of building other references. (p. 123)

The willingness to work with such complex issues [as the facing of racism in Brazil] that happen covertly and demands researcher’s attention and sensitivity to the unveiling, as Gomes (1995) reveals when explaining the “whitening ideology”:

The whitening ideology acts in a ruthless manner. It is through it that in Brazil, thousands of blacks are taken to assimilate values and white group culture as legitimate, denying the heritage of African ancestors, disregarding the actual contribution of the black race in the formation of our society and living to build a fragmented ethnic/racial identity. (p. 83)

It was also postponed in Brazil the discussion about femicide, disregarding gender and race. The difficulties encountered in the official survey data about the death of women - and the context in which it occurs, damage when proposing effective policies to face this kind of violence, considering that most of the data is disaggregated from the victim’s sex and race and it was, before the establishment of the femicide law, considered as homicide. That’s why,

when qualifying a femicide crime, it is important to know the context, to be aware of who committed it, how it was practiced, locale, reason and under what circumstances.

The difficulty in collecting data on this type of crime reflects the existence of few studies approaching the discussion of violence against women [particularly black women], common in our society. Facing the silencing of the problems, violence remains and becomes a daily issue. Thus we highlight the importance of recognizing the political dimension of criminalization of femicide crime because it allows greater visibility to a violence resulting of discrimination based on gender and race.

Romio (2013, p. 139) talks of national and international efforts from the control practiced by the population, “to change this situation, in addition to designing violence against women as a process that is not static but metamorphosed in time and space”. Moreover, feminist movements are in a constant effort in these areas, showing the need to consider violence against women a public health problem that must be fought and brought to public what was once treated only in private. Inclusion of the “race” in the documentation of health institutions is part of the struggle of black feminists against violence suffered by black women, in order to identify this group and consequently to help developing a public policy that is vigilant and committed to the elimination of different violence.

Pasinato (2011) tells us that femicide has gained ground in Latin American debates since intense murders of women in Ciudad Juarez - Mexico, in the 90s, as well as the implications that motivated these crimes. The author also explains that the term “femicide” originated in English by Diana Russell in 1976. Years later, Russell published a book in partnership with Jill Radford to address this issue.

According to the literature, Russell and Radford used this expression for the murders of women that have been caused just by the fact that they were women. [...] According to the same authors, another defining characteristic of femicide is that it is not an isolated event in the lives of victimized women, but it is present as the end point in a horror continuum which includes verbal and physical abuse and wide range of manifestations of violence and deprivation to which women are subjected throughout their lives. Whenever such abuses result in the death of women, they should be recognized as femicide. (Pasinato, 2011, p.224)

In Brazil, feminist movements, also of black women, articulate and claim more attention from the government for solving and addressing issues related to violence against women. According to Bandeira and Melo (2010):

The effervescence of the women’s movement from the second half of the 1970s was marked by the diversity of feminist agendas, and violence against women has gained space in the media, especially after the murders committed by husbands and partners. Nationally, echoed about the deaths of *Ângela Diniz (RJ)*, *Maria Regina Rocha* and *Eloísa Balesteros (MG)* and of *Eliane de Gramont (SP)*. (p. 26)

With violence becoming more and more present on the agenda in the country, the Brazilian government was cornered by the popular movements pressure, that effectively exercises control, monitoring and demanding the creation of police stations with specialized care for women,

The creation of the Specialized Police Stations for Assistance to Women (*DEAMs*) was the first major innovation in public safety for women in Brazil, as a framework for the under-

standing of practices involving the prevention and attention to violence against women. A decade later, the Brazilian Government ratified the Inter American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence Against Women, in 1994, assuming the commitment to adopt necessary measures to confront and eradicate violence against women. (Bandeira and Melo, 2010, p. 26)

Thus, it was instituted, in 2006, (Law 11.340, 2006), popularly known as *Maria da Penha* Law, which creates measures to provide protection and assistance to women victims of domestic violence, it also creates preventive measures and punishment for aggressors, becoming a key milestone in the Brazilian system, since it aims to consolidate a policy that ensures the women's right to physical integrity and the right to life, giving visibility to this issue, and establishing more assignments to state agencies.

However, according to a research conducted by Ipea¹¹, when comparing the periods before and after of the law institution, it was observed that there was no impact on mortality of women victims of violence in Brazil (Garcia et. al., 2013). On the one hand, this problem of not reducing violence can be attributed to the failure of the government, on the other hand it should also be noted that the significant increase in complaints made during the rule of law may have interfered in the rates - since the *Maria da Penha* Law brought greater visibility to violence at home/family/private and now more women started reporting such violence.

In 2012, the Senate established the Joint Inquiry Committee on Violence Against Women, "in order to investigate the situation of violence against women in Brazil and investigate omission of complaints by the public authorities regarding the application of established instruments in law to protect women victims of violence" (Brasil, 2013). When noting that the incidence of violence against women remained high, it was instituted the Senate Law Project number 292/2013, in order to change the writing of the Criminal Code in order to insert femicide as a qualifying circumstance of homicide crime. Finally, after strong pressure from society and feminist movements, it was sanctioned by President Dilma Rousseff the law which altered the Criminal Code, including the femicide crime, with Law - Number 13.104 (Law 13.104, 2015).

We realized when reading the law, the resistance of social movements pressing the government since 1940. The learning of human rights instigates us to new conflicts from the commitment with groups that make us rethink. According to Gallo (2007) the active and conscious participation in the social group that makes us effectively citizens.

Final Considerations

Even though there are feminist movements demanding the recognition of racism, racial discrimination and gender and race inequalities, there still is a silence regarding the racial issue of women in vulnerable situations. Scott (1995), when studying gender related to racial issues, marks the commitment to an exclusion history of black population.

Finally, there is the importance of these studies, considering the intersection of gender and race to build a new theoretical reflection of possibilities that bring out other singularities of domestic violence against women.

¹¹ Institute of Applied Economic Research (*Ipea*)

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WITHIN THE PLOTS OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT: ANALYZING GENDER IN GLOBAL POLITICS^{1 2}

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ABSTRACT

This text intends to present a primary analysis of some of the conditions of emergency for the approach of gender in environmental politics for sustainable development. For that intent we used the tools proposed by Michel Foucault's genealogy and communicated with Cultural and Gender Studies for the analysis of the documents, which enabled us to identify a certain role of women in sustainable development.

KEYWORDS

Gender; politics; sustainability; discourse; genealogy.

Introductions

Cultural Studies is a heterogeneous field of perspectives and subjects of research that consider culture and, with it, the production of artifacts, relationships, laws, institutions, and politics, among others. Considering its potential to analyze contemporary events, we establish links to that perspective, given that the relationship between gender and environmental events are part of the cultural production of what it means to be man, woman, environment and nature.

In those terms, we use the contributions of Feminist and Gender Studies that, within the scope of Cultural Studies, have destabilized the way women were/are represented and discursively positioned in societies. Thus, we are interested in the emergence of gender as a concept engendered in the feminist movement, which is part of the politics for sustainable development. We also ask: What contributes to its expansion in contemporary times?

From these concerns we aim to communicate through Michel Foucault's genealogical tools, such as emergency, origin, discourses and enunciations. According to Foucault, documents need to be considered as monuments and not only as something that needs to be deciphered, because they allow us to think the events out and have discussions about them: Some of the monuments that integrate our primary analysis are Agenda 21, Beijing's Platform, Millennium Declaration and the Johannesburg Declaration. We do not intend to point out what is right or wrong in the documents or to confirm the effectiveness of those politics.

¹ Work presented in GT "Public politics of gender agencying: from the discipline of the bodies to the inclusion of the warranties of rights" from the 5th International Congress in Cultural Studies: Gender, Human Rights and Activism.

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What we intend to do is to show the discourses and its effects in the production of social and environmental relations.

To organize the text, we begin by presenting our perspective, followed by the questioning of some historical events, dated from a theoretical revision, and the presentation of some discussions originating from the analysis of the monuments that allow us to identify the power lines and the relationships developed. Because of that, it is nowadays possible to link gender to global politics of sustainability.

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Locating the Theoretical-Methodological Perspective

The influence of Feminism in Cultural Studies has contributed to the dissemination of different subjects of research, the visibility of masculine interests that sustain intellectual works as well as cultural productions, approaches to social identities, subjectivities and pleasure (2004). Thus, “there are many other things involved besides the original question: “what about women”?” (JOHNSON, 2004, pp. 15). Feminism brings to discussion the asymmetric and hierarchical relation produced, not being enough to talk about or include women in politics and social spaces, it also aims to destabilize the positions of the subjects in societies.

Accordingly, the feminist movement, characterized by the heterogeneity of its perspectives, resistance and confrontations, developed around the 19th century (LOURO, 2011). It brought to discussion the biological and theological justifications that reinforced the differences between men and women. Thus, the movement destabilized the natural vision of those links highlighting the character built and putting social organizations, hierarchies, and inequalities that come from that vision in a hard spot.

In the first wave⁶ of the movement, identified by feminist authors (LOURO, 2011; MEYER, 2003), the fight for the right to vote, for the right to teach, for the right to receive an education and for fair working conditions for women were approached. In the second wave, around 1960 and 1979, the deepening of research and studies about social subordination and politic invisibility emerged, to which women are historically subjected. Thus, the concept of gender is created by Anglo-Saxon scholars as a category of analysis in the scope of theoretical discussions, aiming to demystify the biological determinism theory, which has been the base on which relationships and practices between men and women have been built. This concept provoked the “social order” and it continues to provoke based on new discussions, such as Judith Butler’s (2003) feminist vision, which highlights the trap where Cultural Studies fall when they consider the elements of the binomial sex/gender and establish that the first is natural and the second is cultural. The author makes it possible for us to think that the materiality of sex exists, however, the meanings, names and hierarchies, that is to say, everything that is said about that materiality is a cultural construction and, thus, there is no difference between sex/gender.

We agree with the author and with the post-structuralist perspective of feminist gender studies that focuses in the centrality of the language from the philosopher Michel Foucault, who considers that the relations power/knowledge are historical and culturally built on the

⁶ Although we enunciate two waves of the feminist movement, nowadays researchers point out a third and a fourth feminist waves. Marlise Matos (2010) highlights the third one as a mark of the decade of 1990 and the fourth wave as related to Feminisms in the experiences of Latin American countries.

bodies that identify them as masculine and feminine. Thus, the concept of gender includes “all forms of social, cultural and linguistic construction involved with the processes that differentiate women from men” (MEYER, 2003, p.16).

Gender as a category of analysis (SCOTT, 1995) or as a theoretical and politic tool (MEYER, 2003) enables the examination of those relations, approaching the social and cultural aspects, which are intersected by multiple and provisional representations of feminine and masculine that produce and/or give new meanings to those representations. In addition, it points out the recognition of its plurality and intersections with other identities, such as class, race/ethnicity, sexuality, religion, etc. So, as a concept engendered in feminist discussions, does it begin to take part in the politics for sustainable development?

Nowadays, besides being present in areas such as education, health and science, gender is present in the environmental area through programs that are developed from the local to the global for a sustainable development. The concerns with environmental degradation have taken societies to search for a sustainable development, creating debates and government and non-government actions. It is in this context of social, economic, political and environmental effervescence that gender has gained visibility and investments, including actions and politics.

It is by looking with the eyes of the present that we intent the recent emergency of gender in global politics, aiming for sustainable development. According to André Queiroz (2011, pp. 18) “We will have to admit that everything related to this subject of the present is the result of chance and some regularity in the events”. So, how where those events produced?

Inspired by the tools proposed by the philosopher Michel Foucault, we propose a genealogic perspective to study environmental events and gender in contemporary times. By outlining these events we do not intend to find their origin to explain the production of discourses and practices about gender in sustainable development. However, we do intent to question their naturalization and to look at the scattered events that make it possible for a discursive practice to exist in the environmental politics of contemporary times.

In the search for conditions of possibilities we approached one of the objects of the genealogy outlined by Michel Foucault from Frederick Nietzsche’s work, which is the historical emergence of an event. Although it is frequently tried to design the emergence to a final term, Foucault points out that the ends are nothing but an episode in a series. For the author, the emergence is a place of confrontation, always produced in a specific state of forces. Meanwhile, it does not belong to a place or person because it is in a “non-place”. “Nobody is, therefore, responsible for an emergence; nobody can be glorified for that; it is produced in the interstice” (Foucault, 1990, pp. 24). Thus, governments, civil society and social movements are not responsible for the emergency of that object – the gender in sustainable development – because it is produced in its cracks, in its cuts.

Based on this perspective, we inspire our looks for the proliferation of events that enable the emergence of gender in global environmental politics; that is to say, at the moment that the object emerges. Thus, we have to highlight the contributions of the origin, another object of genealogy, because it allows us to “reencounter, under the unique aspect of a character or concept, the proliferation of the events, through which (thanks to which, against which) they were formed” (Foucault, 1990, pp. 21).

So, Foucault states that the origin is not established, “it shakes what was seen as still; it fragments what was thought to be joined; it shows the heterogeneity of what was imagined in compliance with itself” (idem). With this, we do not intend to find the history of gender in sustainable development; we intend to place in history the events that enable the production of that object, by considering its production between power relations⁷.

Gender in Global Politics: Analyzing some Events

When we report to environmental politics of sustainability under the look of gender, we can identify the proliferation of events in the 20th century, since at the end of the post-war period some conferences were created for the environmental development for the future of the generations. Thus, from 1990, we identify the origin of the events that enable the emergence of gender in global politics aiming for sustainable development, in the scenes of power relations.

By highlighting that period we do not intend to say that other events did not have effects in the 19th century, for example; gender in global politics is only the tip of the iceberg, as it is pointed out by Paul Veyne (2008). Meanwhile, at first we noticed that the spread of power relations is intensified after the events of this century. Considering some conditions of possibility as the notion of development that embodies women and peasants since the Second World War; the creation of the UN; as well as the conference known as ECO 92. We identified power games in these events, such as the fight of women, feminist and environmental movements, civil society publications, the economic crisis, globalization, among others.

In this post-war period we see conservationist ideas resurface from organizations constituted by different countries, such as the International Union for the Conservation of Nature that, in 1948, brought governmental and non-governmental institutions together to preserve nature. According to Sérgio Tavoraro (2001) a new wave of environmentalism emerges from 1950 and 1960, because it would be the first generation suffering from the influence of the consequences of the war, such as industries, acid rain, lack of resources, nuclear power, among others. Besides that, other concerns integrate environmentalism, constituting it as a multifaceted movement that raises question about animals, plants, populations, species, and ecosystems, among others. These concerns originate the first tendencies of ecofeminism that highlight that women connect with nature differently from men and, thus, they are more capable of identifying ecological processes.

In 1962, Marine Biologist Rachel Carson published her book “Silent Spring”, a world warning about the adverse effects of the use of pesticides, which gave impetus to the environmental movement. By telling the story of a beautiful and alive city with wild flowers and wealthy farms, the author shows how the harmony of the city is silenced by the emergency of the first colonizers. Aiming to understand what silenced the cities in the United States, the author raises discussions in her book, bringing up the consequences of pollution and the interference of men. Thus, the author believed that the war had been resized for the nature.

⁷ We understand the power according to Foucault, that is, power is not negative of repression placed in a game of super structural power, it is not conservative either; it is inventive. We arrest the principles of transformation and innovation. A power that is not connected to ignorance, because it can work as a training of knowledge (FOUCAULT, 2002).

In 1968 a group of people met to think about environmental, social and economic problems, formed as a government organization, called the Club of Rome. The Club became known in 1972 when they requested a report about the environment, named “The Limits of Growth”. With the publication of this work we notice the concern about the consequences of the economic growth on the use of natural resources, based on the principle of zero growth. According to Oliveira (2012) “although the term sustainable does not exist, yet, concerns about “balance” and “future” are already noticeable, and they will guide the environmental documents advocated by the UN, especially “Our Common Future” (also known as Brundtland Report) and “Agenda 21”.

Thus, linking the concerns about the future and balance presented in the report of the Club of Rome and in the book “Silent Spring”, we can state that in that period there prevailed an approach that condemned the consequences of economic growth and post-war restoration. In the middle of the degradation and oppression shown by the social movements of women, hippies and students, a dispute between economic development and preservation of the environment was produced, supporting the organization of the Conference of the United Nations about the Human Environment in 1972.

In that period a resection for the oil crisis in the world economy and the defense of the environment emerged. Thus, the United Nations began to organize treaties, reports and conferences between the countries in an attempt to prevent wars and their consequences to happen again. That process can be identified as the beginning of modern globalization that articulates the economic, social and political poles.

Therefore, in the end of the 1980s some sort of development practice is formed, which highlights a concern about the participation of some groups. According to Hiram Machado (2013), in the 20th century the development accompanied the expansion of Capitalism. In addition, its meaning has ranged different perspectives such as the notion of progress or accumulation; meanwhile, the author points out that from the decade of 1970 that term acquires a strategy of intervention in specific groups to satisfy basic needs.

Other Contemporary Events or Monuments

As seen before, gender gained forces in environmental politics from 1990, but, what contributed to the expansion? During that period, the conference of the United Nations about the Environment and the Development in the city of Rio de Janeiro/Brazil was developed. It is identified as the Earth Summit, Eco 92 or Rio 92, because it took place in the year 1992 and it gathered more than 100 world leaders to discuss a recent concept: sustainable development. In that conference, different from the first one developed by the UN in 1972, were established the economic, environmental and social poles for the sustainable development of the planet. In addition, it produced the principal document that would subsidize the actions of the governments, movements and general society in the sustainable development, Agenda 21.

Agenda 21 is constituted by forty chapters that include a group of resolutions for the countries with the objective of reaching the sustainable development for the 21st century. According to the document, it is both a map and a script for a sustainable society and the beginning of a new world association. For some authors (Hernandez, 2010) this document

was essential for the development of specific actions for women and, based on its analysis, we understood that it was important for the inclusion of gender in global politics. Following the words – women, gender and woman – in that first movement of analysis we identify a certain position of the gender in this sustainable politic. Just before the 24th chapter, the “World action for the woman, aiming a sustainable and equal development”, in the objectives and activities of the agenda we find a reference of orientations for the countries about the condition of women as an especially disadvantaged group or as a vulnerable population group; because of that, it is given special attention to women in all actions: management of lands, health, education, hydrological resource management, training, environmental sanitation and increasing the proportion of women in decision-making positions, among others.

In the 24th chapter we find a reference to gender with the objective of assessing and implementing the promotion of men and women in the curriculums and educational materials, to measure the role of women in formal education. In addition, some considerations about the difference of gender in politics and programs are highlighted in the implementation of the United Nations organs, governments and non-governmental organizations. In the population data it is pointed out that it is necessary to specify sex and age, which are considered for the division of work by gender and for the management of natural resources. To promote the popular participation, information with gender specification is produced. Another aspect where gender is considered refers to the incentive created so all countries promote equality and strengthen international cooperation to compensate economic, social and gender disparities.

Thus, although the actions are directed to women and there is little mention to gender, what is written allows us to think about the still shy integration of that category in environmental politics aiming for sustainable development. In the document it is pointed out that actions need to be taken up to 1995, when the Fourth World Women Conference on Women took place in Beijing, China. This conference marked the 10th anniversary of the Conference of 1985 that had the theme the Decade of Women, in Niteroi. There they systematized and discussed the theory about the concept of gender, different from woman and its transversal integration in politics.

According to the declaration of the platform of Action of Beijing of the Fourth Conference (1995) three innovations were established: the concept of gender, the empowerment and the focus of mainstreaming. According to the text on the platform, the concept “allowed us to go from an analysis of the situation of women based on the biological aspect for a comprehension of the connections between men and women with the product of patterns socially and culturally established and, therefore, liable to modification” (Beijing, 1995, pp. 149). Thus, this conference transversely enabled the articulation of gender in all political segments from a script for the preservation of conquests already reached and for new advances. In addition, we understand that there is a greater articulation of that concept in the platform of action of Beijing, which is the result of discussions that are developed with the feminist movement and Gender Studies.

In 2000, the Millennium Declaration was designed by the United Nations in New York, which aimed for the development of the 21st century. There we found the promotion of equality between genders in order to fight poverty, hunger and illnesses and to promote a sustainable development. Another objective highlighted to think about gender was the con-

tinuity of the cooperation between the United Nations and the States with gender issues. Thus, we note little mention of gender beyond its equivalence to sex. With that, we identified some resistance to the concept that is either shown or silenced in environmental politics, in addition to theoretical confusions about it.

The declaration of Johannesburg created in the World Summit about Sustainable Development, celebrated in Johannesburg, South Africa, in 2002, confirmed the commitment with gender equality in all activities encompassed in Agenda 21, Millennium Development Goals and the Johannesburg Plan of Implementation, where gender equality was highlighted in all politics and programs. In addition, the declaration pointed out the dedication to the developing states and the less developed countries.

Based on these documents, it is critical to start an overview of the politics for sustainable development, where gender emerges. With that, we note the recurrence of gender equality for a sustainable and equal development and, for that, it is focused on the agency of particular groups in situations of vulnerability such as the case of women in developing countries.

By giving special attention to the vulnerable group or population of women to reach sustainable development, this politic produces a speech calling those subjects and, thus, highlighting the training to equip or discipline those bodies in an attempt to save the planet for future generations. We understand that by establishing politics for the feminine population in situations of vulnerability of the developing countries to reach sustainable development, narratives or metanarratives of the women in global environmental politics are built, such as “women are more affected by environmental degradation”, “They are in a poorer situation”, “They are responsible for a greater part of resources management”, “Women are the ones that suffer the most with climate changes”. We do not intend to deny the materiality of those facts, but what is said in them about women, their connection with the environment and the others

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INDEPENDENT AND AUTONOMOUS WOMEN DURING THE “ESTADO NOVO”

Ruwei Wu
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ABSTRACT

With the development of our society, women are currently attaining a relatively higher status than in previous centuries. The present work aims at discovering the independent and autonomous women of the time of the “Estado Novo” through the analysis of female roles presented in films close to the “Estado Novo” and also to the “Cinema Novo” with the inherent support of the typology proposed by Simone de Beauvoir.

KEYWORDS

Autonomous, Independent, Woman, Estado Novo, Film

Introduction

During the ruling of the “Estado Novo”, under a powerful censorship, there was a huge gap between men and women at a social, religious and also financial capacity level, among others, since women’s status was always seen as subordinate and dependent from men.

The aim of our work is to show the women’s situation and the causes of the inequality between men and women from this period, in such a way as to allow us to understand the issue of gender during this period.

Our analysis is based on the book *The Second Sex*, by Simone de Beauvoir, a French philosopher and feminist who had a significant influence both in feminist existentialism and feminist theory. We will also be based on some films close to the “Estado Novo” ideology and “Cinema Novo” movement, due to the different views of society that they present: the films close to the “Estado Novo” show an harmonious and happy vision with less conflict, whereas the “Cinema Novo” films present a vision with more anguish and conflict under the persecution of the Salazar regime, whose influence permeates politics, society and economy in the flow of Portuguese history.

We picked the films exhibited in the *Mostra Cinema e Bolinhos* as primary sources for our analysis and with the theoretical support of the book *The Second Sex*, we have divided women in two general types – traditional women and independent women, comparing them and trying to ascertain the existence or not of autonomous, independent women in that historical period.

Context of the condition of women during the “Estado Novo”

When Carolina Beatriz Angelo, doctor, widow and “head of the family” appeared in the 1st republic, everything seemed to hint at forthcoming advancements in the rights of women for the coming centuries. And in truth, during the Republican regime, women started having

more rights than in previous centuries, both in the education and in the economical sphere, by virtue of a series of actions having been taken towards the protection of women's rights, such as the legitimacy of Divorce for women, the establishment of the Republican League of Portuguese women¹ and of women's right to work in public service, among others.

However, the immense effort of the 1st republic in the area of attempting equality between men and women was destroyed by the establishment of the Salazar regime, that is, there was a regression, and women went back to playing a role inferior to men during this period.

Salazar established an ideological indoctrination which defined, according to the regime, a woman and her morals: "It is a woman's responsibility, during her married life, to control household affairs, according to the spouses' customs and condition" (ARTICLE 1677, Domestic Governance), "To be heard and participate in all that concerns the child's interests; to ensure the child's physical and moral integrity; to fulfil towards the child and the child's possessions the same role as the husband's, whenever he is in a remote or unknown location or whenever he is incapable of fulfilling it for whatever reason" (ARTICLE 1882, Special Powers of the Mother). In other words, a woman whose range of action is restricted to her home and in direct dependency of her spouse.

Main characteristics of the different types of women in the "Estado Novo"

Thus, young women were educated from early infancy by their mothers to become a well behaved, moral and positive being who dreams, therefore, about a beautiful future which is, in the regime, to have a "heroic" husband. She stays at home, does the household chores which her mother gives her and feels good being a woman prepared for a world "savior". According to the words of others, she is fragile, shy and incompetent, and does not dare go beyond finding a good husband – the horizons that the totalitarian regime allows her are very narrow. In getting male interest, she cannot be very direct, she has to behave passively. She is proud of being like that, because she is a morally irreprehensible girl who seems to be better prepared to achieve a better future, who will be well looked upon by people and who will make her parents proud.

What is at stake here is women's extreme dependency embodied by society - a young woman therefore resigns herself to it without having a wider awareness of the world, of reality and herself, that is, she has been mythified by ideology and becomes a traditional woman shaped by the regime, in accordance with a society which supports and propagates those values.

When she is older and manages to find a job, she becomes aware that the world is not as beautiful and sweet as what she had deludingly imagined. The young woman then starts gradually noticing, in her own capacity as a being capable of independence, her own precarious social standing, her own role, and what she really wants to be in society.

From here onwards, she starts her struggle against the values that bind her, doing everything she can to go against tradition and therefore gains a bad reputation within this society, as her libertarian actions clash with the existing values: «But the world is too powerful;

¹ Established by Ana de Castro Osório, Dr. Carolina Beatriz Ângelo, Maria Valleda, Ignez da Conceição Conde and Adelina da Glória Pallete Berger in December 1910.

if you obstinately refuse it, you are broken by it»,² that is, « neither family nor customs favoured her efforts. What’s more, even if she chooses independence, she keeps a place in her life for the man, for love».³

Since antiquity, with the awareness of valuing men and despising women in society, men have considered women their subordinate, «the destiny that society traditionally proposes to women is marriage»⁴, but marriage, obviously, is never the same for men and women, as we have been pointing out.

With the education given to women since infancy, they are used to, from birth, obeying men in their multiple figures, towards which they are always subordinate: the father, the brother, the husband and the son. In a marriage, even though both genders are needed, women do not, in many cases and in different periods, have the right of choice of a husband: in antiquity, marriage contracts were signed between the father-in-law and the son-in-law, this means that the family received the dowry or maybe part of the heritage. In this sense, a woman was seen as an object which was bought. This objectifying vision of a woman is also part of the gender codes established by the “Estado Novo”.

From the point of view of Beauvoir, marriage is a prison which restricts women to the condition of domestic slaves. In a family, the husband is like a “chief” who looks after everything, and the wife is limited to the role of housekeeping and caring for children.

Normally, married women are traditionally dependent women who accept and fit into the roles of mother, wife and housewife. They do not have a job and their only wish is to live a life considered normal, dependent on her husband

Almost all married women want to become mothers. «Alienated from her body and her social dignity, a mother has the pacifying illusion of feeling like a being in itself, a complete value».⁵ The role of a mother highlights the fundamental value of traditional women, they feel satisfied and fulfilled by bringing up new generations.

As we can see, there are massive restrictions to women’s figurations in society. For example, to a mother, a son is much more important than a daughter. The son is, for her, like a “hero”, let us see what Beauvoir says: « The son will be a chief, a driver of men, a soldier, a creator; he will impose his will upon the earth and the mother will join in his immortality. The houses which she did not build, the countries she did not explore, the books she did not read, he will bring to her. Through him she will possess the world: but on the condition of subduing it».⁶ The mother gives her son the dreams, she has complete trust in his capacity to accomplish everything that she cannot do, merely by the fact that they are male they have, therefore, to be more powerful.

² Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex: Lived Experience*; 2nd Edition Disfusão Européia do Livro; São Paulo, 1960b, p. 103.

³ Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex: Lived Experience*; 2nd Edition Disfusão Européia do Livro; São Paulo, 1960b, p. 107.

⁴ Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex: Lived Experience*; 2nd Edition Disfusão Européia do Livro; São Paulo, 1960b, p. 165.

⁵ Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex: Lived Experience*; 2nd Edition Disfusão Européia do Livro; São Paulo, 1960b, p. 263.

⁶ Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex: Lived Experience*; 2nd Edition Disfusão Européia do Livro; São Paulo, 1960b, p. 284.

Nevertheless, there are also women who are quite happy having daughters, because they «will wish to give her daughter the possibilities they have had and also those which they haven't had: they will give her a happy youth».⁷

However, the mother «sometimes tries to impose on her daughter her own fate exactly»,⁸ because she believes her daughter has to suffer what she herself suffered in order to better develop as a woman.

Beauvoir points out that there are multiple obstacles on the path of women's liberation, that is, it is not at all easy for a woman to become independent and autonomous – on the contrary. Firstly, it takes having a job, only after having it and achieving financial independence can a woman reach the door of independence. But this is not enough for her to fully reach the world of autonomy; in order to acquire that precious key, a woman suffers and struggles. The job helps her to attain economic independence, but this is not, in itself, enough for her to reach «a moral, social and psychological situation identical to that of a man»⁹. She needs to fight against the traditional women's image which has, throughout the centuries, been instilled in the mind of people, that is, the image of women as fragile and less intelligent than men. If she does not overcome this situation, a woman might doubt her own capacity both for learning and as a professional and thus she becomes more and more distant from total independence.

The truth is that – this being a lot more evident these days – this traditional image of women image always fools women themselves; therefore, she stops struggling as she does not want to become a woman of ill repute. But she does not know that when she denounces «that dependency is already [in itself] a liberation, against the humiliations, against shame, cynicism is a defense: it is a sketch of an assumption».¹⁰

The Women presented in the films

It is a complex task to define in a clear way the protagonist of the film *Dom Roberto*¹¹, because there are two great turning points in her life. We can say that the first of those moments is when her boyfriend betrays her, and she is left in a typical traditional women's situation, hopeless about the future to the point of wanting to commit suicide. Nevertheless, she later became less of a coward and tried to find a job. In this aspect, we can define Maria as an independent woman who is brave enough to live alone.

However, as the film shows us, we can see that her determination is not very firm in the end, as she chose this way only because she did not have any other option. Therefore, when she meets João, she gives up on finding a job and decides to stay with him, to live a poor but happy life. She thus becomes a traditional woman, depending on the male guardian-

⁷ Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex: Lived Experience*; 2nd Edition Difusão Européia do Livro; São Paulo, 1960b, p. 285.

⁸ Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex: Lived Experience*; 2nd Edition Difusão Européia do Livro; São Paulo, 1960b, p. 286.

⁹ Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex: Lived Experience*; 2nd Edition Difusão Européia do Livro; São Paulo, 1960b, p. 451.

¹⁰ Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex: Lived Experience*; 2nd Edition Difusão Européia do Livro; São Paulo, 1960b, p. 478.

¹¹ Film directed by José Ernesto de Sousa in 1962

ship for everything. In essence, she is a traditional and dependent woman, just like married women in general during the period of the “Estado Novo”.

However, we would like to propose a work hypothesis: what if Maria had not met João, how would her life be outside the male sphere of influence? Would it be possible that she would become an independent and autonomous person?

With regard to the film *Costureirinha da Sé*¹², the mothers of Aurora and Leonor are typical traditional mothers who fit into what we have mentioned before: happy about their present life, their only motherly worry is their daughters’ happiness. Both have a husband and think their daughters’ finding a husband is a real need. Even though both girls have jobs, their mothers would rather have them get married to a wealthy man in order to secure their financial stability and not to worry about life’s hardships. Under this kind of education since their infancy, the girls also agree with their mothers and accept this lifestyle – even though they can live alone, they feel better living with male support.

For her part, the character of the mother of Fernando Farinha in the film *O Miúdo da Bica*¹³, who is a housewife, was a subordinate to her husband while he was alive and, after his death, becomes financially dependent on her son. In a typical traditional stance, the mother never has an opinion before her son, for her, he is a “hero” who can surpass all tortures in life. When he has problems in his work and his relationships with others, she does not put forward any solution or advice, she only prays every day. Brought up in this mindset, the son himself thinks like her and also believes he must provide for and look after his family.

In these two films, we can see that the mother figurations in the Estado Novo presented in them are normally of housewives who are jobless and usually with children. However, comparing these two situations, we can observe that the attitude towards the daughter is completely different from the attitude towards the son. This is one of the main reasons for prejudice against women in society.

When talking about women’s autonomy, we cannot overlook the protagonist Albertina in *Mudar de Vida*¹⁴ from the “Cinema Novo” movement, a free woman of ill repute as her own name implies: Albertina-Libertine. She has her own job and she wants to gather money to escape from the oppression in the place where she is, in this case, we have an autonomous woman before us. Before meeting the protagonist Adelino, she is indifferent towards men, nobody tells her what to do with her life, as she herself claims. We can say that, from the point of view of a traditionalist Salazar society, she is a totally immoral woman, who has no faith whatsoever. If she has any faith, it is in herself, and her own capacities. Beauvoir claims in the chapter *The Independent Woman*, «A teenager will often believe that she can simply despise conventions; but this is exactly where she manifests, creates a new situation, carrying consequences which she will have to assume. From the moment one gets rid of an established code, an individual becomes an insurgent».¹⁵ This is exactly what we can see in Albertina, she robs the chapel and hurts Adelino violently with a knife when he finds her and tries to grab hold of her. Now, this is not what a well-behaved girl does, as a traditional girl should be passive and avoid physical violence. Albertina is on her way to liberation, but she

¹² Film directed by Manuel Guimarães in 1958

¹³ Film directed by Constantino Esteves in 1963

¹⁴ Film directed by Paulo Rocha in 1966

¹⁵ Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex: Lived Experience*; 2nd Edition Disfunção Européia do Livro; São Paulo, 1960b, p. 452.

does not achieve it completely because, to a certain extent, she resigns herself to this harsh reality. She dreams about escaping to another world, another country, perhaps more just towards gender, but, at the end, she hands in all her money to Adelino, which represents some kind of resignation, a step backwards. In this case, we have an independent and autonomous woman, but not yet completely free.

From among all the cases, Ilda in *Os Verdes Anos*¹⁶, the protagonist who is a house maid, stands out. She idealises her future, she is vain and feels positive towards life itself, and she wants to attain a higher social status. The director, in this film, also poses an important question about gender: the great distance between reality and dream. We are fully aware that Ilda has a very distinct mindset from the other main character, Júlio, her boyfriend, which will cause great conflict between the two and will result in her death, murdered by Júlio. Evidently, as a woman, Ilda is autonomous in all the dimensions, that is, she has her own dream and a positive attitude in her struggle against the harsh women's condition in the Estado Novo. But it is exactly this autonomous woman which is not the least acceptable for a traditional man, such as Júlio, and for the society of that time.

Finally we would like to refer and give emphasis to a very intriguing scene in the film. Vain Ilda is offered, by Júlio's uncle, a very pretty jumper, however, Júlio does not want her to keep the jumper and she violently refuses to let it go. When he gives up arguing with her and leaves, she lets the jumper go and tries to recover this romantic relationship which has begun to be *born*. This scene represents, in a way, a hesitation in the choice between reality and the dream. For Ilda, Júlio can become her future husband who will ensure a complete life, the jumper, however, represents her dream of attaining what she wants by her own will. She hesitates, because she wants both things, but reality and her social surroundings will not allow her that.

Conclusion

It is always difficult to change an ideology followed by people for centuries. Even though most women in these films represent traditional, subordinate roles, characteristic of this particular context of the Salazar dictatorship, we cannot deny that among them, others that seem more autonomous and independent come up, who seem to forebode a change which will only become fully visible some years later. The fact is that even though they are not many, there are, in this period, some women's souls who are freer and try to struggle for their freedom, when already in the rest of Europe, a new women's rights and emancipatory awareness had precisely started.

As for the autonomous woman in herself, a conflict between this new spirit and the other conservative one almost always comes up, that is, a conflict between an independent woman and a society with a still quite backwards and overdue mindset. This is what is truly at stake in the women's liberation process. This traditional mindset is so strong that it harms even the younger minds and makes them suspicious. Therefore, in our analysis, we have not found any woman who wins this struggle completely. They either resign themselves to it or are persecuted by the powerful "tradition"; even though they are not dependent, they are

¹⁶ Film directed by Paulo Rocha in 1963

not totally independent still. But let us suppose that Ilda was not killed, what could have happened at the end of the film? Would she be a totally independent woman, or would she return again to a subordinate condition, just like other traditional women?

We are fully aware that a major element in this change of the image of women in society is a generalization of the collective awareness of equality. In order to attain this generalization, a political intervention in the sense of changing the condition of women is also important.

We are in the 21st century which is considered a free century in most of the world, but we have to admit that a dependent woman, or even better, a semi-dependent woman – even if these days most women work just as men do and attain an autonomous life – still takes up a huge place in our society.

The process of women’s liberation is a slow one, and our conviction is: the more the collective awareness advances and an increasing number of women fight for their rights, the more women will be able to become autonomous and independent.

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HOMOSEXUAL THEMES IN CURRENT YOUTH LITERATURE¹

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ABSTRACT

In this text, we take a look at four literary titles aimed at teenagers, published since 1999 and written by Brazilian authors who already have had a trajectory of production for the segment: *Sempre por Perto*; *Eu é um Outro*; *Do Jeito que a Gente é*; and *Sofia e Mônica*. The four works, each in a different way and with different fictional features, address the “discovery” of homosexuality in adolescence. We analyse the texts, paratexts and illustrations together, taking Cultural Studies in conjunction with Literary Studies and Gender and Sexuality Studies as theoretical perspectives.

KEYWORDS

Youth Literature; Differences; Homosexual Themes; Cultural Studies; Education.

Introduction

In Brazil, the theme of differences has acquired great visibility in the broader educational and social sphere in the last twenty years (SILVEIRA et. al., 2012.) - mainly due to a number of cultural, political and legal changes (and which are still ongoing) promoted by various sectors, groups and social actors in trends similar to those seen in other Western countries. One reflection of such changes can be identified in the criteria that were established for the selection of works in government programmes. Thus, textbooks, periodicals and works of youth literature enrolled in government programme edicts such as the National Textbook Programme [*Programa Nacional do Livro Didático*], the National School Library Programme [*Programa Nacional Biblioteca da Escola*] and the National School Library Programme – Themes [*Programa Nacional Biblioteca da Escola – Temático*] have been analysed according to the criteria which advocate not only the quality of the works (in conceptual terms, literary terms, aesthetic terms, etc.), their potential for stimulating reading practices, but also the lack of prejudice and stereotypical representations (on what it is to be black, Amerindian, female, gay, fat etc.), enabling the promotion (and respect for) differences in ethnicity, gender, sexuality, disability, bodily features, age etc. One of the by-products of such trends and measures - in law and in more general education - has been the proliferation, particularly in the last fifteen years, of youth literature works deliberately produced to meet the demand for approaching such differences. The titles on difference in general have multiplied (and the enrichment that living with differences would bring), about Afro-descendants, about the “disabled”, about the elderly, about prejudice against “fat” people, about the questioning of

¹ Paper presented at the Fifth International Congress on Cultural Studies: Gender, Human Rights and Activism. It was produced in the context of the project “Children’s Literature: a study of selected readings of works with early years readers”, supported by CNPq and UFRGS.

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gender roles, but - and this is a statement about the Brazilian scene - it was considerably more timid about publishing titles, aimed at the youth segment, addressing the issue of homosexuality.

A quick survey of three studies that sought to map out and analyse some books for children and young people with this theme seems to confirm to this first impression. Thus, focusing on the Portuguese context, Ramos (2009) states that “sexuality, and in particular sexuality which is dissonant from the heteronormative paradigm, remains an almost un-touchable world, a target of recreations as sporadic as it is distant, at least as far as Portuguese publishing is concerned” (pg. 296). She points out that the “literary transposition of a theme with deep sociological implications beyond the atavistic moral and religious constraints, will explain the relative silence about the matter that has been downcast, symptomatic of a more general discomfort, especially when it comes to unequal axiological dialogue between adults and children” (RAMOS, 2009, pg. 296). In any case, Ramos (op. cit.) shows that there are some books that generate an approach to the subject in the Portuguese market - especially those translated from other languages.

Sefton (2011), more interested in the Brazilian context, after a brief overview of the children’s book publications on the subject and their circulation in various countries (emphasising a greater presence of works on the subject in the United States, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and Spain), has already focused on four fairly widely disseminated titles which address the theme, in a more or less superficial manner. The author presents the well-known Babette Cole book, *Mummy Never Told Me* which identifies a number of questions from children, introduced by the refrain “Mummy never told me,” among which emerges the question of the lack of explanation from “Mummy” about falling in love and love between women and between men (neither question, remember, is answered in the book). In addition to two books originally in English - *And Tango Makes Three* and *The Sissy Duckling*, without translation into Portuguese and circulation in Brazil, Sefton analyses one of the first (or the first) books aimed at Brazilian youth about the theme: *O menino que brincava de ser* (*The boy who played at being*) by Georgina Martins, who selects a poetic and sometimes evasive theme about the will expressed by a boy to adopt practices traditionally attributed to females, such as dressing up, wearing a dress, etc.

In an article published in 2013, Silveira and Kaercher return to the theme, but specifically focusing on the representation of same-sex parenting families, in seven books aimed at children and published in Brazil (five of them) and Portugal (two) after 2007. The authors note that, disregarding the remarkable inequality of aesthetic quality and construction of the plots vs. a narrow pedagogism found in different works, their most recurrent tendency was to characterise the love between men or women in a manner that is similar to the ways that heterosexual relationships are traditionally represented - focusing on the appeal of romantic love. Also in the “new families”, some of the common themes are family happiness and related discussions about raising children and the allocation of home care. Thus, inevitable crossover is observed between the emergence of a new theme (which is difficult to approach) and the permanence and maintenance of some stereotypes.

In this short journey, it was possible to observe a slow but steady increase of fictional literary titles for children and adolescents which incorporate the theme of homosexuality generally consisting (even) as the central conflict of the story. In the article presented here,

we seek a new thematic focus: we take a look at four literary titles aimed at adolescents, published from 1999 and written by Brazilian authors who already have a history of production for the segment. The four works, each in a different way and with different fictional features, address the “discovery” of homosexuality in adolescence. They are *Sempre por Perto* by Anna Claudia Ramos; *Eu é um Outro* by Hermes Bernardi Jr.; *Do Jeito que a Gente é* by Marcia Leite; and *Sofia e Mônica* by Leonardo Brasiliense⁴. Within these texts, we analyse the texts, paratexts and illustrations together, taking Cultural Studies in conjunction with Literary Studies and Gender and Sexuality Studies as theoretical perspectives.

Presenting the books

Eu é um Outro by Hermes Bernardi Jr. (BOOK 1), written in the first person, focuses on the teenage character Edu and on his thoughts, feelings, memories, actions and digressions. We follow the character on his first trip to therapy, led by the father; later, we see the boy’s internal dialogue in the waiting room of the therapist’s office. Edu likes another boy, Manon, but his father says there is a treatment for “this different taste” (pg. 19). In the dialogue, in which the boundaries between what is actually said and what is only thought are imprecise, given below, the character tries to draw the line between what is “normal” and what is “strange” about this taste of his - even making use of some stereotypical representations⁵ of gender and sexuality: “Those who don’t know, imagine. I don’t know if it’s the way I talk, my sensitive way of saying thank you, please or excuse me. What I know is that I’m happy when I talk, when I’m around this boy, you know? I like to go on bike rides with him, to go for walks with him, to talk about football. And about poetry” (BOOK 1, pg. 18). Throughout the narrative, with its comings and goings, its flashbacks of different times in Edu’s life that must be put together like a puzzle for the reader, it is discovered that Manon has a girlfriend and that Edu had suffered violence (including sexual) in a bathroom of a football stadium. The protagonist spends two months in the hospital, but the violence he suffered remains in the background (and sometimes does not seem to be important): what matters to the character is the fact that his friend has drifted away from him, throughout his recovery, and has plans to travel and live with Clara in another country. In the end, Manon gives up the trip, recognises the feelings he has for Edu and goes to meet him when he is discharged from the hospital. They exchange hugs and looks in front of Edu’s family and leave together to go around the world, sharing the same bike.

Sofia e Mônica (BOOK 2) is authored by Leonardo Brasiliense, a writer who won an Açorianos Prize (regional award for Brazilian Literature) and a Jabuti Prize (top prize in Brazilian literature) with a previous book and, in an interview specifically on the writing of this book, said he spent “months reading copies of Capricho magazine to incorporate the language of

⁴ On 06 November 2014, the first three authors participated in a Conversational Circle at the Porto Alegre Book Fair in Brazil, relating some personal experiences on the publication of these particular titles. In one way or another, they mentioned the difficulty encountered in getting publishers to publish titles with this theme. Márcia Leite reported that, in the case of “Do Jeito que a Gente é”, acceptance (after five years of talks with the publisher) came with the condition that the heterosexual character not be the protagonist. The two authors commented that, although they are invited to go to schools to discuss books with students, they were never to talk about the books mentioned here.

⁵ The concept of “stereotype” is used in this article from Hall (1997).

teenagers. I think it worked. On the website, readers say they identify with the stories" (DIÁRIO DE SANTA MARIA, 2014)⁶. The work has a particularly ingenious compositional organisation, in the way that the text and graphic design are articulated. It is composed by the intercalation of what would be pages of a diary or inner monologues of one protagonist or another, who often bring different views on the same issue, have *flashbacks* and elaborate brief reflections.

The narrated facts can be summarised as follows: two girls, Sofia and Mônica, are so friendly (from 10 and 11 years old respectively) that they decide to do a ritual in the bathroom of Mônica's bedroom (with the right needle and a bandage on the finger) to become "blood sisters". One is the "mirror of the other," but, according to Sofia, the sororal friendship between them is "something else" ("Since we met, Mônica was this for me: a mirror. If I had a twin sister, I think I would hate her. I'm sure. But with Mônica, I'm talking about something else. I can't tell. It's something else" - BOOK 2, pg. 9). The narrative revolves around the day-to-day lives of the (thus far) inseparable 14-year-old protagonists (at school, in Mônica's bedroom, in the kitchen at Mônica's house) until Pedro, a young delivery boy (first of gas and then of pizza) enters the scene. Sofia is enchanted by the boy and Mônica is clearly upset and jealous ("Sofia overdid it. What a clueless girl. Offered. Ridiculous. (...). Women do not throw themselves like that. Women are difficult. They have to be conquered. What am I talking about? She is 14 years old. Why did the damn gas company not send the old bald and paunchy man they usually do?" - BOOK 2, pg. 19). Both end up liking Pedro and the outcome is several disagreements or new encounters, by inserting a third character, Amanda (who gets the attention of Sofia, arousing Mônica's jealousy, but getting with Pedro in the end) and the drifting apart and even "estrangement" of the two protagonists. Unlike Book 1, in which the problematic issue of homosexuality in its subjective and social dimensions, is focused upon openly, *Sofia e Mônica* leaves only clues, allusions and mention of small details that invite the reader to make a suggestive reading of a homosexual friendship between two teenagers, without however peremptorily stating such an interpretation.

Do Jeito que a Gente é (BOOK 3) by Márcia Leite alternately shows the points of view of the two protagonists whose lives intersect when their parents get married for the second time. Beá, 14 years old, is narrated as a "frightened scarecrow" (blonde, green-eyed, tall and thin, "highly valued ingredients in the female market", but with very curly hair, "a small manufacturing defect" pg. 14), clumsy, ugly, ungainly, "with no chest or ass" (pg. 16), shy, insecure, with low self-esteem and suffering a series of humiliations in school and at home (by her mother and her brother). Chico, a 17-year-old teenager, through already having faced problems when he confessed to being gay to his friend Johnny (who distances himself, rejecting him and feeling "betrayed"), ends up not having the courage to come out to his father. The two half-siblings begin to live together, and in five months together in the same house, Beá falls for Chico - who is then forced to confess that he is gay to not hurt her. Beá accepts it ("I love you, Chico. I like you for who you are. And you are what you are, that's it" - BOOK 3, pg. 144), the two get closer as siblings and end up becoming inseparable. The epilogue shows their lives a year later, completely transformed: Maria Beatriz "changed school, hairstyle, glasses, clothes, style and peers. She had her braces removed and overcame her self-pity"

⁶ Available at: <http://diariodesantamaria.clicrbs.com.br/rs/cultura-e-lazer/noticia/2014/04/leonardo-brasiliense-lancara-sofia-e-monica-na-feira-do-livro-4484208.html>, accessed in Nov2015.

(pg. 174) and Chico Dornelles “finally managed to kick open the closet door and come out to his father”. Again, in this work the issue of homosexuality and its assumption and revelation by teenagers is at the core of the novel.

Lastly, *Sempre por Pertó* (BOOK 4), a novel written by Anna Claudia Ramos, renders, through an omniscient narrator, Clara, an adult protagonist, visiting the home of her grandmother who recently died and remembering several passages of her childhood and adolescence (as well as many of the feelings linked to such times): the cold and distant relationship with her father; the banter and genuine love for her brother, Beto; the apparent “disengagement” between the behaviours that are socially considered to be “for girls” and her wishes and desires (“- Beto, why was I not born a boy like you and Dad? - Stop bullshitting, Clara. You are a pretty girl. - Ah! Being a girl’s not fun. Grandma is saying I have to *behave appropriately*, walk *properly*, sit like *a little lady*. You can go out alone and I can’t. It’s dangerous for a girl to walk alone on the street. Mother keeps talking about it.” - BOOK 4, pg. 11). Clara remembers the familiar charges in relation to her legs (always injured and bandaged), due to the fact that they were playing football and how she thought it was ridiculous that “those little girls dressed all starchy like a wedding cake” - BOOK 4, pg. 13. The character also remembers the separation of her parents and the changes in her life and in the life of her brother; her teenage adventures in the Carnival dance; her early homosexual experiences; her forbidden love for Luna (the discovery of desire, heartbreak and the subsequent rediscovery of love with another girl). When the evocation of memories is over, Clara’s father appears and there is a moment of reconciliation between them - this moment apparently “incomplete” because Clara, at 35 years of age, still hides her homosexual experiences from her father. In this work, from the earliest publication among all of those now analysed, the use and explanation of several gender stereotypes is observed, as well as its questioning by the narrator him/herself which weakens the literary project as a whole.

Some analyses

The theme of the “search for answers” (or even through a definition in relation to sexuality) is recurrent in three of the four books analysed. The protagonists of these works search for answers (justifications or rational explanations for what they feel) which would presumably exist “within themselves”. Such a search, always conflictual and tortuous, is undertaken by the characters either autonomously (for example, the character Clara, Book 4), with the complicity of the mother (in the case of Chico - Book 3 - and of Clara, Book 4) or with the aid of professionals (as is the case with Edu’s therapist in Book 1). Moreover, the presence of therapists in both Book 1 and in Book 4 helps to strengthen the contemporary representation of adolescence as a phase of questioning and conflicts - and which would therefore require resolutions: in a paratext of Book 1, the Publishers confirm that in the office, the protagonist Eduardo “unleashes his thoughts in abundance, in disjointed order, a whirlwind, very common at this stage of life, when questions seek answers and some natural doubts wish to take shape of personality” (BOOK 1, right flap). But interestingly, the therapist in Book 4 (remembered through a *flashback*), upon telling the teenage Clara that she does not need “to experience whatever your fancy tells you” (BOOK 4, pg. 20) and that the desire for her friend is not real, is labelled “prejudiced” by the adolescent. Upon affirming that she needs to under-

stand, Clara retorts: “Understand? I don’t want to understand. Enough of understanding, I need to live. (...) I have just resolved not to come back here anymore. I don’t want to hear you talk about my fantasies any longer. I want to be happy” (BOOK 4, pg. 21).

In at least two books, the “search for answers” is equivalent to a “statement of truth about themselves” and necessarily involves the practice of confession⁷. Fischer (1996), when analysing some media productions from the 1990s aimed at teenage audiences, shows that this practice of exposure of intimacy, of something so private and of “the most hidden truths of sexual and loving experience” (pg. 134) has been taught, recurrently, as “necessary” and “vital”. So similarly, such “need for exposure” is seen in the works analysed. On the back cover of Book 3, for example, a review is presented that seeks, in a direct way, to synthetically and bluntly expose the central facts of the plot, making an appeal to the teen reader, in one of the dimensions that most often catches attention - “truth” and “authenticity”:

Exposing the truth about yourself requires a courage that few people have. Lying often seems more comfortable than facing what we are. Chico wants to change that. For this, he will have to face up to his homosexuality to the people closest to him. This is more difficult after the reaction of his best friend who, when he learned, turned away from him immediately. Beá also wants to have more courage. Wondering how to improve the relationship with her mother, who only detonates; she no longer wants to swallow the insults of her schoolmates; she wants to like who she likes more in her own way. No more channelling. The stories of Chico and Beá intersect. Together, they will help each other to live more truthfully and less afraid to show themselves. In full (BOOK 3. back cover, emphasis of the Publisher).

A key moment in three of the four books analysed is undoubtedly “confessing to being gay” - except for *Sofia e Mônica*, the protagonists of which are only young girls, have no other friends and seem to share the domesticity of daily life in a way that is relatively distant from adult life. In addition to this, the protagonists write down their questions and deepest desires (Sofia in the *notebook*, Mônica in the *jotter*) and thus the “confessions” are made very differently: Sofia writes on the computer and suddenly sees that Mônica began a friendship with Pedro on *Facebook*. Her doubts (as well as her certainty about what she feels for her friend) echo in her writings: “Why did the SOB find Mônica before me?” (BOOK 2, pg. 27).

In Book 1, Edu confesses to Márcia, his best friend, that he is gay. When she doesn’t treat it like a big deal (and suggests that “she already knew”), Edu appears to be quite hurt by the apparent indifference of Márcia (“you seem more sensitive, affectionate, but it doesn’t show, if that is your concern. And if it is?” - pg. 41). When he wanted to confess to Manon that he felt physically attracted to other boys, he just held back and was feeling weak, cowardly and repentant: “But it hurt not being able to say to anyone that I liked guys, that at school I felt attracted to them when they trained in physical education. That’s what I wanted to say Doctor, but I didn’t. I lacked courage. I lack a little warrior spirit in that other self who lives in a realm of fear and of conditional conjunctions. If, if, if” (BOOK 1, pg. 40).

In the books analysed, the body of the teenage characters is constructed from a psychological and biological perspective - so we see bodies and minds eminently “divided”, “con-

⁷ See, especially, Jorge Larrosa (2010), who shows this contemporary imperative of self-confession which obviously covers not only teens, but all speaking creatures captured by “psychological” and “psychoanalytical discourse”.

fused”, “doubtful”, “changing” or even “going through changes.” In Book 1, for example, Edu’s desire for Manon is explicit - “I have already masturbated thinking about boys, father” (BOOK 1, pg. 35-36) and represented in a naturalised way from the biological point of view: so, there are many references to the bodily changes which are characteristic of adolescence (“facial hair, pubic hair”, “waking up with a hard cock, or all wet”) caused - and explained - by “hormones” and by the action of “testosterone” in the body.

Another interesting aspect is the fact that the young protagonists in three of the four books under review are also characterised by extreme clarity with regard to conflicts and sexual and romantic relationships as well as the social repercussions of escaping from stereotypes and heteronormativity - in a way that is similar to that identified in work by Silveira, Bonin and Ripoll (2013), when they analysed ten children’s literature books that feature an illness manifested in the body of the old as the main plot focus. In that work, the authors argue that several child characters are depicted as overly rational and incredibly mature to become aware of the physical and mental decay that is a result of the diseases of their grandparents. In this sense, the character Beá, for example, seems somewhat resigned to the bad relationship with her mother: “My mother used to say that a bad thing is not fattening. The bad thing is me”, BOOK 3, pg. 16; the character Edu, talking to himself, seems to be perfectly able to distinguish between desire and love - “Desire. Desire and love are not the same thing, Eduardo” - BOOK 1, pg. 35-36; Clara knows that her love for Luna is “forbidden” - in her own words - but ends up confessing it to her mother as follows: “- Oh, Mama! It’s so difficult to start. But if you want to know, come on. (...) I’m in love with Luna, mother. We kissed the other day and it was very powerful” - BOOK 4, pg. 26. Apart from the apparent lucidity, some characters demonstrate great seriousness and learning in facing teenage life: Edu, for example, reads works from Caio Fernando Abreu (a known Brazilian author who publicly stated his homosexuality in the 1980s) to Plato (“I am a young man getting serious, doctor”, BOOK 1, pg. 45).

It is noted that two of the books analysed - Book 1 and Book 2 - exhibit a compositional sophistication and the use of literary devices that make them far from trivial in the literary world of works written for teenagers, as can be seen by the non-linear use of the time narrative, by the mix of inner monologue and dialogue reproduction, by the use of various narrative voices which suggest the representation, by their authors, of an attentive and sensitive adolescent reader. In the case of Book 2 - *Sofia and Mônica* - the homosexual theme is not worked directly and problematically, but appears as a possible interpretation from the clues within the text itself: could the relationship between the two teenagers be just a typical friendship of this stage of life or could it have a homoerotic character? It is noted that several reviews from ordinary readers, placed on online “reading” websites, make no mention of the second interpretation. Book 1, *Eu é um Outro*, specifically focuses on the issue of “self-discovery”, despite resorting to some stereotypes, drawing on metaphors (including wing design which is already printed on the cover) and a deliberate plunge into the complexity of feelings, indecision and doubts of the teenager Edu, in a non-linear and non-manicheistic narrative which allows the adolescent reader to be involved in an intricate game of representations and meanings. It is observed that the care with no simplification of the theme extends to the paratexts: the back cover reproduces only one paragraph of the book which talks metaphorically about “internal tattoos”; the flaps, written by the publishers and by a university professor of interpretation, merely points out the approach of the “process of con-

stitution of the identity” of the protagonist, more full of questions than answers (1st flap) or characterising the book as “a consistent and deep story” of “Eduardo’s whirlwind of thoughts” (2nd flap). In the case of these two works, in addition to the bold novelty of the approach - open or just suggested - of the theme of homosexuality in adolescence, it is necessary to emphasise the quality of the story and editing, allowing the teen reader a rich and complex interpretation which moves towards the undertone of help and/or clarification about the “difficult” truths of life.

In concluding this brief journey through four works dealing with the theme of homosexuality in childhood and in adolescence, we want to draw attention once again to the markedly pedagogical nature of two of these productions (Books 3 and 4), teaching that it is necessary “to reveal yourself”, “to discover yourself”, “to confess to yourself”, “to decide for yourself”, “to show yourself fully” and also “to have the courage to face who one is” (as if sexuality was a defining - and definitive - part of what one supposedly is). If it is positive that such productions broaden the visibility of homosexual themes, it is also negative that some of these books have a “tone” (and a claim) of self-help.

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Books reviewed

- Book 1: BERNARDI JR., Hermes. *Eu é um Outro*. 1st Ed. Porto Alegre: Edelbra, 2014.
- Book 2: BRASILIENSE, Leonardo. *Sofia e Mônica*. 1st Ed. Porto Alegre: Edelbra, 2014.
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CHILDREN'S GAMES AND GENDER, PAST AND PRESENT: A STUDY IN CITY OF SÃO PAULO, BRAZIL¹

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ABSTRACT

In Brazil, children and adolescents between the ages of 10 and 15 years spent, in 2009, on average, 20 hours per week on domestic chores with boys spending a total of 10 hours and girls a total of 25 hours per week (IPEA, 2012). Additional data shows an increase in female insertion in the labour market (IBGE, 2012). However, this increase has not resulted in changes in the type of toys and children's games. From earlier times, gender differentiation is part of a child's play universe, and because of this differentiation, a child learns how to distinguish between toys and games designed for boys and girls. (MARCILIO, 2015). Therefore, our inquiry revolves around the type of messages children receive from their families, the media, and culture in general, that produce the gender differentiation in the way they play. Based on accounts from elderly people on old forms of play and observations of how children play nowadays, this article seeks to introduce questions relating to these differentiations and how they can reinforce stereotypes and gender roles in society and how they influence what children learn during childhood as they play. The methodology for this study was based on oral history and observation. We interviewed 13 elderly participants and observed 340 children in two districts in the city of São Paulo, Brazil. The study determined that the act of playing nowadays shows subtle differences in relation to the past and gender issues are reinforced in the discourses and messages found in children's toys and games.

KEYWORDS

Childhood; play; culture; gender; memory.

Children's games: Children's rights and gender

This article is the result of a research conducted in the districts of Penha and Cangaíba both in the city of São Paulo, Brazil that identified children's games from past and present. During the development of this research, we noted that from earlier times, gender differentiations are part of the child's play universe, and it is under this condition that a child learns how to distinguish toys and games designed for boys and girls. The main purpose of this study is to present the information gathered from statements by elderly people about recreation in the past combined with observations of play time nowadays. This work will demonstrate these differences and how they can reinforce stereotypes and gender roles in society, which are influenced by what children learn during childhood as they play.

According to Ariès (2006), childhood became a specific age category in the XVII century. Before then, childhood did not exist as a specific human life period; children would develop socially in a group of adults that taught them what was necessary. Postman (1999) states that childhood is an invention and a social artefact on the verge of extinction due to several factors such as eroticism for girls, the similarity of children and adult's clothes, and children who need to perform domestic chores, from cleaning to caring for younger siblings.

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With respect to domestic chores, a research developed by the Research Institute of Applied Economics – IPEA, (2012), which was based on gender and race disparity data from the National Research on Household – PNAD, (2009) showed that 24% of girls aged 5 to 9 dedicated 6 hours per week, on average, to domestic chores in their own homes, whereas 14,6% of boys committed 5 hours per week. Thus, the work gender difference starts in childhood. Notwithstanding the fact that average weekly time dedicated to domestic work increases with age, the gender difference persists throughout the lives of men and women. In the researched age range, children and adolescent between the ages of 10 and 15 years spent on average 20 hours per week on domestic chores with boys spending 10 hours and girls 25 hours per week. We point out that among boys of this age range, 49% stated that they performed housework compared to 88% of girls.

From a very early age, girls learn how to play within a domestic environment. For example, playhouse, mothers and babies, reproducing family roles (mothers, grandmothers, and aunts), using objects that imitate household items (pans, plates, glasses, kitchen, brooms, food, baby prams, among others). It is important to analyse the messages conveyed to girls by this form of play and toys and the relation to the findings of the research by IPEA and PNAD in Brazil. Additionally, it is necessary to understand how domestic work can interfere with the time that should be used for playing. The Brazilian Federal Constitution of 1988 secures the child and adolescent's the right to leisure, culture, respect and freedom, besides placing them above any form of discrimination.

As children and adolescents need to perform domestic chores during the time they are not at school, time that should be used for ludic and cultural activities necessary for their life experience, mental and physical health, they do not have their rights protected, specially girls, in the context presented by the IPEA and PNAD researches. To play is a right stipulated in Article 16 of the Children and Adolescent Act in Brazil: "The right to freedom incorporates the following aspects: the right to come and go, to be in public places and use communities areas; to have freedom of speech, to play, to practice sports activities, the right to entertainment; and to participate in the family and community life" (BRAZIL, 1990, p.11-32).

On the other hand, women have been entering the labour market over the years differently from what was the case during the 1930's and 1960's when mothers were at home taking care of their children in the districts of Penha and Cangaíba, São Paulo – Brazil. According to the Monthly Employment Research – PME, of the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics – IBGE (2012), with the exception of domestic and military work as well as civil servants, men represented the majority of the working population in several forms of work and this was the scenario both in 2003 and 2011. Even with male preponderance, we can see that the gap between men and women in the marketplace was reduced in 2011, with women increasing their participation in all kinds of occupation. In 2003, for example, the proportion of men with an employee's work register in the private sector was 62,3%, whereas 37,7% belonged to women, making a difference of 24,7 percentage points. In 2011, these proportions were 59,6% and 40,4% respectively, decreasing the difference to 19,1 percentage points. The largest growth in female participation in the labour market happened in the private sector, but without the employee's work register, showing a difference of 26,9 percentage points in 2003 (63,5% male and 36,5% female) and 19,1 percentage points in 2011 (59,5% male and 40,5% female).

Despite the noticeable growth of female entrance in the workforce, it is common to observe a division of roles between boys and girls, with girls performing tasks connected to the

home environment and caring of children. This behaviour directly relates to culture and discourses about “being a man” and “being a woman”. According to Foucault (1999a), the discourse would be an explanation of the world, a verbalization of a reality. He believes that the order of discourse is found in the order of laws. The production of discourses in every society is controlled, selected, organized and redistributed in such a way that its powers and dangers are diverted from its materiality. Foucault stated that a discourse becomes dangerous when it serves interests and when it can be used to marginalize and discriminate. On many occasions, individuals adopt a particular discourse to disguise and replace realities, guarantee positions and exert dominance. Knowing how to make use of a discourse means to control others. Do the discourses that are present in children’s games seek to strengthen the role of women as home carers and mothers?

Not least important, we identified speeches that diminish the act of playing as something unnecessary or a waste of time. At the same time that playing is simple it can also be seen as something “dangerous” since boys or girls can not perform certain games. Going against the concept that playing is simplistic and functional there are concepts and ideas related to this circumstance and cultural manifestation that are essential for the development of human beings.

According to Huizinga (2005), playing represents a break from daily life; it has elements of make-believe; it completely absorbs who is playing; it has significance; it has its own rules and purpose; it manifests outside of immediate material interests and individual satisfaction of biological needs; it is serious; it is a cultural phenomenon, and when it reaches its end it is retained by memory. Caillois (1990) tells us that toys fall into the category of imitation: “thereof the success of accessory items and thumbnail toys that reproduce tools, utensils, guns and machines used by the elders” (p. 41). A child can then play by imitating adults. According to Bomtempo (2010), a symbolic game has been receiving influence from cinema, television, and cartoons which make it more “elaborated and sophisticated” (p. 68). It is understood that a symbolic game is present in several children’s activities, such as jigsaw, playing chess or playing with dolls.

Several authors consider the act of playing as a cultural expression and for Bomtempo (2012), for example, “it is through the act of playing that a child assimilates the ethical values of the society to which he belongs” (p. 22). Benjamin (2009) points out that playing always relates to culture whether a child is absorbing culture or producing it. For Winnicott (1975), a child creates his own world from fragments that he collects from culture. Similarly, as a child projects something in games that comes from inside and outside, the act of playing is an action over objects and a child has an active participation. Therefore, we could understand that it is through playing that a child learns about a culture and can transform it.

Carvalho and Pontes (2003) when analysing the relation between playing and culture affirm: “playing is a ritual that is transmitted, recreated or recurrent in different social and culture environments” (p. 16). In other words, there are similar forms of play in various social and culture environments. The passing on of games happens within a playing group from older children to younger ones, without adult interference. For Carvalho and Pontes, the playgroup is a “micro society” (p. 16), where we find a network of relationships with given roles throughout the interactions, where knowledge, rules and procedures are exchanged, revised, created and passed on continuously.

According to Brougère (2008), playing can only exist within a designated system, with meanings, embodied in a culture that gives sense to it. Thus, playing only exists from a pre-

existing culture that defines it, makes it possible and transforms it in a cultural activity. There are cultural codes or specific structures in the act of playing that children learn as time passes. For Brougère, “the ludic culture takes hold of elements of the child’s cultural environment to adjust it to the game” (p. 25). These last approaches demonstrate that ludic culture has a connection with culture in general, and in this case, with the culture shared by the child. This process involves not only a social family context but also themes from television, cinema and videogames. Only when playing can a child build her ludic culture. Kishimoto (2008) points out that when children expose their forms of playing they expand their culture, weaving a thread into a playing chain. This practice generates a memory record that by oral communication projects these forms of playing into the future.

The reference to culture takes us to the Cultural Studies field. According to Cevasco (2008), this subject was created to fill in intellectual needs of a new social and historical configuration and to revolutionize the criticism to culture, having as projects the study of the so-called popular culture, the events of daily life, including a new form of understanding high culture. According to Williams (1958)⁴ (verbal information), “Culture is ordinary, for all societies, and for all ways of thinking” (p. 2). The author believes that “Culture is formed by common meanings; it is a product of a whole population, the accessible individual meanings, the product of a personal and social experience of a human being” (p. 5). Playing, as well as culture, cannot be classified as of good or bad quality. The act of playing is present in all social classes and it is common to all. There is also a power relation in games and toys as well as in gender issues. All these factors can be analysed from the critical eyes of Cultural Studies.

From the information presented above referring to the child and adolescent’s right, the meaning of playing and its relation to culture, we note that young children, from a very early age, learn and create culture by playing. According to Carvalho and Pontes (2003), play is universal, it exists all over the world, and it includes playhouse and dolls. As we understand the real meaning of the act of playing and its relation to culture, it becomes more complicated to deal with questions of gender. It is in the act of playing that a child reproduces hegemonic speeches, but it is also through playing that a child can break a pattern and bring transformation.

Playing in the past and present: Gender issues

To understand forms of play in the past, we conducted 13 oral history interviews with elderly people who lived in the region of Penha and Cangaíba in the city of São Paulo between 1930 and 1960. We collected general information from their childhood, including forms of play, habits, beliefs, and ways of life. Additionally, to understand the forms of play in the present, 340 children were observed during school breaks of a public school and during their daily routine at a Non-Governmental Organization, both located in the region of Cangaíba, for 71 days between 2013 and 2015. The research also included visits to public parks in the designated areas to expand the range of observations especially at Parque Tiquatira, during weekends, public holidays and school holidays (in the months of January, February and July). The observations, talks and activities with the children were duly recorded in our ledgers for further analysis of the forms of play and toys, together with the issues related to gender.

⁴ “Culture is ordinary”, 1958, translated by Maria Elisa Cevasco [200-?].

According to Alberti (2004), oral history reproduces a reality in a given historic and social context that often is not addressed by the official history. For Haguette (2013), the collection of data via oral statements is an interdisciplinary methodology used by several areas of studies. With respect to the participant observation method, according to André (2008), “observation is called participant because the researcher has a degree of interaction with the object of the study, affecting it and being affected by it.” (p. 28). The participant observation method allows an active interaction between the researcher and the research’s object in the form of interviews and talks with the group. We now present the main questions raised regarding gender throughout the observation phase, activities with children and reports by the elderly.

When talking to children about dolls at the NGO, one of the boys said that if the doll’s clothes were to be changed the doll would become a boy’s toy. It was not possible to identify in girls’ everyday talks and observations any mention to flying kites, playing with toy cars, fights or even football. Videogame, for example, was mentioned by both boys and girls, but more frequently by boys. Playing with dolls, playing house, reproducing mother and babies’ roles were games more common among girls and non-existent in the group of boys.

At the NGO, a boy refused to play drop the handkerchief because his father said it was “a girl’s games; another boy became a laughingstock because he said he liked Barbie’s movies. Girls did not allow boys to join them when they were playing house or mothers and babies roles arguing that they would spoil their play. When playing slingshot and drop the handkerchief, for example, even when playing in groups, boys and girls avoid mixing. Many boys complained that they were not chosen when playing drop the handkerchief and this reduced boys interest and participation in the game. A report by a boy referring to Barbie’s cartoon was particularly interesting: “I don’t like Barbie’s cartoon because there are no boys in it.” Boys do not recognise themselves in films that portrait only female characters. Nowadays, boys can make elastic bands for example, but there are still practices labelled by gender differentiation and children are taught to reproduce this segmentation.

In the past, there was a greater play segregation between boys and girls. They did not share the same games, but some activities, such as play tag, dodgeball, or playing Simon says⁵, allowed contact between boys and girls. In the past, it was not common for girls to play freely in the streets. They were subject to parental control, and playing in the streets was not well-regarded. Besides, they often had to help with house chores, including caring for younger siblings. Even though in the past some girls managed to play football with boys in the streets games were well divided with girls playing within a domestic household environment (dolls, playing house, preparing meals) or playing less energetic games (who’s got the button⁶, to throw bean bags or playing marbles), with the exception of skipping rope. Whereas boys were interested in flying kites and leapfrog. Play tag was a typical game played by boys and girls as well as dodgeball and *barra manteiga*⁷, Simon says. At present, the division between the forms of play for girls and boys are still very strong. Playing with dolls and playing house, playing football and cards are forms of play that contribute to this gender separation.

Currently, girls play with dolls, ropes, play on swings, tents, slides, flowers and household objects; boys play ball games and male dolls. We note that male dolls were not common in the past but boys use them nowadays, and this phenomenon deserves to be analysed. Com-

⁵ The rules for *mãe da rua* can also be found in another game called Traffic Lights, similar to Simon says.

⁶ The complete game name is: button, button, who’s got the button

⁷ The rules for *barra manteiga* are similar to play tag; it be could a similar version of the game.

pared to the past, a doll is still a popular toy for girls from Penha and Gangaíba but they are different now. Out goes the rag dolls, the porcelain and papier-mâché dolls and in comes the Barbie doll, Baby Alive, and Monster High. Additionally, we note that there are still differences between toys for girls and boys that were recognized by the children themselves.

Apparently, boys and girls have the same difficulties playing in a public place. However, a statement from a father at *Parque Tiquatira* was an exception. He informed that girls are more homely and some children from the NGO miss having more girls in the streets. Thus, even today we note that some girls are deprived of playing in the streets because there is a common sense that they naturally prefer staying at home reinforcing the social and cultural pressure that fall on them from an early age.

Foucault (1999b), sought to make a description of the mechanisms of social control not through discourse but discipline and body control. Docile bodies are formed from working rules, behaviour and moralism with individuals repeating behaviour patterns without questioning them. "A docile body is subjected, used, transformed and improved" (p. 118). He affirms that in any society, the body is subject to power, enforcing limitations, prohibitions and obligations that discipline would be the most important method of a detailed control of body movements. This way, discourse and distinct forms of play, accompanied by body control end up exerting influence on practices by boys and girls.

Final considerations

Nowadays play presents little difference in relation to past times. Gender issues are reinforced in discourses and messages conveyed in toys and games. Due to moral standards established in the past, boys cannot play with dolls, playhouse or even drop the handkerchief. On the other hand, girls receive presents such as domestic utensils and dolls that carry many messages, enhancing their role as carers and house leaders.

It is when a child is playing that he reproduces hegemonic discourses, but it is also through this discourse that a child can break this practice and give rise to transformation. It is necessary to propose activities that make children think about the future so that they can change gender hegemonic discourses. It is essential to question what families and the media are imposing, and this can be achieved through the act of playing. As seen in the theories by Brougère (2008), Carvalho and Pontes (2003) and Kishimoto (2008) a culture defines a form of play in the same way that play allows a cultural transformation.

Children need to be motivated to think about the future, about the pre-established toy and play conceptions. They deserve the right to deal with situations where girls can become leaders and boys can be good parents and excellent housekeepers. Every children activity, at schools or ludic areas involving the media and dissemination of culture should represent a form of inclusion and a guarantee of rights, debates, discussions and criticism to promote and enrich public politics on gender issues. The organization of society has changed in many aspects, and one of them is the female insertion in the labour market. On the other hand, it would appear that this increase has not yet contributed to alterations in patterns of toys for boys and girls that are advertised on the media and the market. These toys and forms of play, according to this research, maintain the traditional male and female roles. They overload women who have to juggle professional obligations and house care. Most women seem to carry, alone, all domestic responsibilities.

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VOICES OF PORTUGUESE FEMINISM IN CHILDREN'S AND JUVENILE LITERATURE IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY- SOME CONTRIBUTIONS

Ana Isabel Evaristo¹

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ABSTRACT

In the early 20th century in Portugal there is a turning point which is not just political but also historical, sociological and cultural for which the Portuguese feminist movement gave a great contribution, and that is still in need, in our opinion and together with children's and juvenile literature of more research and publications. Thus, it is our aim to contribute to a greater consciousness of the importance of the ideas, publications and political conquests that this group of elite women has reached and that, to this day, are the basis of a society where equality of genders is no longer the will of a republican, activist minority. Of the group of bourgeois, staunch republican, feminist women, we have opted for three names, whose profiles we have considered to be more relevant for the study in question. We thus present a brief account of the contribution of Ana de Castro Osório(1872-1935), Emília de Sousa Costa (1877-1979) and Virginia de Castro e Almeida (1874-1945) to diversify and make the reading horizons of children and adolescents more appealing, by reinforcing the importance of education as a form of progress complying to one of the main ideals of the Portuguese republican party. With their children's and juvenile's books, their newspaper publications or more reflexive studies, these republican women contributed to set the basis for female emancipation in Portugal, conferring to them the right to vote and the right to divorce, as well as the access to a profession, thus showing women a path to their independence and their economical and social affirmation.

KEYWORDS

Republican women; Feminist Movement-Equality of Gender-Female emancipation; Children's and juvenile literature.

"The girl is raised close to her mother's skirt, with the least expense possible, as she is a useless value, just seeking organization which is suitable to her role of appendix and eternal minor- the marriage. [...]The boy is free, can run, jump, laugh at ease, go anywhere without being attended; the girl starts to be dressed in colourful rags and ends up by being put in a straight jacket with the eternal *it is not appropriate*, which makes the poor victims of social prejudice really hideous"

(Osório, 1908, *apud* Silva, 1983:886)

" Women of my land!... Empty-brained Cinderellas who wait, sitting by the fire and with morbid wincings, the hypothetical appearance of prince charming, severe servants that spend their lives with the pantry keys and needle in the hand, without having the least notion of domestic economy nor hygiene, confusing honesty with the negligence of beauty; pack or reproduction animals, surrounded by children that they are not able to raise or educate, luxury dolls, dressed as Paris ladies, with all their intelligence absorbed in deciphering fashion, unable of other interests and other understanding; small absurd phenomena created by the exception of a bare higher education and that, in the vacuity of the milieu, appear as

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prodigious windy follies, blown by vanity, abnormal and happy; passive instruments in the crafty hands of the jesuitism that models them like wax; fervorous servants of snobbery and gossip; superficial imitators of models that they barely know of... Poor women of my land!"
(Almeida, 1913: 16-17)

342 | Portuguese Feminist Movement- brief historical approach

At the beginning of the 20th century, in Portugal, there is an ambiance of pre-revolution, in which the old conservative monarchic ideals of “fidelity and obedience” lose ground to give way to the progressive ideas hallmarked by “civic sense and by the consciousness of responsibility” (Lemos, 1972:19). In this context, the republican ideals of “Progress, Work, Education, Freedom and Nation” which triumphed in October 5th 1910, allow a greater value to the child and to childhood. It is in 1911, with the publication of the first Republican Constitution that the first projects of school libraries arise and that Mobile Schools are founded and manage to alphabetize 100 000 pupils. Primary education becomes mandatory, free and neutral in religious matters. Also the child education for both genders is officially created (cf. Gomes, 1998:333; Silva, 2011:175)². According to Francesca Blockeel the programme of the Portuguese Republican Party was, indeed, “a true crusade to raise the intellectual and social level of the young, and that made it possible that, little by little, reading took its due role” (Blockeel, 2001:39). Together with a greater investment in the reading of the younger, “the concepts related to the role of the woman in society, her function and value as a person and her individual affirmation” (Silva, 1983:875) gain ground and thereby appears the Portuguese feminist movement, which fosters a greater investment in female education and allows Portuguese women a new role in society, which will last and win more and more supporters during the 20th century.

Though elitist in the group of women who founded it, the Portuguese Feminist Movement is considered to be of a “remarkable meaning for the efforts it congregates, for the ideology that it spreads, for the visible unity of objectives and aspirations that it brings up and by the expressions and concrete actions that it assumes and realizes while being an organized movement” (*idem*). Never had the struggle for women’s rights in Portugal felt so sudden and organized, though with more conservative and less violent traits than in other countries of Europe or in the United States, a forerunner of the feminist and suffragist movements. This struggle is heard in the voice of suffragettes, more or less radical, but all of them aware of the cultural poverty and the prejudices inherent to the condition of Portuguese women in the beginning of the 20th century. We thus emphasize the main forerunners of the Portuguese feminist movement: Caiel, pseudonym of Alice Pestana (1860-1929), one of the most radical feminists, who also made an incursion in children’s and juvenile literature³; Maria Amália Vaz de Carvalho (1847-1921), the great non-feminist writer, who edited the

² For further information please click <http://educar.centenariorepublica.pt/expo/index.php/educacao> and <http://www.oei.es/quipu/portugal/historia.pdf> (accessed January 2nd 2016)

³ She was responsible for the foundation of the Portuguese League for Peace (considered to be the first feminist organization in Portugal). Caiel is one of the first authors of children’s and juvenile literature. She directed *Revista Branca* (1899-1900), a magazine dedicated to “children and the youngsters”. Information available at <http://www.dglb.pt/sites/DGLB/Portugues/autores/Paginas/PesquisaAutores1.aspx?AutorId=6352>, accessed January 15th 2016

children's anthology *Tales for Our Children* (1886) in partnership with her husband, Gonçalves Crespo; Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcelos (1851-1925), the German who located in Portugal⁴. Ana de Castro Osório (1872-1935) who is "perhaps the most remarkable theoretician of feminism and one of its most engaged activists" (*ibidem*: 876) and Adelaide Cabete (1867-1935), teacher and physician, considered to be "one of the most impelling and prestiged leaders of the feminist current (*idem*)"⁵

It must be nonetheless stressed that the early days of female emancipation in Portugal have their roots in radical and feminist weekly newspapers as for example *A Voz Feminina* (The Female Voice) (1868), named *O Progresso* in 1869, both founded by Francisca d'Assis Martins Wood, a highly educated and revolutionary high bourgeoisie lady, who lived in London with her husband for some years and who believed that the new ideas that came to Europe would broaden the Portuguese mentality about the role of women in society⁶. Other relevant names are Guiomar Torreção, who in 1870 edits *O Almanaque das Senhoras* (The Ladies' Almanac) and Elisa Curado who is in charge of *A Mulher* (The Woman) (1883) and the magazine from Viseu, *A Ave Azul* (The Blue Bird), founded in 1898 by Beatriz Pinheiro and Carlos de Lemos (cf. Esteves, 2000:93).

In 1907 a group of educated and cultivated women goes even further and claims the equality of juridic, economical, civil and political rights for both genders, thus surging the ephemeral *Grupo Português de Estudos Feministas* (Portuguese Group of Feminist Studies), directed by Ana de Castro Osório and to which intellectuals, physicians, writers and mainty teachers belonged. In 1909 appears the *Liga Republicana de Mulheres Portuguesas* (Republican League of Republican Women) and later on, in 1911, appear the *Associação de Propaganda Feminista* (Association of Feminist Propaganda), the *Conselho Nacional das Mulheres Portuguesas* (The National Council of Portuguese Women) in 1914, the *Associação Feminina de Propaganda Democrática* (Feminine Association of Democratic Propaganda) in 1915 and the *Cruzada das Mulheres Portuguesas* (The Cruzade of Portuguese Women) in 1916⁷. The last one supports the entry and intervention of Portugal in World War I. It should be mentioned that these associations just did "a civic and peaceful pedagogy about the rights of women", once there was never in Portugal an organized suffragist movement, as it happened in other countries of Northern Europe⁸. Of this group of bourgeois, literate republican and feminist women, who were fairly radical, we opted for three names, whose profiles are relevant for our study. So we will present a small account of the contributions of Ana de Castro Osório (1872-1935), Maria Emília Sousa e Costa (1877-1979) and Virgínia de Castro e Almeida (1874-1945) to set up the bases for a more attractive and diversified children's and juvenile literature, appealing to the importance of education as a vehicle for freedom and future economical independence, mostly for girls, future women. We thus consider that these three

⁴ For further information please read: Delile, Maria Manuela Gouveia(2001), *Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcelos(1851-1925): born intermediary between neolatin and germanic culture in Revista da Faculdade de Letras*" Língua e Literatura, Porto, XVIII, PP.33-48

⁵ For further information please access: http://www.aph.pt/ex_assPropFeminina10.php

⁶ For further details about Francisca Wood please see Cortez, Teresa (2001) *Os Contos de Grimm em Portugal. A recepção dos Kinder und Hausmärchen entre 1837 e 1910*, Coimbra, Minerva/ Centro Interuniversitário de Estudos Germanísticos e da Universidade de Aveiro, pp 89-94)

⁷ These associations, though founded by upper-class women, gathered women of various social classes, such as writers, teachers, physicians, lawyers, saleswomen, women in industry, dressmakers and even housewives.

⁸ Available in <http://ensina.rtp.pt/artigo/rostos-condicao-feminina> (accessed January 7th 2016)

ladies managed , through their writing, to launcg the basis for female emancipation in Portugal, enabling women the right to vote or to get divorced, as well as the right to a profession, thus allowing them independence and economical and social independence.

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Ana de Castro Osório (1872-1935)

Born in Mangualde, Ana de Castro Osório moved to Setúbal at 23 years of age. She got married there and later died in Lisbon. A writer, an editor, an essay writer, an educator , a masonic, cultivated, progressionist and fervorous feminist, founder of the above mentioned *Liga Republicana das Mulheres Portuguesas* (LPMR), she was the only child of Mariana Osório de Castro Cabral de Albuquerque and of the magistrate João Baptista de Castro, who played a determinant role , in 1911, in the case of the physician Carolina Beatriz Ângelo. The latter besides having been the first female surgeon In Portugal, was the first woman to vote, both in Portugal and in the South of Europe, as she was entitled to the law requirements: she was older than 21, could read and write and was head of the household, because being a widow, she supported her family (Almeida, 2015:8-12); Silva, 1983:892)⁹ . It is of notice that “ her courageous gesture had the support of an intelligent and progressive judge who gave her reason in court”(Almeida, 2015:12). This judge, who considered that women should not be excluded, evoking the term “ citizens” , included not just men but also women, was the father of Ana de Castro Osório. Later this law would be altered, giving the right to vote just to men, although the universal right to vote was only granted to both genders in 1975, after the fall of the dictatorship (Estado Novo).

A dedicated and multitasking woman, Ana de Castro Osório dedicated her work to the younger but also to feminist matters, having had a determinant role in the Portuguese Feminist Movement., which stands out by the publication, in 1905, before the Establishment of the Republic, of the work “ To the Portuguese Women”, considered to be the first feminist manifest edited in Portugal, in which the author defines feminism in the country as:

A word men laugh at or get angry with , according to their temper, which makes the majority of women blush, poor things, as a fault comitted by some colleagues, but for which they are not responsible, dear Lord! (Osório, 1905 *apud* Silva, 1983:881; Pimentel & Melo, 2015:33)

It is to be stressed that in the early 20th century and during the period of the Estado Novo (dictatorship) (1926-1974), the gender differences started at birth as “ the boy should not be raised with the girls, so as not to be maudlin; a girl should not be raised with boys so as not to be a tomboy” (Martins, 2014:144). The concept of tomboy present here is still, today, the target of prejudice and criticism in our society and the idea that a man is not maudlin and therefore does not cry, is not at all abandoned by the contemporary society.

⁹ Carolina Beatriz Ângelo became the first Portuguese woman to vote in the elections for the Constitutional Assembly in May 28th 1911. There are reports that account that there were soldiers waiting for her and that many people unsuccessfully tried to stop her from voting, there was great applause from those who supported her (Almeida, 2015:12, Silva, 1983: 892)

Michelle Ann Abate, in her book *Tomboys: a literary and cultural history* (2008)¹⁰, approaches the topic, by exploring how the tomboy is regarded in the American society and how the concept has evolved, claiming that “Although this “normalization” of tomboyism is a seemingly positive and even beneficial phenomenon, it has had rather several harmful effects (...)” (Abate, 2008: xxiii), as, in most cases, when girls are identified as tomboys, “they are punished- and it is the advent of Gender Identity Disorder-even pathologized” and sent to “gender reorientation counselling, aversion therapy and even institutionalization” (*ibidem*), as neither the family nor friends see these girls favourably. Thus one can claim that the “the social statute of women” is set since her birth” (Silva, 1983:886) and therefore, it was so important to accomplish the main objective of the Portuguese League of Republican Women which included “orienting, bringing up and educating the Portuguese woman in the democratic principles [...] making them conscious and autonomous individuals, through the promotion of the “revision of the law that concerns women and children mostly” (*ibidem*: 877) We thus intend to demonstrate that with industrialization and the new demands of the society of the 20th century, there is a new woman, that cannot be confined to her condition of submissive spouse and careful mother, she must be educated since childhood to be able to be free and thus choose a profession, through which she may find her own support and also help in the support of her family (cf. *ibidem*:897). So is real feminism defined, as in the words of Ana de Castro Osório¹¹, it does not resume itself in transforming women into “masculine caricatures” with “a tie and a man’s collar”, but in making them “intelligent creatures with reasoning, usefully and practically educated so that they see themselves away from any dependence, which is always crumpling for human dignity” (Pimentel & Melo, 2015:33).

Osório also centres her concerns in the child and in its reading, by collecting and adapting folk tales and fairy tales and publishing some original children’s tales. This author is also responsible for the translation and adaptation of the tales of the Grimm Brothers and of Hans Christian Andersen, writes some theatre plays for children¹² as well as adventure novels¹³ and takes an adventure in writing school books¹⁴.

The author shows great entrepreneurial spirit by founding the publishing bookstore *For the Children*, in Setúbal, in 1897, through which she publishes, between 1897 and 1913, 18 pamphlet volumes of the collection *For the Children*, that although having entertaining intentions, also had a pedagogical and educational trait (cf. Cortez, 2001: 276-277). Osório also stands out by her vanguardism in valuing her books’ illustrations, having cooperated with various illustrators of her time. For all this we consider that she shows a progressive view, not only of the feminist and gender quest, but also of children’s literature, that she wanted to be “vast and varied” so that it would awaken the taste and curiosity for reading from early

¹⁰ Available at http://books.google.pt/books?id=pYdrZNd7B1sC&PRINTSEC=FRONTCOVER&SOURCE=GBS_GE_SUMMARY_R&cad=0&#v=onepage&q&f=false (accessed January 15th 2016)

¹¹ In 2013 the Ana de Castro Osório Specialized Library was founded as a thematic nucleus of the Belém Municipal Library, as a result of the donation of the legacy of the author, which proves her civic action to form a feminist mentality and promote the equality of genders (Available at <http://blx.cm-lisboa.pt/noticias/detalhes.php?id=825> (accessed January 10th 2016)

¹² The theatre play *A Comédia de Lili* (Lili’s comedy)

¹³ Other works: *De como Portugal foi chamado à guerra: História para Crianças* (1918), *Viagens Aventurosas de Felício e Felizarda ao Pólo Norte* (1922) and *Viagens Aventurosas de Felício e Felizarda ao Brasil* (1927)

¹⁴ As examples, we mention *Os Nossos Amigos* (1910), *Uma Lição de História* (1909) and *Lendo e Aprendendo* (1913), these two being adopted in the official Brazilian schools (Cf. Cortez, 2001:281, Silva, 2015: 57)

ages, both in children and youngsters and developing their love for books, a pillar of a strong intellectual formation.

Emília de Sousa Costa (1877-1979)

346 | In the footsteps of Ana de Castro Osório, Emília de Sousa Costa also dedicated her writing to the children and the women of her time, making a difference, however, for being a feminist voice that united tradition with modernity and so she is concomitantly considered conservative and progressive (cf. Mogarro & Dias, 2008:2; Nogueira, Carlos, 2013:163). Sousa Costa was a prolific writer and a brilliant teacher and educator. She translated and published more than one hundred books for children and youngsters, as well as narratives of her trips, conferences and various reference books on domestic economy and female education (cf. *op cit*, 2008:2; Patriarca, 2012:147). Of her works for children and youngsters, one must stress her translations and adaptations of the tales of the Grimm Brothers that resulted, in 1916, in the publication of *Coisas do Arco-da-Velha: contos dos Irmãos Grimm*¹⁵. We also stress her book series inspired in Carlo Collodi's story *Pinocchio*, through which she narrates the voyages and adventures of *Polichinelo*¹⁶ in Portugal. Published between 1918 and 1921, this series had the aim of getting Portugal known as well as the different regions of the country, always with a pedagogical and moralizing personal trait (cf. *op cit*, 2012:170;209). Despite all this work, the author appears as forgotten and therefore more academic and scientific research is required. Sousa Costa's ideas and the feminist thought, as Carlos Nogueira claims (2013) are more deeply given to light in the essay "*Feminismo em Portugal na voz de mulheres escritoras do início do séc.XX*" (1983) (Feminism in Portugal in the voice of women writers in the early 20th century), by Maria Regina Tavares da Silva (cf. Nogueira, 2013:162), who we have been quoting along this study. Of Sousa Costa's reference works on the topic of feminism and issues of women's emancipation the following are of great interest: *A Mulher no Lar* (1916) (The Woman in the Home). *Economia Doméstica* (1918) (Domestic economy), *A Mulher: educação infantil* (1923) (The Woman: child upbringing), *Ideias Antigas da Mulher Moderna* (1923) (Old ideas of the modern woman), *Olha a Malícia e a Maldade das Mulheres* (1932) (Look at the Malice and Meanness of Women), *Na Sociedade e na Família* (1937) (In Society and in the Family) and *A Mulher Educadora* (n. d.) (The Woman Educator). These works shed light to a real code of conduct for the woman of her time, questioning the traditional role of the woman, giving very practical advice on domestic economy and considering questions of urbanity, etiquette and good manners (cf. Mogarro & Dias, 2008:2). According to Sousa Costa, feminism is something "moderate, fair and sober", and therefore feminists should not be mistaken for :

¹⁵ Between 1912 and 1915 Sousa Costa coordinated the collection *Biblioteca Infantil* (Children's Library) and *Biblioteca dos Pequenos* (Little one's Library) between 1927 and 1932 and, from 1940 the collection *Contos de Encantar*. For further information about these collections, please refer to Patriarca, 2012, *O Livro Infantojuvenil em Portugal entre 1870 e 1940-uma perspectiva histórica*- Ph D dissertation in History presented to the Faculty of Letters of the University of Porto.

¹⁶ The three volumes of the series are: *Polichinelo in Lisbon* (1918), *Polichinelo in Trás-Os-Montes* (1918) and *Polichinelo in Minho* (1921)

The unbalanced that gamble and smoke, who exploit the man and dread work, for those who do not love the mission of being a mother, do not aspire to the caring abnegation of spouses, despise the little traits of a life dedicated to the well-being of the family- it is such a serious and mortal error to the true happiness of the nation that it is hard to forgive (Costa, 1923b *apud* Silva, 1983:879)

For Sousa e Costa “feminism cannot be madness or folly”, as Portuguese feminists should not, according to her, have nothing to do with the British suffragettes, as they should not aspire to the “turbulence of politicking” but, even though, she considers that women must have the right to participate in the national political decisions, as well as of seeing their merit awarded and recognized as it happens with men (cf. Costa, 1923^a *apud* Silva, 1983:880). We corroborate Carlos Nogueira (2013) when he claims that it is words like these that show us that, despite all the vindications, the struggle for political participation and, particularly, for the right of women to vote, was, undoubtedly a long and difficult process in the history of Portuguese feminism (cf. Nogueira, Carlos, 2013:163; Silva, 1983:895).

In short we can state that the author in question defended a feminine education with a basis on domestic education and professional training, that is, Costa, just like Osório, claimed that feminine education and instruction were the best ways for female emancipation. Emília de Sousa Costa was a woman ahead of her time, though even having a restrictive and moralizing character, she attributed women a crucial role in the construction of the future of the country, putting them as pillars of the family, of the society and of the nation (cf. Mo-farro & Dias, 2008:1).

Virgínia de Castro e Almeida (1874-1945)

Virgínia Folque de Castro e Almeida Pimentel de Sequeira e Abreu (1874-1945) was born in an aristocratic family in Lisbon where she would later die. She makes her debut in children's literature in 1895 with her first novella *A Fada Tentadora* (The Tempting Fairy), to which some authors attribute an almost “founding” character of the Portuguese literature for children and youngsters.

Although she has not been an active and direct participant in the feminist movements, Castro e Almeida expressed her opinion on these matters, specially in her work *A Mulher* (1913) (The Woman), whose preface reveals her change of perspective about feminist questions. In an early stage of her life and due to her rigid and traditional upbringing, which was typical of that time, Castro e Almeida rejected feminism, by considering it “despicable, comic, silly, absurd, sometimes monstrous” (Almeida, 1913:11). However, with the passing of the years and life lessons, Virgínia explains that feminism transformed itself gradually “in a great and generous idea of redemption, que goes along gravely with the majestic serenity of all the invincible forces destined to change the face of the world” (*idem*). Thus we corroborate the words of Maria Regina Tavares Silva (1983) who stresses out the transformation, the change, the redemption, the elevation, the liberation, the nobilitation, the dignification and the rehabilitation as new idealistic concepts associated with feminism together with truth, justice, progress and hope and thus contributing to enrich the “contents of feminism that should be transforming and that reveals itself full of dreams and utopias” (Silva, 1983:882). The conscience of this utopic aspiration that feminism carried, which pretended “to elevate

the woman”, “ make her free and dignified” and “ fortify the individual conscience” raised doubts and concerns about the new role of the woman in society. However, for Castro e Almeida it was due that feminism intended that the man stops “ considering the woman as an exclusive object of pleasure, as a servant, as an utensil, as a luxury object; she wants the woman equal to the man and not an usurper of his rights” (Almeida, 1913:21).

Virgínia de Castro e Almeida was undoubtedly a remarkable figure of the scenario of the Portuguese feminism in the early 20th century; her work *A Mulher* (The Woman) reflects not just her evolution as a woman, but also the change of conscience and attitude that the feminist movements foreboded, by hallmarking socially and ideologically the tumultuous years of the First Republic.

Conclusions

These three feminine voices spread the seeds of the Portuguese feminist movement during the years of the First Republic, which had its predecessors in the last years of the monarchy and lasted for all the Estado Novo (dictatorship period). In common, they all have the privilege of the bourgeois social class and the interest for the issues of the women and of the children, that in the early 20th century occupied the political agenda of the European countries. If Ana de Castro Osório was the most progressive, radical and activist, Emília de Sousa Costa stood out due to a more or less progressive conservatism, while Virgínia de Castro e Almeida seems to have affirmed herself as a pacifist, who manifested herself just in her writing, and whose change in individual paradigma was a mirror of the aspirations of the movement itself.

These voices were joined by others during the dictatorship period, as Maria Lamas (1893-1983) and Elina Guimarães (1904-1991)¹⁷ and to these other voices of contemporary women gathered . Nowadays these women reflect about the new challenges of the role of the women in society , as female emancipation does not restrain in the conquest of the right to vote, to education and to financial freedom and independence. In today’s society, the challenges of women have altered themselves, as , for example, Maria Filomena Mónica (1943-) who refers in an article in the newspaper *O Público*, on March 2nd 2015, and with the provocative title *The Portuguese Women are Stupid*, that when she got married “ what was expected of me , besides the continued procreation, was that I should spend the day cleaning the house, cooking refined dishes and keeping an eye on the pantry”¹⁸. Nowadays we know that a woman’s biggest challenge is to reconcile her career with maternity, a fast Herculean effort for the majority of women, as:

The Portuguese women spend three times more hours than men with household chores: they spend twenty six hours a week, men only seven, which makes up a difference of nineteen weekly hours, an average which is superior to the rest of Europe.¹⁹

¹⁷ For further information on the situation of women during Estado Novo, vide Pimentel, I. F. & Melo, H. P. De (2015) *Mulheres Portuguesas. Histórias da vida e dos direitos das mulheres num mundo em mudança*, Lisboa: Clube do Autor.(Portuguese Women. Life stories of the rights of women in a changing world)

¹⁸ Available at <http://www.publico.pt/espaco-publico/jornal/as-mulheres-portuguesas-sao-parvas-9331> 8accessed January 6th 2016)

¹⁹ *idem*

It should be stressed that the excessive concern with household chores together with maternity and professional life, means to Maria Filomena Mónica that “it looks like nothing has taken place since the moment, in the 60’s of the 20th century, when my generation raised the flag of female emancipation.”²⁰

We therefore agree that “the struggle must go on”²¹, because if the feminists of the early 20th century saw what is going on in the contemporary Portuguese society, they would consider that there is still a long way to go against social and gender injustice and that women must undoubtedly have the right to a professional life, to a family and children, without having to close themselves “in a doll’s house”²².

Lastly and as a closing remark to honour all these go-getters, we would like to quote an extract of a text by Maria Velho da Costa, included in her book *Cravo* (1976), in the section Women and Revolution, an hymn to the feminine condition that, unfortunately, forty –two years after the 25th of April²³ is still pertinent.

THEY

They are four million, the day begins, they light the fire. They cut the bread and heat the coffee. They chop onions and peel potatoes. They mince loaves of bread and sour leftovers. When it is still dark they call their husband, the animals and their children. They fill up lunch-boxes and schoolbags with cans and bites and fruit wrapped in a clean cloth. They wash the sheets and the shirts which will again be sweated. They scrub the floor on their knees with a piassava brush and yellow soap and doing away with insects so that their loved ones do not get ill while sleeping. They bargain in the markets for cheaper. They count cents. They sew and knit with the wool that will keep the body who eats the food warm. They come with a pitcher in the hip and woodsticks on their head. They clean the sinks, the barrels the rabbit hutches and the enclosures. They light up the fire. They cut vegetables; they scrub the bottom of the pans. They mend socks and trousers and shirts and socks again. They scour the stove with steel wool. They walk the city on foot and in the rain because in that neighbourhood things are cheaper. They run like mad to catch the train or the boat. They put the basket down and open the door with a red hand. They close the haystack. They put their little finger in the hen to see if there is an egg. They light the fire. They stir the rice with a zinc fork. They lick the thread to mend the shirt. They fill the dishes. They put the large bowl on the border of the sink to sustain it. They take off the cover of their bed. They open themselves to a tired man. They also sleep (...)

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²⁰ *idem*

²¹ *idem*

²² *idem*

²³ The Carnation Revolution that put an end to the dictatorship.

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YOUTH LITERATURE AS A CULTURAL ARTIFACT: A DISCUSSION ABOUT REPRESENTATIONS OF LGBTQI SUBJECTS¹

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Paula Regina Costa Ribeiro³

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ABSTRACT

The present article is a following of studies and discussions about Contemporary Youth Literature and the sexual identities. With the writing of this article, it is intended to discuss cultural curriculums presented in some books addressed to these young people concerning LGBTQI subjects. The Cultural studies is the basis of this article, under the post-structuralist branch. This research uses the cultural analysis to realize reviews of artifact's excerpts selected to the discussion. From the theoretical framework and the choice of the review's tool, it is possible to verify that some youth literature books produce meanings about the sexual and gender identities, from the LGBTQI characters, while addressing these themes, the books teach to their reader's normal and abnormal manners of being a LGBTQI subject.

KEYWORDS

Cultural studies; cultural artifact; youth literature; LGBTQI.

Introduction

It is remarkable how Brazil is experiencing an expressive moment in relation to debates about the expansion of cultural identities. In particular, it is noticed that there is a clash among social groups which defend that expansion and discussion about the legitimacy of multiple identities; on the other hand, there are groups that seek to maintain (or recover) the "morality" and the "good customs". Bases on Fernando Seffner's (2015) words, in the eyes of certain political leaders, the expansion and enlargement of the search for visibility and rights from social groups which were regarded as "the others" or even subordinates, it is synonymous of the failure of the holy principle of hierarchy. Those clashes take part as far as different groups of subjects are organized in order to claim recognition as rights' subjects through the border demarcation, which approach and take away different social groups. In front of some news reports circulating on the internet, it was possible to notice that some Brazilian publishers began to invest in Youth Literature books that bring in their narratives lesbians, gays, transsexuals, queers and intersexual characters. In addition to news reports and articles that point out which books they are, also it is noticed a significant number of *booktubers*⁴ who post on their channels some tips for books that, in general, are called gay

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⁴ *Booktubers* is a group of literature lovers who realize the reading of some books and record a video commenting about the books that have been read. In general, the *booktubers* read, at least, one book per week in order to post on their channels. Through comments on the videos, YouTube users usually request to the *booktubers* which books they would like to have there.

literature⁵. Such movements indicate the search for particular social groups to make them visible, that their battles are noted, that they become subjects with rights without having to give up on their identities.

Ahead of this, it is realized that discussions about sexual diversity have been driven at the same time they are being challenged. In Brazil, it is possible to observe there are social groups, which fight for keeping the discussion on, as well as the visibility and the rights of LGBTQI⁶ subjects, especially in the school environment, while other social groups seek to silence those debates. Even movements seem to take different ways; it is possible to observe how the sexual diversity has been discussed in Brazil. In this sense, this article aims at analyzing the meanings that have been reproduced and produced by the youth literature about sexual diversity.

This text is proposing to discuss the meanings that have been (re)produced by youth literature about what is to be a LGBTQI subject. To that end, a questionnaire is launched to guide this research: how has the youth literature been expanding and/or fixing the LGBTQI identities through the process of representation?

The research's question is presented here as a post-structuralist thought, which means that it seeks to get out of the metanarratives, that is, the great truths about the constitution of the subjects. In such a way that the objective is to put into question the absolute truths, questioning the knowledges that are socially taken as genuine, in particular scientific knowledges (Henning, 2009). Thus, it is comprehended that identities are not fixed; having in mind, the subjects are in constant process of transformation. Here, the idea that the subject has an essence is abandoned. That is, it is understood that identities are mutable, that they are processes. To the post-structuralist branch, there is no "truth". Therefore, based on this thought, this article wants to show that there is no "truth" about the LGBTQI subjects, even there is no LGBTQI "identity", but identities. In this sense, it is learned that the differences among the subjects are not from the natural order, but are culturally constructed.

Literature as a cultural artifact

This study presupposes we are educated in and by culture, which is comprehended in this work as a language understanding through which culture is viewed beyond its function of representing of reality, because it is considered as a meaning producer (Soares, 2011). In other terms, it apprehends all the knowledge, as far as it is constituted by a system of meanings, it is cultural, and there are systems that are structured through power relations (Silva, 2010). Thus, it is comprehended that education is beyond the school environment.

Thereby, we are educated in different social instances. Education does not happen only at educational institutions, because it is learned that family, church, work place, headquar-

⁵ During the research, it has been come across different ways to classify those books, such as Teen Gay Literature, Gay Literature and *Queer* Literature. On this article, it has been chosen to classify the books as Youth Literature.

⁶ This terminology was assumed from the moment it is realized a movement from the philosopher Judith Butler in nominating the subjects in such way. This acronym was assumed for using in the master's research; in this way, LGBTQI subjects are lesbians, gays, transgenders, *queer* and intersexual. This acronym was chosen in order to give more visibility to other sexual identities, bearing in mind, some books that compose the master's research; they bring characters from several identities. It is known that this terminology is not very used in Brazil (LGBT); however, we believe this other acronym expands the view over identities.

ters, leisure areas, among others, also teach manners on how to behave in a certain social context. It is argued that “just as education, other cultural instances are also pedagogical, also have ‘pedagogy’, also teach something” (Silva, 2010, pp. 139). For this reason, it is believed that books, songs, films, advertisement, television, media, magazines, among others, are artifacts that contain pedagogies, because they are considered cultural processes oriented by asymmetrical social relations of power (Silva, 2010).

We understand cultural artifacts as resulting from processes of social construction, bearing in mind in those processes circulate discourses that are capable of naturalizing truths while at the same time they can question and denaturalize. In this way, cultural artifacts also teach manners on how to be in this world. Therefore, this article takes the youth literature books as cultural artifacts, because literature, by words and images, constructs and reconstructs some truths regarding to how to be a subject in each society. Considering this study, it is realized that books produce representations of LGBTQI identities. Through the mimesis⁷, the youth literature leads for instituting some truths about those subjects.

As a consequence, it is believed that the books, as cultural artifacts, bring discourses that heckle readers teaching them manners on how to be subjects, carrying discourses from the culture they are inserted, in the construction of not only LGBTQI subjects identities, but also in the construction of identities of readers of those books, independently of their sexual identities.

For this reason, the books comprehended as cultural artifacts that contain pedagogies are seen as producers and reproducers of a cultural curriculum, considering they express culturally built social meanings, because in a certain way, the youth literature books seek to influence people, even modify them. It is stated that such an idea on the belief that teaching, knowledge presented in those books, aims at producing certain types of subjectivities and social identities. According to Joanalira Magalhães (2008), the cultural curriculum gathers representations of gender, race, sexuality, they are representations capable of compounding socially established standards; at the same time they raise discussions in order to deconstruct certain truths. According to Silva (2010), those cultural artifacts are seen as part of the cultural curriculum, once the narratives that constitute the stories implicitly or explicitly construct notions of the social organization.

About *Queer* Theory

Together with Cultural Studies, it takes as a theoretical basis of this article some understandings of *Queer* theory. The term *queer* was used by North American people around the XIX century as a way of swearing at homosexual people. The term has no translation; however, in Brazil it is understood as odd, abnormal or even eccentric. After some years, this term was assumed by social movements in order to give another meaning to it. Considering this, it is observed that *queer* theory has a political nature.

⁷ The origin of the term is from IV century (AC) which corresponded to “imitation”, “representation”, “indication”, “suggestion” or even “expression.” The term used by literary studies was nicknamed by the philosopher Aristotle, he discusses such term in his book “Poetics”, which he attributes two meanings to mimesis: imitation and emulation. Considering this article, the idea is that Literature seeks to imitate reality through the creation of a parallel world, but it parts from “real”.

Such theory arises from a problematization of the understandings of subject, identity, agency and identification. It was based on the meeting between the North American Cultural Studies and the French Post-Structuralism that such theory was spread. Thinking in a *queer* way is to comprehend that the subjects and their identities are not given *a priori*; it is to think that the subject is provisory and changeable, abandoning the idea of a single and steady individual. Considering the possibilities of reflection that the theory allows, it is observed that it is combined to analyze and problematize the contemporary society and their subjects. It does not mean that *queer* theory is capable of uncovering the truth behind several identities, but it is a tool that allows looking at individuals in a dynamically way, understanding their multiplicities (Miskolci, 2013).

Although it is a theory that has been thought for studies with, for and about LGBTQI subjects, it is not a defense of homosexuality, but a refusal of moral values that legitimize and construct lines of objections. In other terms, *Queer* theory thinks of subjects and sexual practices that trespasses the boundaries of binarisms, as woman/man, homossexual/heterossexual, because it is a theory that seeks to think about subjectivations, identities and practices that do not come within in the matrix that the philosopher Judith Butler classifies as the intelligibility of gender.

Methodological ways

As previously exposed, it takes Cultural Studies as a basis to think of contemporary youth literature that portrays different sexual identities of characters and their stories. The choice of this theoretical background is because it enables the analysis of the cultural productions of contemporary society.

It is important to highlight that the books here presented are not taken as a “minor” literature, because in Cultural Studies there is no distinction between the high and low culture; or even a single concept of what culture is. It is comprised that it configures as a field of productions of meanings, where different social groups that meet each other in different power situations, they struggle for definition, or even the expansion of the idea of social identity.

By means of cultural analysis, we search to deconstruct some discourses that are socially naturalized as truthful. Thus, the cultural analysis constitutes as a way to observe, to think of stories presented in those cultural artifacts.

In order to build this research, three books⁸ were selected: *Boy meets Boy* and *Every Day* by David Levithan, and *Will & Will: a name, a destination*, by John Green and David Levithan⁹. The analysis of these books will happen by excerpts that were previously selected during the reading. The books were published in the North American context, and after years of circulation, they were translated and published in Brazil¹⁰.

⁸ The books here analyzed are part of the *corpus* of my master’s degree research, which is still in progress.

⁹ The choice of those books is because the author David Levithan dedicates his writing to stories whose main characters are LGBTQI subjects. The author considers himself dedicated to discussions about sexuality and makes his point to portray topics about adolescence and several sexual identities in a “light” way, as on his own words. To know more about him and his work, access <http://davidlevithan.com>.

¹⁰ See report news *Editoras apostam em literatura infanto-juvenil gay* on link <http://oglobo.globo.com/cultura-livros/editoras-apostam-em-literatura-infanto-juvenil-gay-13244487>, accessed on November 25, 2015.

Presenting cultural artifacts

The selected books will be presented briefly in this section, so the reader can be contextualized with the excerpts that will be analyzed in the following section.

Boy meets boy, by David Levithan, has Paul as the main character, a teenager that had his heart broken at his relationship with Kyle. Paul's best friend is Tony, a young homosexual boy who faces problems with his parents who they do not accept their son's sexual identity. Another best friend is Joni, a young heterosexual girl that gets involved with Chuck. Paul gets along with Infinite Darlene, a transsexual cheerleader and football player of the male's team of the school. At a certain moment of the story, Paul meets Noah, whom he falls in love with. Noah's arrival makes Kyle run after wasted time, trying to win back Paul's love.

Every day, also by David Levithan, tells the story of A, which is not a person nor even a soul. A is someone who wakes up every day in a different body. In general, A wakes up every day inside a sixteen-seventeen-year-old body. At the day A "visits" the body of the teenager Justin, he/she meets Rhiannon, for whom he/she falls in love with. From that moment, A looks for her every day. Every chapter of the book tells a story of a different adolescent. Among the bodies that A visits, there are gays and transsexuals, so every time A meets one, he/she is in a different body.

The third book analyzed is *Will & Will: a name, a destination* by David Levithan in partnership with John Green, which tells the story of Will Grayson, heterosexual, in love with Jane. His best friend is Tiny Cooper, a young homosexual boy, with high spirits. The other Will Grayson is homosexual, has problems dealing with his sexual identity, because he sees himself as a monster, despite the fact he has to deal with depression. The two characters live and study in different places, but during a sexy shop visit, Will and Will end up meeting each other. From that moment, their lives become closer because Will Grayson (gay) starts dating Tiny Cooper.

Analyzing cultural artifacts

In order to continue the discussions that have been made throughout the article, in this section it is presented some excerpts withdrawn from the books previously mentioned. In this item, the intention is to think about cultural artifacts in the cultural analysis, in a way that the cultural pedagogies presented in the cultural curriculum of the selected artifacts are observed.

Will Grayson (heterosexual) at the beginning of the book, *Will & Will*, talks about how he feels after signing a public letter to support his friend Tiny Cooper:

After some school-board member got all upset about gays in the locker room, I defended Tiny Cooper's right to be both gigantic (and, therefore, the best member of our shitty football team's offensive line) and gay in a letter to the school newspaper that I, stupidly, signed. (Green; Levithan, 2014a, pp- 9).¹¹

¹¹ The choice of using italics, the highlight of the excerpt, aligned to the paragraph, single-spaced and in letter size 11 to mark the passages of the books in order to distinguish between the excerpts taken from the cultural artifacts of theoretical quotes, also from the paragraphs.

In this selected passage, it is possible to notice the tension around the LGBTQI subjects who circulate at the school's environment. The character Tiny Cooper makes other individuals feel uncomfortable for attending the dressing room. Will states that Cooper "*is not the world's gayest person, and he is not the world's largest person, but [...] the world's gayest person who is really, really large.*" Because Tiny Cooper is outgoing, communicative and shameless, he is seen as a subject that unsettles the school. Maybe if Tiny was discreet, he would not be a target of criticisms, mockery and recrimination. Nevertheless, it is perceived that there is no problem related to Tiny being gay itself, except being gay and outgoing.

It can be noticed that there are heteronormative ideals behind the discomfort that Tiny Cooper causes at the school's environment. It should be highlighted that this writing comprehends the heteronormative from Fernando Seffner (2015)'s perspective, and not as a writing rule, but as something that is present in the organization of the knowledge's spaces, eligible knowledge; the heteronormativity standard legitimates "correct" and "appropriate" manners that run through gender identities and also sexual identities for any subject.

In the book, *Boy meets boy*, it is highlighted the passage that Paul experiences when he was a child at school, the experience of being categorized:

I've always known I was gay, but it wasn't confirmed until I was in kindergarten. It was my teacher who said so. It was right there on my kindergarten report card: PAUL IS DEFINITELY GAY AND HAS VERY GOOD SENSE OF SELF. (Levithan, 2014 b, pp.17)

From the relation with other classmates, Paul's teacher classifies him as gay. Even though Paul declaring he *always knew he was gay*, it can be noted how much the classification of another person, his teacher, about his sexuality, destabilizes him. It is notable that Paul's sexuality was established as different, abnormal, because in the following passage the character says, "*Imagine my surprise when I went through all the other reports and found out that not one of the other boys had been labeled DEFINITELY GAY.*" (Levithan, 2014b, pp.17). From Michael Foucault's perspective, it is understood the abnormal figure arises when techniques of regulation and investment fail, that is, "abnormal" is the one who meets the attempts of being regulated. The "abnormal" subject is the one who escapes from a standard deviation person. Considering Paul's case, it is understood that the teacher sees him as abnormal for escaping from the established standard, once he escapes from a great model, which would be the heterosexuality.

Classifying Paul as gay does not only imply in categorizing the subject according to his/her sexuality. As well as Fernando Seffner (2015) states, it is believed cultural identities set the subjects in different positions, because "being gay is not only a matter of man liking man, it is to belong to a gay culture, which means a complex group of attitudes, values, products for consumption, places to go, social networking places, life projects, etc. When Paul's teacher says to the boy that being gay means a boy who likes another boy, she simplifies and even restricts or ignores the productions of symbolic meanings that are tangled in this nomination of the subject's position. Furthermore, it is realized that the language constitute the subject from the markers that carry in its body, as well as Silvana Goellner, it is believed that "language has the power of nicknaming, classifying, defining normalities and abnormalities (...)" (2013, pp.31)

In *Every day's* book, this article highlights the excerpt which A visits the body of a young transsexual girl. In this chapter of the book, A, in Vic's body, talks about how it is to be a Trans.

It is an awful thing to be betrayed by your body. And it's lonely, because you feel you can't talk about it. You feel it's something between you and the body. You feel it's a battle you will never win . . . and yet you fight it day after day, and it wears you down. Even if you try to ignore it, the energy it takes to ignore it will exhaust you. (Levithan, 2013, p.220)

From the highlighted passage, it can be observed that the cultural artifact teaches their readers about being a young transsexual, signaling transsexuality is something that brings certain sorrows while at the same time it is a challenge to the subject. In the book, a beautiful, joyful young woman, with a high self-esteem, who has the support of her parents in relation to her transsexuality, represents Vic. However, in spite of that, she suffers for being transsexual. The difficulty that Trans people face is portrayed on David Levithan's book, signaling how subjects break the sequel sex-gender-sexuality, realized through Guacira Louro (2013), are classified as weird and abnormal.

By means of some understandings of *Queer* Theory, and based on Guacira Louro (2013)'s thought, it is realized that LGBTQI subjects, particularly trans, are subjects that evidence the unstable and culturally invented character of the identity, because those subjects and their identities are "possibilities of proliferation and multiplication of ways of gender and sexuality" (Louro, 2013, pp. 23).

Some considerations

The youth literature books here analyzed as cultural artifacts bring transgressions in relation to other books that are produced for the contemporary young audience. However, it is still perceived movements that legitimate some truths or even end up determining representations about what to be a LGBTQI subject is. By describing the characters, or even the situations of interaction among LGBTQI characters with others, it is noticed there are certain culturally constructed truths in regards to LGBTQI identities, such as the sissy, the gay that shows him off and homosexuality with promiscuity, as the case of the character Will Grayson.

Thinking of those characters as *queer* subjects is thinking of the paradoxes that permeate the regulation rules, not only the LGBTQI subjects, but also all the other bodies. Those subjects visualize the compulsory normative experiences that conduct bodies and identities. It is believed a *queer* reflection about LGBTQI subjects problematizes the demanding rules that place and normalize the "how to be a man" and "how to be a woman" in society, considering the analyzed artifacts, the being gay, lesbian, transsexual, *queer* and intersex, showing those identities are not natural, they are cultural constructions.

However, it is valid to say that it is believed the identities that escape from rules are not out of the rule, because at the same time some characters break the idea of normality, they end up repeating certain gender and sexual rules. According to Judith Butler¹², such a perception faced to the analysis lead us to think of identities as performatives.

¹² See *Problemas de gênero: feminismo e subversão da identidade*.

In this way, it is assumed that the body is not from a natural order, just as gender is not. Considering that, it is intended to invite the reader to think of identities and gender as performatives, because doing this, as Butler proposes, is to comprehend that there are no female or male behaviors. In other terms, it is thought gender as a type of performance, which can happen in any body.

In order to conclude, based on Shirley Steinberg's (2001) ideas, a question is launched, one that does not aim to be answered, but serves to tease people to keep thinking about meanings (re)produced by those cultural artifacts: who do these books think you are?

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HEGEMONIAL SELF-REFLECTION: CRITICAL WHITENESS AT THE INTERSECTION OF ‚RACE‘ AND GENDER

Martina Tißberger¹

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ABSTRACT

At the advent of ‘diversity’ in the field of the social sciences in the 1990s, many feminist scholars and activists expressed concerns about the disempowerment of gender as a category of critical inquiry and political struggle if it was to be subsumed under a range of various differences between people. Many saw ‘sex difference’ respectively ‘sexual difference’ as the master category of discrimination, which apparently concerns ‘all women’ – worldwide. Likewise ‘gender’ had threatened feminism earlier in the 1990s – a feminism that was understood as the field of the study of – and activism against the discrimination of ‘women’. The worry was, that by the deconstruction of the category ‘woman’, all political power of feminism would disappear. By the time of the introduction of the concept of ‘intersectionality’ later on, the field had already gone through a certain transformation. Most of those acting in it had understood that subjects are always identified with more than one category within our societies’ matrix of powerful signifiers and therefore positioned interdependently, and are in some relations or constellations more, in others less, powerful. More importantly, they finally realized, that there were powerful differences between ‘women’ and that ‘white’ ‘women’ were not only victims of patriarchy but also perpetrators of racism. The ‘chorus of victims in feminism had finally fallen silent’ to use a phrase of Christina Thürmer-Rohr (1984). It were racistically marked ‘women’ who had conducted all of these interventions in feminism and they addressed the notorious whiteness as a signifier of dominance in feminism and gender studies. Critical whiteness studies were introduced as a field of inquiry which follows the request of Audre Lorde, bell hooks, Toni Morrison and others, to research the signifying rather than the signified of ‘race’, not the ‘victims’ of racism but its perpetrators and thereby focusing not only on the violent forms of racism but the ‘racism, that does not leave corpses’ (Howitt & Owusu Bempah, 1994, p. 35). Racism, like sexism, is a constitutive element of (Western) societies and not just a phenomenon at their margins, namely right wing extremism and white supremacy groups. This paper will give an insight into critical whiteness studies and its relations with gender. It will focus on the mechanisms of ontologization, which are at the core of both power relations – gender and racism – as body politics. Furthermore the chapter will discuss critical whiteness as a method and didactics of hegemonial self-reflection in the nexus of gender and racism, a nexus where positionings of power switch (for ‘white women’). Given, that “race does not exist but it does kill people” (Guillaumin, 1995, p. 107), its signifier – whiteness – operates mainly in the realm of the unconscious, at least with ‘white’ people. A methodology of hegemonial self-reflection must therefore delve into the realm of the unconscious of racism and gender.

KEYWORDS

Racism; Gender; Critical Whiteness; Intersectionality; Psychoanalysis.

The Production of Difference – Gender and Race’

The perception that ‘women’ are fundamentally different to ‘men’ is a constitutive element of Western societies. The binary construction of ‘men’ and ‘women’ as rational versus emotional, intelligible versus palpable, active versus passive and their association with mind versus body, professional and public life versus domestic life and motherhood puts ‘men’ and ‘women’ not only in a complementary relation but a hierarchical one, too. ‘Men’ are the

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carriers of all appreciated qualities of the Western value system whereas ‘women’s’ qualities are disregarded. It is no coincidence that non-‘white’ people are ascribed the same devalued attributes as ‘white women’ in this value system, leaving non-‘white women’ at the lowest point of the scale. I put gendering as well as racializing terms in single quotation marks in this text in order to direct readers’ attention to the fact that ‘women’ and ‘blacks’ or ‘people of colour’ etc. are effects of signifying practices and not ‘natural’ entities. For the same reason I use the phrasing ‘racistically marked’ or ‘unmarked’, pointing to the fact that it is the act of marking which produces ‘race’ – that racism is the act of marking and ‘race’ the effect of racism, not vice versa. Therefore it would be backward to use the term ‘racial’ and speak of ‘racial marking’ since ‘raciality’ is the effect of the act of marking. In contrast to ‘race’ gender is a post-essentialist term, which deconstructs ‘sex’.

The alleged intrinsic differences between the ‘sexes’ and ‘races’ have never been neutral and purely descriptive in Western cultures. Their meanings always carried an evaluation in worth and value, subordinating ‘the darker races’ and all ‘women’ to ‘white men’. Along with this process of discrimination came the unequal distribution of power and labour: (‘white’) women’s unpaid care work and the exploitation of non-‘whites’ in the course of imperialism and colonialism which found its peak in slavery. The powerful effect of this production of differences is the ‘white man’s’ position of hegemony.

Interestingly, these productions of differences took place at the same time when Europe went through a period of emancipation with the development of the Enlightenment thought and its ideals of freedom and equality. Nobel Prize winning Afro-American literary critic Toni Morrison (1993) remarks in recourse to sociologist Orlando Patterson, that we should not be surprised about this apparent contradiction in Enlightenment’s thought because:

Nothing highlighted freedom – if it did not in fact create it – like slavery ... For in that construction of blackness and enslavement could be found not only the not-free but also, with the dramatic polarity created by skin color, the projection of the not-me. (p. 38)

While European ‘men’ struggled to overcome institutional authority as in the church and monarchy with their belief systems by distinguishing reason, freedom, analysis and individualism for themselves, they used this very reason – science – to deprive the majority of the world’s population of freedom and individualism. All women and non-‘white’ ‘men’ became the field of projection for the qualities, which were split off in the process of creating the ideal subject of Enlightenment. Thereby arose interdependence. Femininity and non-whiteness became a ‘before’-in-the-service-of-an-‘after’ – ‘white masculinity’. The scientific study of ‘women’ and non-‘whites’ became instrumental for the subordination of these groups under the ‘class’ of ‘white males’. Biology was the ground on which the Enlightenment philosophers’ *ideas* about the differences in ‘sex’ and ‘race’ manifested.

Biologically based classificatory sciences sought to define ‘natural’ differences through empirical studies of bodies – in particular of skulls. Both white women and women and men of colour were said to possess smaller brains than white men, a factor taken to signify their lesser powers of reasoning. (Weedon, 1999, p. 9)

The term ‘primitivity’ was introduced and coded by ‘female’ as well as ‘non-white’, codes, which became key elements in the epistemic violence (Spivak, 1988) of many Western sciences as we shall see later on in this text.

The scientific disciplines involved in the study of ‘sex’ and ‘race’ differences were biology, medicine and what was to become psychology. In the 18th and 19th century, when these theories of ‘race’ and ‘sex’ differences were developed, psychological research was undertaken within the disciplines of philosophy, biology and the life sciences, respectively. A popular protagonist of this research “for example, [was] psychologist Gustave Le Bon, who is regarded as the founder of social psychology and who was part of Paul Broca’s French school of craniometry” (Weedon 1999, p. 9). He writes: “All psychologists who have studied the intelligence of women, as well as poets and novelists, recognize today that they represent the most inferior forms of human evolution and that they are closer to children and savages than to an adult civilized man” (Le Bon, 1897, cited in Weedon, 1999, p. 8). The few ‘exceptional’ distinguished women of his time were to Le Bon monstrous like “a gorilla with two heads” (ibid.).

Proofs for the claimed parallels between (‘white’) ‘women’, all ‘blacks’, children and animals were produced through the measurement of body, brain size or facial angle in the scientific fields phrenology, craniology and sociobiology. The inferiority of ‘women’ and non-‘whites’ legitimated their deprivation from (higher) education, suffrage and civil rights. Drawing on the pseudo scientific race theory of Carl von Linné, Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, Immanuel Kant, Georges Cuvier, Jean Baptiste Bory de Saint-Vincent, Arthur de Gobineau, Francis Galton, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, Jean-Baptiste de Lamarck or Ernst Haeckel it was argued that African people were biologically suited to slavery and the brutality against non-‘whites’ in the course of colonialism, slavery and segregation was declared a necessary measure.

While those brute forms of racist science no longer exist, many of its principles live on in contemporary scientific work. For example the principle of setting a norm according to the Enlightenment ideal of the human subject and describing everything which differs from that as deviation or lack – not quite/not white, to use Homi Bhabhas term. Likewise, the principle of identifying differences between people and cultures and grounding them in biology is a practice, which is still widespread in the social and life sciences. Many of the principles, which were developed in racial sciences have become part of – and are hidden in – an epistemology, which is still very alive. The founder of psychoanalysis Sigmund Freud, for example, has adopted Ernst Haeckels recapitulation theory for his theory of psychosexual development, which, again, has been incorporated in many other psychological theories that do not relate to psychoanalysis and are still widely applied. Psychoanalytic theory, even though never established in formal academia, is the psychological theory which has spread most widely – in the social sciences as well as in everyday thought. Many of its theoretical aspects have become common sense. Following Jean-Baptiste de Lamarck (ontogenesis recapitulates phylogenesis) and Charles Darwin (origin of species), the concept of recapitulationism claims that a human being recapitulates in its individual development (ontogenesis) the evolution of the human species (phylogenesis) – from primitivity to civilization. 19th century cultural anthropology has translated Darwins theory of the evolution of physical marks onto mental and cultural phenomena (Brickman, 2003, p. 58). According to Darwin, all species originate in one primordial form and due to natural selection the fittest survive. In its translation into social theory the

term species of Darwin's evolution theory was sometimes replaced with the term 'race'. Generations of embryology and morphology were organized by this theory (ibid.).

362 | Psychoanalysis situates sexual difference in the body, too, even though Freud was innovative for his time, arguing that gender and desire were acquired in the process of psychosexual development. The baby was 'polymorph perverse' to Freud. According to this, its entire body surface was identified as an erotic zone. During the oedipal complex, however, the children discover that there are some, who have a penis and others who *lack* it and Freud claims, that this induces boys to fear castration and girls to feel castrated, ever suffering from penis envy thereafter. The male becomes the norm, the female stands for deviation, lack and inferiority. Freud (1927) calls the clitoris a primitive organ, the inferior little penis of women (Studienausgabe, Bd. III, S. 388). Female sexuality is termed a *dark continent* (1926, Studienausgabe, Ergänzungsband, S. 303), thus allegorized as Africa in Freud. Antisemitic discourse in Freud's *fin de siècle* Vienna called the clitoris 'Jew' and female masturbation 'playing with the Jew', but that is another story. The psychoanalysis of 'Little Hans', which brought Freud to develop the Oedipus complex – the theory of castration – contains a footnote in which Freud explains that little Jewish Hans learns in Kindergarten that Jews are castrated (circumcised) (Boyarin, 1998, p. 224, in recourse to Gilman and Freud). In his attempt to argue against anti-semitism Freud – a Jew himself – shifted the discriminating connotations of anti-semitism into sexism and colonial racism instead of deconstructing the discriminating epistemology of both, racism and sexism. I chose the example of psychoanalysis because nowhere become the intersections of 'race', gender and sexuality as virulent as in psychoanalysis and nowhere can it be observed better, how discourses of a time enroach on scientific theory (see Tißberger, 2013).

The idea of the primitive as the beginning of all – individual and humanity – repeated European medieval philosophy's presumption that the 'savages' lived in the childhood of the human development and that 'civilized' children recapitulate the human wilderness (Brickman, 2003, p. 58). According to Brickman, Darwin believed that the defeat in the 'survival of the fittest' lead to infertility, that military and economic strength were a proof for biological strength and he thereby produced a theory, which allowed naturalizing the subjection and extermination of the colonized. Those who were on the wrong side of the imperial battlefield simply had the poorer biological cards and were naturally determined to die out. Their extinction placed the conquered simply "back into the dead prehistoric world where they belonged" (Stocking, cited in Brickman, 2003, p. 48). Civilization and colonization were soon to be understood as biologically constituted capacities of a distinct 'race', which was due to natural superiority destined to win the survival of the fittest 'race' and to conquer other 'races'.

Contemporary body politics of racism and sexism are grounded in this evolutionism. The evolutionist axis with the poles of primitivity and civilization has a racist and sexist inscription, which parallels darkness and femininity with primitivity and lightness and masculinity with civilization and positions dark skinned and female phenotypes close to the beginning of human development and in kinship with apes, and light skinned and male phenotypes close to civilization, progress, development and success. The darker a person appears, the more primitive it is represented, the lighter, the more civilized. Stereotypes of non-'white' people and in particular 'black' people – both negative and celebratory – as being more physical, more sexual, more intuitive, more spiritual, as having a lesser sense of justice and being more

criminal, less rational and less sophisticated than ‘whites’ (Weedon 1999, p. 153) are the effect of the transfer of biology – the association of physical markers – onto cognition and psychology – mind and psyche. Even though these theories are obsolete, they are still practiced widely in everyday racism. This process of ontologization is what often goes unrecognized in contemporary racism and sexism.

Dark Continents – Ontologization and the Unconscious

Sigmund Freud’s allegorization of ‘white women’s’ sexuality as *dark continent* – Africa – at a time when the colonial plundering and exploitation of this continent’s natural and human resources was at its peak, is remarkable. It discloses the confluence of gender, ‘race’ and sexuality not only in colonial fantasy but also in its various manifestations in contemporary post/neo/colonial politics. Freud distinguished two kinds of the unconscious, the topological and the dynamic. The dynamic unconscious carries the revolutionary potential of psychoanalysis. It explains the mechanisms of transference, defence and other aspects of the psyche, which are not only helpful but also indispensable in understanding power relations for example. The topological unconscious – and the *dark continent* refers to this – is developed out of the evolutionist thought as described above. Herein lies the reactionary potential of psychoanalysis.

In “Totem and Tabu” (1912) Freud explains that in the beginning of culture and civilization was the primal horde – an adapted fantasy of his contemporary anthropologist James George Frazer (1854-1941). The primal horde was headed by the primal father who ‘owned’ all women and thereby, so goes the story, deprived all the other ‘men’ of the horde (the ‘brothers’) of sexuality. The brothers united one day and killed the father. But that posed another problem because all of them wanted to replace the father and ‘own’ the women now. Therefore the taboo of incest and killing was established and Freud sees that as the beginning of civilization – the capacity to renounce of one’s ‘drives’ – love and death drive. According to Freud, this phylogenetic ‘incidence’ (in fact a fantasy) is sedimented in every individual psyche and recapitulated in the Oedipus complex when the little boy – desiring his mother – understands that the mother is ‘owned’ by the father. Consequently, he has to renounce of his desires, to love and sexually own his mother and kill his father, and wait until another ‘woman’ is ‘given’ to him. French psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan develops this theory further. The manifest – penis – gets replaced by the symbolic – phallus – in the process of Oedipal desire, castration threat and renunciation, etc. With the ‘cut of the signifier’ – the phallus – determination (satisfaction) is replaced by an undetermined desire. The phallus stands for lack, ‘woman’ for phallus. Lacan’s famous phrase ‘La femme n’ existe pas’ – the ‘woman’ does not exist – means that she *is* lack in the symbolic.

The subject, as becomes obvious here, is male in psychoanalysis. Freud is lost in explaining what happens to the girl and develops ideas such as *dark continent* and penis envy. We can already observe how femininity and non-whiteness, both associated with primitivity (the qualities of the savage primal horde), come to serve as constitutive outside (Derrida) – the other – in the creation of a subject ideal which is ‘white’ and ‘male’ – the phallus not just refers to the masculine penis (see Butler, 1993, p.124) but also to whiteness, the phallus is ‘white’ (see Tißberger, 2013). The ‘other’, coded by femininity and non-‘whiteness’ serves as

a *before-or-outside* of the subject to become; in Judith Butler's theory, this is referred to as the 'other' as object becoming 'abject' (Butler, 2006).

Gender theory has shown that gender is produced through habitual and performative means and that heterosexuality is *constructed* and *produced* as a dominant norm and is not 'natural'. These poststructuralist theories have overcome the essentialism which had characterized some earlier feminist theories. The same holds for constructions of 'cultural' and 'race' differences. Critical race theory, postcolonial critique and the cultural studies have shown that essentialisms might be useful strategically, at the most (Spivak, 1988). Poststructuralist thought has replaced identity politics and cultural essentialism, the idea that there is an essence of femininity in 'women', of masculinity in 'men', of blackness in Africans or European-Africans etc.

One dimension in the process of ontologization is science and the scientific discourse as described above. The other part is the level of the individual – as part of society but also in individual psychological terms. Scientific discourse would mean nothing if people did not believe in it. Key to ontologization is the individual, which believes that 'women' are the better care takers and that 'blacks' are less intelligent than 'whites'. Key to ontologization is in fact that those who are subjectivated as 'women' believe that they are the better care taker than their male partners and that those who are subjectivated as 'black' believe that they are less intelligent than their 'white' classmates and therefore aspire manual work. Much of this individual process – identification, desire etc. is unconscious and this is where the work of a counterhegemonial subjectivation begins.

Critical Whiteness as Hegemonial Self-Reflection

'Black' scholars and activists, as has been mentioned above, initiated the critical studies of whiteness. Sojourner Truth (1798-1883), an African-American 'woman' who was active in both, the abolitionist and the 'women's' rights movement – a former slave herself – might be mentioned as one of the first who named whiteness as a blank spot at the intersection of gender and racism in her famous speech of 1851: "Ain't I a Woman?"². She pointed to the racism in feminism and to the fact that non-'white women's' situation was not considered in the movement. Remarkably, the first 'women's' movement in the U.S. arose in connection with abolitionism and thereby at the intersection of racism and feminism. Until this day the connection between feminism and anti-racism is important, the critical studies of whiteness as an academic field started through the debates about racism in feminism/gender studies. However, African-American sociologist W.E.B. DuBois must be named here, too as somebody who published his scholarly work on racism as early as 1896 and analysed carefully the workings of whiteness. DuBois coined the phrase *Wages of Whiteness*, pointing to the surplus that racism creates for 'whites' and therefore the intersection of racism and class/economy³.

Besides the afore mentioned scholars and activists Audre Lorde (1984), bell hooks (1984; 1994; 1996), Toni Morrison (1993) but also Patricia Hill Collins (1991) who refused their collection into a 'universal sisterhood' of 'white' feminism, the volume of the editors Cherríe Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa (1981) „This Bridge Called My Back“ as well as the volume „

² See also bell hooks (1986).

³ See also Gilroy (2002).

Making Face, Making Soul – Haciendo Caras“ edited by Anzaldúa in 1990 were influential works for the development of the critical whiteness studies. In the English speaking academic realm critical whiteness studies were established in the 1990s, beginning with Ruth Frankenberg’s „White Women, Race Matters“ published in 1993 and of course Toni Morrison’s „Playing in the Dark. Whiteness and the Literary Imagination“ from 1993. Richard Dyer’s monography „White“ from 1997 was the next influential work and too many followed to be listed here.

The critical studies of whiteness mark a paradigm shift in the research on racism. Inspired by those who were the ‘objects’ of racism and it’s gaze, the gaze got returned and directed towards the subjects of racism, namely ‘white’ people and not just right wing extremists or neo-nazis but the unsuspecting well meaning liberal in the center of society who is perpetuating racism often despite better knowledge and against their will. The starting point of change, respectively the overcoming of racism, must be the subject itself – and I am not following an individualistic idea with this thought. As long as those who profit from racism do not get full consciousness of their involvement – the fact that they are the perpetrators of racism – racism will always be the problem of ‚others‘. Violent racism is terrible but much more wide spread than this form is the subtle everyday racism. Colette Guillaumin’s (1998) afore mentioned ascertainment that „race does not exist but it does kill people“ (p. 107) points to the social construction of the term and violent forms of racism but it also refers to the fact that racism leads to the social death of racially marked people through the regime of whiteness. Being ‚white‘ in a society, which is characterized by a racist power structure – what Birgit Rommelspacher (1998) called a ‚dominance culture‘ – in which ‘whites’ are automatically superior and privileged, makes everybody in this society who profits from racism a racist. In other words, „the racist is the normal individual in a racist society“ (Dolan et al., 1991, p. 71, cited in Howitt & Owusu Bempah 1994, p. 85).

Critical whiteness studies approach racism as constitutive of Western societies with whiteness as the signifier of ‘race’, which works primarily on a symbolic and epistemological level and disseminates from there into every pore of society and its individuals. I have shown how evolutionist thought and ‘race’ theories in the 18th and 19th century built a structure in which the ‘white male’ subject stands for the ideal and everybody else is some sort of deviation – lack, less, inferior. While ‘race’ theories and social evolutionism are no longer accepted, ‘whiteness’ has remained as the de-thematized, unconscious and disavowed but all the more powerful signifier of ‘white’ supremacy.

George Yancy (2004) writes that whiteness is guilty as long as it constitutes an ensemble of power relations, in which ‘whites’ are invested with power and advantages compared to non-‘whites’ (p. 6). These very power relations are mostly ignored by those who profit from them. Only when those who are de-marked in racism acknowledge their whiteness as a marker, will they be able to develop consciousness about whiteness and that is the precondition for the capacity to act – provided that they want to. We must not forget that there are still many people who believe in ‘white’ supremacy and openly admit to it. That is why the ‘critical’ is important in the studies of whiteness. Racism, of course, is not limited to the personal level, but works on the epistemic and institutional level as well. The subjects, respectively the personal, is not prior to the epistemic and institutional. Poststructuralist subject theories, following Foucault and Butler, have shown how subject-ivation is an entangled

process between the individual, the symbolic, the institutional, the epistemic and other dimensions. It requires awareness for these subjectivation processes, for racist knowledge and the racist institutional structures in order to interfere – performatively, habitually and discursively – and shift relations of racism, destabilize them and ultimately, at least theoretically, overcome them.

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GENDER, RACE AND SOCIAL CLASS: THE CHALLENGES OF FEMINISM IN BRAZIL AND THE PROCESS OF RESISTANCE IN COPING OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to make a brief historical background of the history of feminism in Brazil, and thus identifying organizational spaces of women in social and political contexts. Special focus was given to the Brazilian women's protagonism in the process of resistance and construction of actions for fighting violence against women. The feminist movement contributed to progress towards gender equality by the formulation of public policies for women. However, it is known that the traditional Brazilian feminist movement, initially founded on a white identity, presented a theoretical and practical failure regarding combating violence against women seeing that its history neglected multiracial and multicultural issues in the social and political agenda of the movement. The black woman, inserted in a context of invisibility and subject to numerous oppression situations coming not only from the Patriarchate, but also from a racist and classist system, organized themselves in Brazil during the mid-80s to make their efforts public in fighting multiple rights violations daily experienced in Brazil by black woman. In this way, the concept of intersectionality has become central to analyze the subject of programmatic vulnerability that black women are exposed, especially children and teenagers from suburban regions in Brazil.

KEYWORDS

Feminism; race; gender; violence; black feminism.

The Brazilian feminist movement, in its diverse lines of thinking, generations and political trends, pointed and still incisively points toward the violence against women's bodies, caused by the asymmetry of the bodies and the male power during ancient times of the history of mankind. The militant act of the Brazilian feminist movement created a foundation for historical, cultural and political understanding, which allowed the recognition of the scale of violence against women and the legitimacy of this issue, allied with the academic efforts for seeking sociological visibility to the phenomenon (Almeida, 2014).

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, feminist movement manifestations gained greater visibility in the so-called "suffragette" movement, in which women clamored for the right to vote. The suffragette became known latter as the "first wave of feminism" where, in addition to the right to vote, the movement also claimed for better study opportunities and for the access to certain professions, agendas that were clearly linked to the interests of white and middle class women at that time (Louro, 1999).

During the "second-wave of feminism", which started at the end of 1960s, theoretical constructions began to take place through the questioning and sketching the concept of gender (Louro, 1999). The public debate on sexuality and the use of women's bodies were highlighted in this period and became public, subject at that time only treated in private sphere.

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Feminism pushed and demanded the Brazilian state to develop public policies that incorporate women's claims (Villela & Lake, 2007).

The United Nations (UN) designated 1975 as the International Year of Women, boosting the discussion of women's conditions and giving visibility to the feminist movement. In the same period, it also experienced the bitter context of dictatorships in Latin America (Sarti, 2004).

368 | During the dictatorial period in Brazil, feminist groups articulated with Marxist-influenced organizations primarily to the commitment to create opposition to the dictatorship regime, fighting for democratic freedom and amnesty. In 1979 with the amnesty, it was possible for exiled women to return to the country, promoting the reunification and strengthening of the current feminist movement of Brazilian women, which returned with baggage not only from their previous political experience, but also from the influence of active feminism, mainly the European feminism (Sarti, 2004).

In the early 80s, the literature on violence against women began to emerge in Brazil as one of the main subjects of feminist studies. Such studies were the result of social and political changes that were taking place in Brazil, simultaneously with the women's movement development and the democratization process. At that time, one of the main objectives was to give visibility to the situation of violence against women, claiming social, psychological and legal interventions as measures to fight the problem (Santos & Izumino, 2005).

Brazil was passing through a democratization process, promulgating new laws such as the 1988 Constitution and forming new institutions such as the Women's Defense Police Department (Santos & Izumino, 2005; Almeida, 2014). The Police Department specializing in women (DEAMs) appeared in 1985 under the Public Security affairs, with the objective to receive the arraignment of violence against women. The implementation of DEAMs at that time meant that there was "recognition" by the state that violence against women was not a problem of the private sphere or of interpersonal relationships. After then, it was seen as a social problem that required public actions that stand up against it in the field of security, law and health, seen as the consequences that this violence produced (Villela & Lake, 2007).

In the 1990s, the Public Health affairs in Brazil (Almeida, 2014) intensified its actions. Still, even with the order for integral assistance for woman and with the requirement of an interface between gender violence and health, only nine years later was the first care service for victims of sexual violence and the standards of implementation and operation of this service by the State settled (Villela & Lake, 2007).

It was only in 1999 that the Ministry of Health published the Technical Standards for the Prevention and Treatment of Injuries Resulting from Sexual Violence against Women and Adolescents, creating operational bases according to the care policy, as well as encouraging the creation of care and reference services to promote women's access to such equipment in the SUS - Unified Health System (Villela & Lake, 2007). We can mention, among other advances, the implementation of the "Call 180" by 2000 and the sanction of the Maria da Penha Law (Law 11.340 of August 7, 2006), a legal milestone in the advance of women's rights for fighting domestic violence against women in Brazil (Almeida, 2014).

In the 1990s, the gender category began to be introduced in feminist studies in Brazil. New studies on violence against women are retaken and deepened in content in a debate about victimization (Santos & Izumino, 2005). In the same decade, studies on violence against women reflected the changes in the legal and political, national and international scene, as

well as influenced national and international theoretical debates on the use of gender category (Santos & Izumino, 2005; Almeida, 2014). The Brazilian State started to take into account international standards that recognized women's rights as human rights, thus ratifying, such as the UN Conventions and the Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence against Women, also known as Convention "Belém do Pará" dated 1994 (Santos & Izumino, 2005).

It is undeniable that progress had been made by feminist movements for the implementation of public policies for women. However, it should be noticed that feminism in Brazil, although founded based on an identity, is at the same time cut by social separation and diversified cultural references, leading to think the limits of feminism of its universalist perspective. These excerpts are given by the fact that women cannot be considered a universal category, yet presenting specific social and cultural contexts (Sarti, 2004).

For Guacira de Oliveira (2007) there is a risk in homogenizing the woman as a being, overstepping the bounds of political thought that include the identities and anxieties of black, indigenous or lesbian is for sure a major challenge for feminism. This important perspective fosters the need for gender analysis to be understood in its relational dimension of power.

It is known that feminism in Brazil was for a long time the prisoner of a Eurocentric and universalizing vision of women, consequently leading to the inability of the recognition of differences and inequalities of the feminine universe. The denouncement of Brazilian women over other forms of oppression, not limiting it to only sexism, demanded a rearrangement of feminist political practices. In this sense, the change of perspective emerged from the movement of black women into the feminism scenario in Brazil (Carneiro, 2003).

Two central issues led black women in Brazil to emancipate from the organizational standards of both black and feminist movements, thus emerging the black feminism. The emancipation of the black movement gave itself by the gender differences, seeing that their voices were silenced by their black companions. The split with the traditional feminist movement was due to the omission of racial and class issues into the agendas and feminist political demands. The term "blackening the feminism" is used to show the trajectory of black women inside the Brazilian feminist movement (Santos, 2009).

The black feminism emerged strongly in Brazil in the mid- 70s and 80s. Black feminists such as Lélia Gonzalez and Luiza Barros began to show that the feminist agendas at that period were directly related to the subordination of black women. Sueli Carneiro and Thereza Santos, both researchers and black activists, strongly defended the need to deepen the understanding of the structural dimensions of the subaltern and subordinate status of black women in Brazil (Caldwell, 2000).

Sueli Carneiro (2003) led us to think that women fighting in Brazil do not depend only on overcoming inequalities created by a history of male hegemony, but also depend on the commitment of addressing other ideologies of this system of oppression, such as racism.

The racism establishes the social inferiority of general black segments and particularly black women, creating a division in the fight of women for the privileges that are instituted only for white women. In this perspective, the fight of black women against the gender and race oppression draws new contours for feminist political and anti-racist action, enriching the discussion of both racial and gender issues in the Brazilian society. This new feminist and antiracist look, integrated itself both to the traditions of black movement fight with the tra-

dition of women's movement fight, affirms this new political identity arising from the specific condition of the black woman (Carneiro, 2003 b, p . 7 - Author's translation).

370 | For Jurema Werneck (2010), the exclusion of the presence of black women and other racial groups of women (such as indigenous women) in Brazilian history and the history of feminism can be analyzed as a strategy to make them invisible and to maintain the subordination of these groups, which will serve the interests of white women and men. In certain way, this invisibility has been beneficial to some feminist currents that are not actually engaged on changing the status quo.

On the matter of political and social invisibility of black women in Brazil, the same author reflects that:

Black women do not exist. Or to putting it another way: black women, such as identity and political subjects, are the result of an articulation of diversities, resulted from historical, political and cultural demands, of coping with adverse conditions established by Western Eurocentric domination over the centuries of slavery, colonial dispossession and racist modernity in which we live (Werneck , 2010 , p.11 - Author's translation).

Even with the advances obtained with the 1988 Brazilian Federal Constitution and with the end of slavery more than 120 years ago, there is still controversy between the celebrations and contestation seen nowadays. These historical moments in Brazil are expressions of a society that advances towards the guarantee of rights, however, it still maintains exclusion schemes such as racism and sexism. In this way, the advances made were not enough to destroy the illness caused by slavery and the unfinished abolition (Ribeiro, 2008).

Black women played a major organizational boost in the mid-80s in Brazil. In 1988 the First National Meeting of Black Women in Brazil was held, when a new rhythm was signed to the formulation of public policy and in the social and political agenda, either nationally and internationally. It can also be mentioned the participation in the organization of the Fifth World Conference on Women (China/Beijing, in 1995) and the Third World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance (South Africa/Durban in 2001) (Ribeiro, 2008).

The black feminism proposes the recognition of African ancestry, bringing visibility and political participation for black women in Brazil, simultaneously promoting the reconstruction of self-esteem and autonomy of the black woman who was torn apart by slavery process and the unfinished abolition in Brazil.

We know that the organization and resistance of black women were already initiated during Brazil's colonial period when fighting against the slavery of black people. We can analyze this fact as one of the first expressions of feminism in Brazil, occurring apart from the dated and academic feminism.

In the slavery period in Brazil, black women had an important role in organizing several actions of resistance to slavery, seeing in the everyday actions of confrontation between masters and slaves, as the individual and group escapes, as also riots in the farms and urban areas. The fight and resistance in the slavery period in Brazil counted with a significant participation of women in various positions, mainly because they had an outstanding capacity of coordination and movement between different groups and areas. It was evidenced in the

quilombos the participation of women leaders in various command positions, as the participation of Aqualtune, Acotirene, Mariana Crioula, among other women (Werneck, 2010).

The violence experienced by black women in Brazil is based on a patriarchal, racist and classist system, with multiple rights violations that are based on social and historical constructions of the country. This dilemma follows the trajectory of black women in Brazil since the colonial period of slavery and lasts until now. This system produces and reproduces violence against the black women's bodies, an example we can mention is their work exploitation and the appropriation of their bodies for sexual and reproductive exploitation. We should also highlight the many black women who died due to the violence, especially at home.

According to the "Map of Violence 2015: female homicides in Brazil," when analyzing the data of the WHO (World Health Organization), the study pointed out a 4.8 per 100,000 women homicides rate in 2013, which inserts the country in 5th international position from 83 countries. In other words, Brazil is the fifth country with most women deaths for murder, rate 2.4 times higher than the international average, alerting that our index is too high considering the international scene (Waiselfisz, 2015).

The same document pointed out the profile of female victims of homicide. They are mostly black adolescents and young women. Homicide rates in the analyzed decade (2003-2013) grew among black women from 4.5 to 5.4 per 100,000, a 19.5% increase, while for white young women and adolescents in the same decade there was a reduction of 11.9%. The victimization of black women in 2003 was 22.9% and in 2013 the index rose to 66.7%, which means that in the decade there was an increase of 190.9% in the victimization of black women (Waiselfisz, 2015).

In this sense, understanding the concept of intersectionality from contributions of Kimberlé Crenshaw (2002) is essential to analyze the issue of vulnerability that women who are black, poor and young are exposed to. The intersectionality emerged as a concept that aims to analyze the effect of different subordination paths, as how different discriminatory systems such as racism, patriarchy, class oppression relate and act in promoting inequality. For the author, intersectionality is the way of how specific policies and actions trigger oppressions and act for the creation of dynamic aspects or assets of disempowerment (Crenshaw, 2002).

Therefore, we understand feminism as heterogeneous, the universalizing conceptions of women no longer include the current Brazilian feminism, when thinking the particularities of women under a class, color, religion, different sexual orientations and gender identities perspective. In other words, a feminism that considers intersectionality is critical for the sisterhood to really be enacted and so that we can move forward, strengthening even more the women's movement.

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THE FEMALE OBESE BODY IN THE TELEVISION MEDIA DISCOURSE: AN ANALYSIS FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF CULTURAL STUDIES¹

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ABSTRACT

This article discusses the media discourse that denies the obese body and transmits a standard of beauty of the female body. This paper analyzes the aesthetic and moral criteria, which inscribes on the bodies the marks of identity and difference and the health problems to maintain a standard of beauty. We conducted a documentary and bibliographic research based on Cultural Studies as theoretical support to discuss cultural differences and power relations that permeate education and contemporary society. We note that the characters represent stereotypes marked by their differences and construct a legitimate identity of the use of bodies and of behaviors. The speeches of the television media are cultural pedagogies that suggest ways of being and produce stereotypes that mark the subject and produce symbolic violence. It is necessary to break the stereotypes, destabilize truths, deconstructing concepts and disquiet other educators regarding the possibilities of thinking about and looking at other forms of cultures and silenced bodies involving education.

KEYWORDS

Education; media; body; symbolic violence; cultural differences.

Introduction

Television is a cultural artifact that conveys dreams and/or creates stereotypes in their schedules as novels, films, television news, auditoriums programs and cartoons. The television content propagates values, attitudes and behavior styles that guide social behavior. Cultural studies offer theoretical support to analyze the cultural pedagogies of television content and discuss cultural differences and power relations that permeate education and contemporary society.

To know children's culture, we analyze the influence of media discourse in the formation of body identity of children, as movies, cartoons and children's novels suggest an ideal body imaginary world inspired by a princess (STEINBERG, Kincheloe, 2001). These media narratives addressed to children can increase the stigmatization of childhood obesity and lead to symbolic violence.

The multimedia technology expanded and favored the creation of excess material and immaterial products. The educational television offers images and messages that contribute to the cultural formation, but the media content also propagate hegemonic ideology forming

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opinions of viewers who watch their programs as sources of truth, without questioning this truth (TERUYA, 2006).

Louro (2000) questions the media culture that values the body appearance without questioning the historical and cultural processes that allowed certain characteristics to become cultural standards. The body goes through changes caused by cultural interpellations of the media and by various interests such as economic, political and social.

The complexity of the body's manifestation aroused the interest of researchers who elect the notion of the body as a contemporary device, noting its representations and new cultural products in advertising and in the consumer market. The media society view various body concepts published in magazines, books, newspapers, which show different positions and criticisms about body image. Historically, the concept of beauty is associated with the perfect body, young and healthy and that is the propagated body image in the media. This relentless pursuit of the beautiful body, perfect and untouchable, which is the aesthetical standard of the global body, also has the technological advances and the discursive strategies used by advertising. By recreating the body type, which becomes the means of communication, establishes links between the senses and experiences (Garcia, 2007).

McLuhan (1964) wrote that the medium is the message. Proliferated in a media culture that occupy people's time, the medium is the message that makes the human being an extension of himself and transforms the environment in an extension of the subject.

The automation has brought changes in human life and in their relationships with each other: in the negative sense, it eliminated jobs, and in the positive sense, people had to develop other functions and more participatory relationships. The message mediated by technology changes the way that this medium enters the human life and often blind it, considering the message an extension of it, even as the body (McLUHAN, 1964).

Following this logic, we can infer that technology is an extension of our body, but this expansion requires new balance of relations between the other organs and extensions of the being. From the moment that it included an extension of ourselves challenged by the images of television, we adopted such an extension and we have modified according to each culture. It is important to note that the medium controls the actions and subject to interpretations (McLUHAN, 1964).

In the history of the body in the field of pathology and demographics, the research that rely on bio based place less emphasis on historical processes; but the body is also linked to power relations and political domination, which the productive body undergoes as a labor force. Power relations operate on the body, "(...) they invest it, mark it, they control, imposes it, subject it to work, undertake in the ceremonies require you signals" (Foucault, 1987 p. 25). This need not be done through violence or ideology, it can even be subtle and without using weapons. Still is a dominating physical form.

It is somehow a microphysics of power brought into play by the apparatus and institutions, but whose validity field stands somehow between those big runs and the bodies themselves with their materiality and their forces. Now the study of microphysical assumes that the power it exercised is not designed as a property but as a strategy that its effects of domination are not assigned to an 'ownership', but the provisions, the maneuvers, the tactics, techniques, the operation (Foucault, 1987, p. 26).

In the mid-eighteenth century, the author explains, the focus was the discovery of the body as object and target of power. During this period, attention was dedicated to the body that can be manipulated, shaped and trained to meet the demands of that his forces multiply. Thus, the amenable body notion is that he can be transformed, improved, used, so that the more obedient one is, the more useful. This discipline allows one to control in detail the body's operations and realize the constant subjection of its forces, imposing a docility-utility relation.

[...] the discipline manufactures like that submissive bodies and exercised, 'docile bodies'. The discipline increases the body forces (in economic terms of utility) and decreases these same forces (in political terms of obedience). In a word: it dissociates power of the body; makes it on the one hand a "fitness", a 'capacity' that it seeks to increase; and reverses on the other hand the energy, the power that could result from it, and make it a strict subjection relation (Foucault, 1987, p. 119).

The human body is manipulated by a cohesion policy, that is, the body enters a power machine that means and reframes the process to analyze, decompose and recompose to work efficiently. These bodies step into the high schools and primary schools, and, stuck in power relations, press and impose limitations and obligations (Foucault, 1987).

In the school context there is a debate on the issue of body, delimiting spaces and discipline their bodies and minds in the schooling process. The discipline has always been concerned to watch, control, and mold, correct and builds bodies of boys and girls (Louro, 1997). The author explains:

The school defines spaces. Making use of symbols and codes, she says that each can (or cannot) does, it separates and institutes. Informs the 'place' of small and big, of boys and girls. Through his paintings, crucifixes, holy or sculptures, points out those who should be models and also allows the subjects to recognize (or not) in these models. The school building informs all its reason to exist. Its brands, its symbols and architectural arrangements 'make sense', establishing multiple meanings, are different subjects (LOURO, 1997, p.58).

We realize that the research of this author contributes to the questioning of a school that refers to images of saints and crucifixes as role models. In a country with the continental dimension of Brazil and inhabited by people of diverse backgrounds, public schools must respect and value this ethnic-racial and religious diversity without favoring people of European or Christian pattern and hegemonic religion. Undoubtedly, there have been many advances in research, contributing to the formulation of laws establishing the access of minority cultures in the Brazilian school space.

Soares (2005) collaborates with the discussion concerning the body to point out that from childhood students receive an education that focuses on posture and guides their bodies to remain always straight and slim. The physical exercise is conditioned to maintain good silhouette shape, so, from that perspective, the obese body is seen as a lazy and unproductive because the body does not practice such activities. In the author's words:

Pedagogies that are elaborated to educate the body incorporate in their slow formation processes, changes the sensitivity of each season and, more precisely, a rationalization of the supervision over the other and about himself, over his own body (SOARES, 2008, p. 75).

By situating the body in relation to the school space and the cultural space, Santos (2007) presents a distinction in the way the body is taught. At school the priority is to teach the care of the body, developing hygiene habits and behavior to not get sick, like the study of diseases. Unlike what is taught outside the school, the media emphasizes health, but has the representation of the healthy body as beautiful, muscular, tanned, desired. Besides being desired it is necessary to consume the suggested products to have a healthy body. Certain bodies “are used to sell miraculous weight loss soups, body shaping devices, the more different products to keep us beautiful, thin, with shiny hair, with skin stretched” (SANTOS, 2007, p. 82).

In the consumer society, the pursuit of health is associated with a fitness image, but the procedures for weight control costs are expensive because it “(...) requires special mechanisms and tools that only the consumer market can provide” (Bauman, 2001, p. 95). This author also warns of the dangers to health when consuming drugs to control weight while consuming food.

The images offered by the media in human life produce a transformation in the subject and operate on their bodies. Moreover, if we live in a disciplinary society, as pointed out by Foucault (1987), especially the bodies submit themselves to real tyranny in search of beauty (Fischer, 2007):

The description of the tyrannies of fashion-beauty complex, which continuously produce pathological forms of subjectivity to the woman of our time, for example, justified and entirely in Foucault and, in a way, beyond, since it highlights the female body and the inscription on it, the power struggles between man and women (Fischer, 2001, p. 593).

In “good shape pedagogy”, highlighted in the fashion market, are the cultural brands that enhance the look of the body and establish a postmodern identity - whether of gender, race or social class - mediated by the media (GARCIA, 2005, p. 23).

The ugliness is also related to the old body, and so the beauty industry offers products that promise to slow aging. “There is a desperate need for a useful body, strong, handsome and young” (SOARES, FRAGA, 2003, p. 87). With this, the company is interested in the media messages that advertise beauty products. Who has economic conditions submits to surgical procedures, aesthetic treatments, hair implants and silicones, as well as walking in parks and work out in the gym and weight training academies (Garcia, 2005).

The search for the beauty of the body is the result of a personal and economic investment designed by massed speeches. Body transformation of obese people are done with surgery to reduce stomach, plastic surgeries and other procedures that offer a high self-esteem made possible by the sensations of having a beautiful body. For this, people do not care about the consequences or the risks arising.

In this sense, the deviant patterns are the overweight bodies and obesity. Overweight is an alert to the subject, since it is above the ideal weight set by society and medicine; in turn, obesity marks the excess weight associated with both the standards established as the relationship between measured weight and the body (Garcia, 2005).

From the perspective of contemporary culture presented by the media is acceptable in society that the ideal body should be achieved with great effort and objectivity (GARCIA, 2005). Thus, obesity and thinness are always struggling to fit the body standards (Camozzato, 2007).

The body contradicts this consumerist society, because it establishes a connection to both worlds: the inside and the outside. The body must survive by a biological metabolism at the same time is influenced by the outside world. This process contributes to the appearance of specific pathologies of our time, such as bulimia and anorexia (Bauman, 2010).

For Bauman (2010), bulimia is a complex phenomenon because it is attached to the pleasure of eating and the pursuit of maximum physical fitness and anorexia is related to the egocentric pattern of contemporary society. To meet the requirement of the social environment, which imposes a slim body, culture promotes the idea that to enjoy the pleasure you must have a suitable body in shape.

[...] The bodies classified as abnormal (those which are above or below the weight, anorexia and obesity, for example) are exemplary for the establishment of a standard body, normal or average. Thus, there is talk of abnormal bodies to regulate the 'said' bodies normal. And when I say "spoken" here, I refer to the set of techniques, practices and discourses that make up this body, making these operations look for established and consistent they are, perfectly natural, desirable, serving for the welfare all. And it just happens because these techniques, practices and discourses find their materiality in the world - "emblematic bodies," or copies, those that appear in the media, such as artists or athletes. (SANTOS, 2007, p. 85)

Besides promoting a type of body, publicity offers a fictional narrative in order to provide a media body⁴, that seen as ideal marked by trends and technological innovations. The media uses a discursive strategy of power that presupposes a truth in advertising messages and questions the subject (GARCIA, 2007).

Therefore, the body is comprised of signs and languages. Considering the concept of representation as a set of meanings that have a subject in a certain way (MARTINS, 2006), it is important that this research problematize discourses and representations made about the obese body, linked to identity and difference:

Thus, it can be said that it is about everything in the body that our identity is manifested through signs [...] These signs whose meanings are not stable or have the same importance or relative penetration, combine and recombine permanently together, and is mainly in the body that they become visible (MATOS; Zoboli; MEZZAROBBA, 2012, p 100.).

You can tell it is the body that expresses our identity, which is embedded the difference: "Just as the identity depends on the difference, the difference depends on the identity. Identity and difference are therefore inseparable" (SILVA, 2007, p. 75). Thus, by assuming the identity of having the fat body establishes the difference in relation to lean body.

Canclini (2009) states that the difference is established between the social and cultural systems and that is through the distinction of social class, popular culture, high culture and political and aesthetic ideology that people express themselves in works of art. For the au-

⁴ Garcia explains in his book *Body & Mediation - Essays and Reflections* (2007) that the media sells the idea that it is possible to have a media body buying beauty products, performing plastic surgery and aesthetic interventions, taking diet pills, to fit the ideal body pattern. 4 Garcia explains in his book *Body & Mediation - Essays and Reflections* (2007) that the media sells the idea that it is possible to have a media body buying beauty products, performing plastic surgery and aesthetic interventions, taking diet pills, to fit the ideal body pattern.

thor, the symbolic structure of society is based on an antagonistic view of determining the strong and the weak, fat and thin, and suggests that this setting is ideal.

This view is part of a socially constructed process and culturally naturalized. In this reflection, Silva (2007) emphasizes that the identity and difference are produced by language acts: "(...) we are the manufacture, in the context of cultural and social relations. The identity and difference are social and cultural creations" (SILVA, 2007, p. 76).

Final Considerations

In this research we analyze the implications of the representation of identity and body fat as different in the educational field, the target of symbolic violence that we must fight. We note that the media builds identities and differences that mark the subject and produce subjectivities. To spread one's images and messages, the media exert a cultural pedagogy that produces a way of being and behaving. In order to reflect on identity, difference, standardization bodies and the naturalization of events, we try to understand the effects of symbolic violence against fat people at school.

The transformations developed culturally value the body appearance and the media plays the role of bringing people into idealized and uncritical standards. In this quest for a healthy and slim body, there is a persuasive speech anchored in the standard of beauty. The analysis of the narratives of the novels addressed to young people and children naturalize caloric eating habits and associate body fat with food in a stereotypical view. The identity of the characters is marked by props, objects and behaviors that always refer to food, especially the caloric food.

Therefore, the media reinforces ways of seeing, of being, thinking and talking that establish false truths about the ideal standard body. In this analysis we identified that, to experience their subjectivity and legitimize the chosen identity, character builds his dream world and representations of what is romantic or not, in order - even if unconscious - to resist the symbolic violence produced by others. It is in this space of struggle that the fat body assumes its identity, but we ask: will it be necessary to fight for a space?

In this perspective, to educate our gaze, deconstruct concepts, discuss representations and develop criticality in relation to media discourses requires teacher training. We consider relevant to our research offer possibilities to combat violence, destabilize and dislodge certainty, to respect and value the identities and differences, questioning standards bodies produced culturally.

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INFLUENCE OF BLACK CULTURE ON BRAZILIAN CULTURE¹

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ABSTRACT

This article aims to make an analysis of the contributions of black culture in the formation of Brazilian culture in a broad sense and, in particular, the city of Muzambinho, in southern Minas Gerais. The social history of blacks is designed from a remnant quilombo community known as Bairro Brejo Alegre. Through a historical view of its residents' daily lives and their relationship to the city from the 1980s, using the field research, I aimed at understanding this black community from their oral histories and memories, as a rich instrument of reconstruction and recovery of their cultural identities. It was evident in the reports, the fight and the desire for recognition as part of this reframing formation of their culture. Currently facing the fragmentation of collective life and exacerbated individualism present in the hegemonic culture and the world's integrated capitalism that encourages cultural practices with clear objectives to develop a cultural industry, disarticulate local cultural practices, leading to community acculturation, i.e, dismantles not only citizens of their belonging to social history but also makes them not feel part of a cultural whole. Thus, the development of public cultural policies is indispensable for the preservation of our cultural identity which is also marked by traditional festivals like *cangado*, *moçambique*, *capoeira* and the carnival and the rich handicrafts produced in the neighborhood.

KEYWORDS

Daily; field research; gender; memories and cultural identities.

This text aims to present the results of a survey entitled “**Influence of African culture in the city of Muzambinho, Minas Gerais**” held in the southern city of Muzambinho, in the southeastern Brazilian state of Minas Gerais, in the Brejo Alegre community, which according to old maps, ancient artworks and historical accounts, is a remnant quilombo community. Through research we have taken a slice of the community's daily life and their relations with the formation of the city of Muzambinho. To this end we have established a dialogue with the oral history, written sources and photographs to try to understand these historical subjects that have a rich culture, but that is hidden on the fringe of society. The question that guided the research was to understand what was the social role that black people exercised in Muzambinho society? How did the culture related within the public sphere, markedly mixed-race, but with white, Catholic and European dominance? Anchored in Davis (1990), working with microhistory we realized that the everyday issues of the neighborhood residents, starting in the past and on the formation of the city composing political aspect, closely linked to the dominant social classes, raise general questions that occurred in Brazil. The policy and the formation of the city were in the hands of agrarian elites, the farmers, and they made clear in their reports that the direction of the city should be exercised by the most enlightened and wealthy. Consequently, a small portion held power since, in general, most of

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the population was illiterate, mixed-race and poor. Marriages took place within the same social class, which remained the same or even intensified in the countryside because the wealthy farmer's condition was a leveler for political and social influence. It is through this force that the contribution of other ethnic groups is losing its value in the formation of national, state and local history. For this cultural ethnic contribution to not be lost in the reconstruction and reinterpretation of Muzambinho history, we present residents of the neighborhood and the place lived and experienced by these people, their identities, relating them to others who were part of their past, how the black people were forming their resistance and redefining their space through their cultural representations, their daily practices. Popular stories tellers of the neighborhood were primordial in the construction of this article, we used an analysis of simple people, who for many years had no opportunity to be heard because of a repressed and silenced past.

Portelli (1997) contributed so we could put into practice the oral history and appreciate it. We understand that the current history is more comprehensive, dealing with various aspects of the lived reality, close ties with other sciences, questioning, analyzing and seeking new ways to make history. Therefore, the purpose of this article is to present how the cultural appreciation of these subjects through their representations, their symbols, gestures, images, helped in the formation of the city with their work, their life stories and their culture. We believe that all knowledge, practices and values bequeathed by the past to the present will contribute to the formation of society as a whole and can provide continuity of cultural value so that it is not lost in the changing constant process of our times.

In this process of continuity and enhancement of blacks, we found in Muzambinho's history the city name's terminology and concluded that it is linked to the influence that the blacks of various African ethnic groups had in the formation of the village. Muzambinho is a municipality located in the south of the state of Minas Gerais, with a population of about 23,000 inhabitants, with an area of 414.0 square kilometers and with a population density of 53.60 inhabitants / km². It is believed that there was Quilombo formation in the region around the years of 1765 and 1767. The first known housing project there dates to the year of 1765 on a map organized by order of the governor of the Minas Gerais Captaincy, Dom Luiz Diogo. In this map it is marked the site with the first name of Quilombo, which would now be the area of Muzambinho and two cores called: Dumba and Zumdu, inhabited by black Africans in the current region of the city of Jacuy / MG, 58 km away from these two cities.

The neighborhood Brejo Alegre is one of the oldest districts of Muzambinho if not the first. We could see that the neighborhood is located in the lower town, which was formerly surrounded by many forests and swamp whose name itself suggests (Brejo Alegre would literally mean "Happy Swamp" in English) that it was a region difficult to access, being favorable for slaves and former slaves to hide. As reported by one witness (João Thobias, 90 years old, a retired employee of the City of Muzambinho), "here was the woods, they would check and gather here."

According to Mr. João Thobias, blacks came in a fearful way to obtain information about the place and were crowding on this site. The expression that Mr. João Thobias uses that blacks had been "checking," means that they wanted information if there would be a safe place so that they could live and raise a family.

Thus, through the memory of witnesses and visits to the locations, we present the neighborhood as it was. Very simple, the streets were not paved. At the beginning there were no roads, only tracks that were gradually being opened to give way to the streets. These streets, even today, do not follow the standards of a designed neighborhood, but have a natural pattern that the trails were being opened, lopsided. The houses, in the same condition, follow the streets, some seem botched. The buildings were made of wattle-and-daub and with dirt floors. Currently the houses were improved, but most are still simple, their interior too. The witnesses report that there was no running water, those came from wells and also when there was a house with electricity, it was poor electricity. A dialogue with Vidal (1997) was important to realize that the organization of a territory can follow changes and adjustments according to the users' needs. It is said that Brazil has poor memory regarding politics, but the residents of the neighborhood of Brejo Alegre prove otherwise. They are keen to search in their memories those who helped their community. They recognize all the achievements made to improve their neighborhood and are grateful for them. These achievements were not acquired through struggle or great mobilization of residents, but through the political campaign commitment that turned their eyes to the outskirts of the city. Politicians and people in society are part of the residents' memories because they made something visible in the neighborhood, they were able to cross the bridge that separated them from the rest of the city. The bridge was a social divider that contributed to the increase and reaffirmation of social differences. Even the topography of the bridge was bad, because it was very steep and was built at the time of the Mogiana railway. When it rained, the difficulty of access to the neighborhood was even greater. Residents complained that garbage and dead animals were thrown in the valley, thicket that was under the bridge. Removing the bridge not only eased the ascent and access to the neighborhood, but also facilitated the transition and connection to the city center and other neighborhoods. It a playground and sports court was built where the valley and thicket was. The region also received flooring. At the same time some housing renovations were made together with constructions of bathrooms that some houses did not have. The benefits come in the form of access to the neighborhood and also the panorama and hygiene, as well as the floods that no longer overflow the neighborhood, drunk people also lost place on the bridge. What was not lost were the prejudices, present in the memory of the residents, especially the elderly. The exclusion symbol that represented the bridge is still alive.

The relation of the Brejo Alegre neighborhood with the city was very friendly, according to ancient tellers. We cannot say that this happened peacefully because in their accounts, their stories and memories, these respondents are keen to remember those who won respect of other citizens from the city. And this achievement was through the only way they knew or that made them recognized, showing their prowess through strength and endurance.

According to the interviewee Dulce Lea de Oliveira, she heard about Maria de Fita, but she said it was not from her time. But she recognizes that both men and women had physical confrontations. She reports that when police went to the neighborhood, a resident named Mr. João Vicente 'left about three fallen at the door of his house'. Police had a very hard time to take him under custody, because he attacked them. Both male and female reports were making it clear that residents used the Capoeira as self-defense and did not let anyone damage their neighborhood. They faced much prejudice against their skin color, but they imposed

themselves through brute force, violence that is present as an output and a solution for them to be recognized, accepted and respected as equals. The respect and prestige that farmers have earned through their socio-economic status, blacks and their descendants of Brejo Alegre neighborhood conquered by body strength and own cultural manifestations.

Women's memories are strongly linked to work as support and often family backers. Their memories refer to coffee plantations, vineyards, family houses and washing clothes for people in the "city". They recall that the lard and sweet milk factories did not contribute to improving the neighborhood. On the contrary, there was resistance by women who have lost the place where they washed the clothes, having to conform to a small space that was left. Children would go along with their mothers to these streams and other places of toil, which caused an even greater wear on the women who were accumulating functions. According to the above deponent, "we earned very little, the City did not pay wages. The City Hall did not have enough income. The Avenue who was restored by Mazzilli (mayor at the time) and he had to pay the guys with his own money."

When reports came about the construction, paving, Muzambinho urbanization, they searched in their memories and files those who contributed to this, recalled that the stones were taken from a farm and donated by important families. In any case, not ignoring the value that families had emblazoned on the construction of the city, the descendants of slaves, simple workers also want to be recognized as part of this story. After all, the settlement of the stones in Dr. Americo Luz Avenue, the main avenue of the city, was also part of their work and memories. As well as D. Pedro II Park, the Chapéu de Sol, the phallic water fountain and Cruzeiro. (These works were designed by the sculptor Antonio José de Carvalho, a native of Barcelos, Portugal). The *Folha Regional* newspaper, in a special article about the 122 years of Muzambinho, reports the cobbles of Dr. Americo Luz Avenue, formerly called Largo, where the typical dances of black culture were presented. Measuring 548 m from one end to another, the original park design was by Elias Blanco, who worked especially with stones.

According to ancient tellers, blacks stood out with their dance, the traditional *Congado*, Consecrated to the Holy Mother of Rosary (Nossa Senhora do Rosário) was held every October, in the "Largo" (currently Dr. Americo Luz Avenue). There was also the *Moçambique* dance. These dances no longer exist, the carnival and *capoeira* took place on the avenue, with own crafts with clay and sisal enchants its exhibits on Dr. Lycurgo Leite House of Culture. It is through the carnival, *capoeira*, and crafts that blacks and their descendants will regroup and form their leaders, giving a new impetus to the old parties. They are still very happy and they are the only ones that know how to throw an avenue party, delighting everyone who watches it, with their drummers, dancers and highlights. It can be observed that it is innate, present in the body. Donizethe, a resident of Brejo Alegre neighborhood and black descendant, is the most illustrious figure of Muzambinho carnival. Always a highlight. The samba school is called Espelho de Futebol ('Freedom Mirror'). Football, the Ponte Preta team, is the pride of the residents and fans of Brejo Alegre neighborhood. This team, with its tradition dating to 1954, brought many victories to the neighborhood. Men, women and children fanatically cheer for their team. Women in a space that would often be a male space, discuss and manifest themselves as equals. Football transcends the idea of just a game, it's like it transposes a little of each, a little of their lives. And the team's achievements are now being considered as life achievements. Like all the locals that come from the same social status,

union is something very visible and present in the neighborhood. We noticed this union not only through all the reports of the witnesses, but also sometimes we witnessed it in our visits to the neighborhood. They mobilize, recognize each other's needs. This union may also be influenced by the topography of the neighborhood. The houses are quite close to each other, the streets narrow. The windows are always open, as well as the doors, leaving the whole house in sight, with its objects and residents. They go outside their houses to talk to this or that neighbor, to tell something of their daily lives. And so they go on establishing links with each other, experiencing a more intense human side. However, the implementation of the Dona Francisca Alegretti Bianchi School and FAM (Support Minor Front) at the beginning society had to be prepared for a good acceptance. The heads of schools reported that they had a lot of work with children and parents as well to participate in the school life of their children, so they could see the school as something that would bring improvements to the local community. Improvements were seen in the issue of school dropouts, hygiene, school garden, feeding and relationship of parents with school.

Given the above we can infer that the act of loving to tell their stories is a striking feature among the elderly witnesses in the neighborhood. This search exercise for their past using memory is something fascinating for anyone who is interviewing them. That look that is lost for a moment transcends a simple reminder, it brings the past to mind. Not only in their eyes can we feel such emotion, but also in all the gestures that accompany it, after all the body speaks. The hope of these wise history tellers, even if unconscious, is that there is no cultural massification. The massification, they said, would be the end of the possibility of human transcendence, that is, this ability to go beyond and overcome the interdicts. This desire to revive the history, to bring to the present this one or that which does not exist, but that somehow is present in behavior, in the speaking, body, dance, capoeira, in football, the art craft is all a form of resistance and at the same time a rich contribution to the formation of Brazilian culture.

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FOR A POST-COLONIAL QUEER THEORY: COLONIALITY OF GENDER AND HETERONORMATIVITY OCCUPYING THE BORDERS OF TRANSLATION¹

Fernanda Belizário²

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to briefly weave the dialogue of possibilities between the post-colonial studies and queer theory, an approach that is gaining ground in academia. Their fruitful spaces of translation have been offering to scholars and activists concepts beyond Eurocentric and hegemonic paradigms apropos of studies on gender, sexuality, hetero and homonormativity where the body emerges simultaneously as a locus of interpretation, violence and resistance.

KEYWORDS

post-colonialism; queer theory; critical border thinking; heteronormativity; sexual empire.

The purpose of this paper is to make some theoretical considerations from the meeting of postcolonial studies and queer theory, in order to bring out a comprehensive analysis of some social and historical conditions of deviant bodies production and their effects on the understanding of modern world-system.

The Modernity as a European epistemological project is characterized by Aníbal Quijano (apud Lugones, 2008:80) as *the fusion of colonialism and coloniality experiences with Capitalism needs, creating a specific universe of intersubjective relations of domination under a Euro-centered hegemony*. It is a form of knowledge, allegedly rational, which establishes coloniality in a cognitive dimension, focused especially on the separation between knowable objects (such as nature, uncivilized people) and knowing individuals (such as man, white, European, scientist). This separation has worked in several areas and established the modern western androcentric rationality as the exclusive form of knowledge, naturalizing power relations and identities in accordance with this racial, sexual, material and cognitive organization.

This coloniality of power, as Quijano presents, is therefore a hegemony strategy that had created new societal identities - blacks, mestizos, Asians - that constitute the other of white; and geocultural identities - America, Africa, Middle East - constituting the “other” of Europe, generating new intersubjectivities that reflect and ratify these power organizations over time, which have survived the colonialism itself.

In terms of gender and sexuality as an axis to analyze the coloniality of power, Maria Lugones weaves an interesting critique of the work of Aníbal Quijano, focusing her investigation on a *praxis understanding* against multiple oppressions suffered by women of color (such as race, gender, class and sexuality), understanding those as powerful brands of

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bondage and domination that act on the bodies of individuals so that they can not be considered separately (Lugones, 2008: 78)

Understanding these features of the organization of gender in the modern/colonial gender system — the biological dimorphism, the patriarchal and heterosexual organizations of relations — is crucial to an understanding of the differential gender arrangements along “racial” lines.

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Along with proposing gender and race intersect to produce a specific type of domination - the subjection of women of color - the author also points out Quijano is normative and a reducer when naturalizes sexual dimorphism, assigning a biological meaning to sex and reducing gender to its expression.

Lugones goes further in her criticism by stating the concept of sexual dimorphism is an organizing axis of the gender system in a colonial perspective. By establishing heterosexual men and women as standard and other expressions of gender and sexuality as deviant, it endows individuals with unequal capacities to access the resources needed to fully exercise their citizenship, establishing a parallel with the idea of race in relation to the Eurocentric modern capitalist system. Thus, more than a coloniality of power, it is possible to recognize a coloniality of gender.

The coloniality of gender is also an organizing axis of society by creating opposing categories of man and woman, in which the latter is subjected to the first as a legacy of colonization itself (Lugones, 2008:88). Therefore, the author concludes not only the coloniality of power imposed sexual and gender dimorphism, but those categories are also its foundation.

Following the tradition of American women of color, feminists and their fruitful insistence on intersectionality as an essential epistemological feature to understand the oppression of women (not a man) black or *mestiza* (a non-white), it is required to establish a spectrum of analysis that incorporates categories such as race, class, nationality and other dimensions that constitute the individuals and how they are affected by a set of intelligibilities in order to understand the coloniality of gender. By intersecting gender with other elements, it turns out visible they are not merely associations but cumulative multiplications of elements fragmenting the individual and therefore producing diverse interpretations³ articulated from the idea of coloniality.

One example of how this subject fragmentation operates resides in the idea of border thinking. Gloria Anzaldúa (2012) in her work *Borderlands: La Frontera*, weaves an autobiographical testimony while theorizes on her *mestiza* woman experience as a Mexican descendant born in the United States, her voice sums up with others who continuously cross transnational and symbolical boundaries,

Borders are set up to define the places that are safe and unsafe, to distinguish *us* from *them* (...) The prohibited and forbidden are its inhabitants. *Los atravesados* live here: the squint-eye, the perverse, the queer, the troublesome, the mongrel, the mulato, the half-breed, the half dead (Anzaldúa, 2012:25-6).

³ To an in-depth discussion about intersectionality see Brah & Phoenix (2004:75).

A critical *border thinking* puts into question the Eurocentric universalist interpretations that bend to normalize a certain gender, body and sexuality. Inclusively, it presumes the importance of the place of enunciation as producer of various representations and ways of being in the world. Says Walter Mignolo (2012), *I am where I think*.

Critical border thinking is consonant with Homi Bhabha's idea of Third Space, as a propose to apprehend individuals who transcend fixed identity positions to *in-between places that provide the ground for the development of subjectivity strategies - individual or collective - that initiate new signs of identity and innovative collaboration and contestation posts* (Bhabha 1998:21) .

These in-between places of difference are the juxtaposition of several variants that produce otherness (such as gender, class, race) generating overlaps and displacements expressed in a performative language of negotiation, sometimes recurring to the difference, other times to assimilation. For the author (1998:78), *it is needed to realize the complex trading condition set in the ability to rewrite the tradition from hybridisms that are characteristic of the lives of those who are minorities*. This interstitial border perspective highlights the negotiating experience between the fixity of identities, the skills to negotiate within the tradition and the subalternising processes that subject the individuals who occupy these spaces.

Critical border thinking and the third space theory suggest an identitary instability in negotiation with hegemonic and counterhegemonic values, to Avtar Brah (2006: 331) it is necessary to grasp how discourses and practices inscribe social relations, subjectivities and individual positionalities and from which criteria these definitions are operated, their nature, their borders, the boundaries that forge and fix the other.

In this regard, *queer⁴ theory* states we must be suspicious of individuals identity stability and their sexed bodies to unveil how social classification practices produce identity fictions as negotiating processes between the subjectivation of normality - professed by the disciplines that organize sexuality - and the political ability to seek for fractures in this system.

For a Queer Postcolonial Theory

Oppositely to the naturalization of the relation between gender *versus* genitalia, feminist, gay, lesbians studies and queer theory rely on gender conception as an instrument inscribed in the culture to legitimize sex differences and provide stability to the heterosexual order which builds the oppositions men/women and their derivations.

Although socially constructed as natural, gender is a set of acts, gestures, signs, standards continuously and performatively updated in order to strengthen the construction of culturally viable bodies (heterosexuals), in the words of Judith Butler (2008:59) *Gender is the repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a natural sort of being*.

The contemporary social order is also sexual and heteronormative, a term coined by Michael Warner in 1991, defined by *a set of prescriptions underlying social processes of reg-*

⁴ According to Ana Cristina Santos, *queer theory is a political and theoretical project that seeks to build the destabilization, subversion and emancipation of space to the phenomena related to sexuality and gender, no longer understood in linear and regular manner, but rather unstable, fluid, as real, as imagined, and always politicized*. (Santos AC, 2006:102).

ulation and control even for those who are not sexually interested in the opposite sex (Miskolci, 2009:156). Similarly, Paul B. Preciado elaborates the idea of *sexpolitics* to reflect on how sex is a device of normalization technologies of sexual identities. Heterosexuality is more than a sexual identity, it is a political system designed to produce straight bodies, *sexuality always implies a precise territorialization of the mouth, vagina, anus (...) Sexual Capitalism and Sex of the Capitalism (Preciado , 2011 : 12).*

If gender and sexuality are social constructions to regulate and control bodies, categorized between normal and abnormal, founding a *phallic economy* (Scott 1991: 778), the political project to dismantle this structure should be one that de-territorialize sexuality, using the devices that produce normal bodies to produce other sexual subjectivities. It demands a new understanding of the sexuality fluidity and the need to state strategic identities - not essentialised ones - as political action places.

This is the proposal of queer theory, a destabilizing political project, according to Jagose (apud Santos, AC, 2006:7), *that describes attitudes or analytical models that illustrate the inconsistencies of allegedly stable relationships between biological sex, gender and sexual desire.*

Ana Cristina Santos (2006:8) presents five key ideas in order to understand queer theory: the recognition that identities are always multiple, composed of an infinite amount of components; any identity is arbitrary, unstable and exclusionary; we should not give up the idea of identity, but recognize it as an open, fluid and questionable category; theory or policy focused on homosexuality reinforces the binary hetero/homo that urges to be challenged in favor of the emergence of multiple sexual identities; queer proposes to theorize about sexualization of bodies, desires, actions, social relations, institutions across various fields of knowledge.

Therefore, if gender was created as a strategy to normalize bodies following straight biopolitics – homosexuals, transsexuals, transvestites, intersexed people – the abnormal, the queers as political subjects reappropriate this concept to establish its social transformation project

sexpolitics becomes not only a place of power, but also the space of a creation in which succeed and juxtapose feminist, homosexual, transgender, intersex, chicanas, postcolonial movements. Sexual minorities become multitudes. The sexual monster whose name is multitude becomes *queer* (Preciado, 2011:14).

Although Queer Theory is associated with the study of desire and sexuality, contributions from Paul B. Preciado and Judith Butler for instance have forwarded their discussions to a critique of globalization, the Euro/North American models of hetero-sexual identity and integrationist movements that struggle for gender identity, seeking to position it as a theory that resists white, hetero-gay and colonial Americanization of the world.

For these groups, it is important to understand most of the phenomena seen as deviations are differences produced throughout inferiorization processes, in creation of otherness, justifying an unequal access to material resources of existence, to retrieve the terms of Quijano. Queer project is also a critical project heir of the feminist tradition and anticolonial that *aims to analyze and deconstruct historical and cultural processes that have led to the invention of white heterosexual body as the dominant fiction in the West* (Preciado, 2011:15).

A common source for queer and post-colonial theories are the subaltern studies since both propose researches on the historical experience of subaltern groups from a non-canonical reference in the search for visibility - not assimilation -, recognition of difference, the ability to speak truth to power or to *increase the myriad of stories permitted to tell the nation*, as said Homi Bhaba (1998:198). According to Paul B. Preciado (apud Miskolci, 2009:160)

Postcolonial and queer theories answers, in a sense, the impossibility of the subaltern individual articulate its own position within the analysis of the history of classical Marxism. The locus of political subjectivity construction seems to have been displaced from traditional categories the class, labor and sexual division to other transversal constellations as could be the body, sexuality, race, but also nationality, style or even the language.

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Regarding the constitution of subjects who can speak, it is crucial to mention the seminal work of Gayatri Spivak, *Can the Subaltern Speak* (1988). The idea of subaltern recovered by the author comes from Gramsci, which defines it as a category in the sidelines (borders) of power. For Spivak, Gramsci overemphasize the autonomy of the subaltern subject, describing it as essentialist and reduced to an undifferentiated monolithic set of individuals who, to the author, are heterogeneous in their own inferiority, recurring fluidly and contextually to identities and identifications in a form of strategic essentialism. Within this diversity of subjects and conditions, the subaltern is defined by one whose voice cannot be heard, they make up

the bottom layers of society constituted by specific modes of exclusion from markets, political-legal representation, and the possibility of full membership in dominant social strata (Spivak, 2010:14).

No subaltern representation act is legitimate if it is not imbricated in this process of agency and representation. Otherwise, it is the reproduction of power relations and oppression that silence the subaltern and not give them the space to speak that make the subaltern an object of knowledge behind an attempt to make it subject.

In the same direction, Sandy Stone (2006) in her essay *The Empire Strikes Back: the post-transsexual manifesto*, originally published in 1987, argues transsexuals have been used as arguments and examples of non-naturalized relationships between genitalia and gender identity in medical discourses, in feminist theories and in the foundations of homosexuality theories (see also Prosser, 2006: 257), however, as in the colonial discourse, there is a denial of their voice and their subjectivity, *the people who have no voice in this theorizing are the transsexuals Themselves*. (Stone, 2006: 230).

Stone proposes the idea of intertextuality to reflect the experience of a transsexual who can speak. This would imply a relationship between the discourses that build plausible stories - coming from devices that seek to normalize the transsexual deviant body - and the personal experiences bring out the transsexual subjectivity, which is much larger than the conflict body/gender enshrined in the academic and medical literature, *considering that most transsexuals choose reassignment in their third or fourth decade, this means erasing a considerable portion of their personal experience* (Stone, 2006:231).

Corroborating Stone, Chandra Mohanty (2005) develops the idea subaltern can speak - and it does - in fractures between several hegemonic discourses, producing new meanings.

Identities are processes, are performative and created at the intersections of power relations. Both postcolonial theory and queer theory understand borders as meeting places for discourses, practices and various contingencies, escaping the universalities where translation is the counterproposal of invisibility. Preciado (2011) tells us queer theory only exists as a translation, as a form of agency of the political subject. Similarly, António Sousa Ribeiro (2005) states *a post-colonial perspective of translation allows us to open spaces of knowledge and action that have been too long closed in exclusive dichotomies*. Again, we recall to the critical border thinking. The boundaries not as external domination, but as friction zones (Preciado, 2011:18), hybrid spaces of transversal identity production.

Queer theory and post-colonial studies, each one in its own way, create and recreate themselves from tension with dominant knowledge to build other intelligibilities from identities that were on the side lines, or at borders or below abyssal lines. As the non-European is the result of the race concept with which the West organized the world in human and sub-human categories, queer is the result of dimorphism that organize the world in normal and deviant bodies and subjectivities.

It is urgent to rethink the modern world-system as a crisscross of gender-race- capitalism, a detached force field from binary logic which is the milestone of modern Western ontology, founded in dualisms that always presupposes a hierarchy: man/woman, society/nature, heterosexual/homosexual.

These dialectical oppositions do not make clear the interstices of various oppressions made invisible in the binaries. This is why María Lugones speaks of a gender coloniality that is only visible when race and gender intersects, it is about this place that Joan Scott speaks of when she establishes the idea of phallic economy in contrast to studies that emphasize the behavior of sexual minorities, without contextualizing them within a normalizing production scheme that affects all bodies.

In these terms, perhaps the most radical meeting of queer with the postcolonial is the body: the body as a limit, the body that causes affections and is affected by identity, subjection, oppressions, differences, borders and translations.

The post colonial body is a central element of analysis in the extent it is metonymy and expression of social inscription of the difference, which represents a starting point for questioning the Eurocentric, logocentric and heterocentric condition, their invisibility engines and subordination of other world grammars.

At the same time, the queer body is the condition of meaning. As a limit, is the body that is racialized, who is male or female or neither, is the body that has sex, loves and negotiates its physical boundaries within the boundaries of their identity. The body is the place of identity, oppression and resistance.

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SOCIAL NAME: IDENTITY ASSURANCE AND DIGNITY

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SUMMARY

In Brazil there is, so far, no federal law that regulates and ensures citizens the use of the Social Name by transvestites and transsexuals. There is also no law that allows the change of the registered pre-name, in a simple, agile and easy way. Thus, many organs of government have tried to create stratagems for the Social Name to be recognized and incorporated into their routines aiming, therefore, to ensure respectability and permanence of these students in higher education institutions. This work is intended to discuss the concept of the Social Name and present some institutions in Brazil that have adopted this strategy as a way of recognizing the identity of a group of citizens historically marginalized by society.

KEYWORDS

Social Name; Transsexual; Transvestite; Identity; Recognized.

Introduction

Respect is something essential to the exercise of citizenship. Respect for others is undoubtedly a way to respect yourself. So to ensure respect and dignity to others, it is nothing more than to ensure their own freedom of choice, consent, of action and of existence itself.

Resolution 12 of January 16, 2015 the Secretariat for Human Rights of the Presidency of the Republic,

establishes parameters to guarantee the conditions of access and permanence of transvestites and transsexuals - and all those who have their gender identity not recognized in different social spaces – at the systems and educational institutions, formulating guidelines on the institutional recognition of gender identity and its operationalization. (BRAZIL, 2015, p. 01)

The use of the Social Name does not constitute in itself an aim but is a part of a strategy for the recognition of identity (in the gender dimension) of a social group historically marginalized. Recognition of the identity of transvestites and transgender people, among others, begins undoubtedly through the recognition of the name with which they recognize themselves but does not end there.

Recognition of this individual, indeed, demands to recognize gender identity in its full form, respecting it whenever the gender dimension is expressed in interpersonal relation-

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ships, as at the organization of collective space uses, at administrative procedures, at management, at curriculum and at pedagogical practices. (BRAZIL, 2015, p.01)

Therefore, ensuring that the right to those citizens not only guarantees that there is a fight against prejudice and discrimination that affects transvestites and transsexuals, but it also ensures gender identity in the school space. It ensures an affirmative public policy of equal rights of those individuals who often do not have the right to use even the school bathroom for not being accepted as they are.

Social Name

Every natural person with a personality has the right to have a name that appears on birth registration, in accordance with Article 16 of the Civil Code:

Art. 16. Everyone has the right to the name, it covers the given name and surname. (BRAZIL, 2002, s.p.)

Thus, it is possible to set the civil name as the one that contains the first name and last name, one that all individuals have the right to own. This civil name has two aspects: a private one, which is a person's right to have it and defend it, and the right to be recognized and called by that name; and a public aspect, which deals with the individual in his public life, that is about the necessity and the obligation to use his name when signing agreements and similar activities, as the name in this case is the identification of the subject.

Therefore, it can be concluded that the functions of a civil name is to identify and individualize a natural person. It should be noted that such individualization should be understood as to individualize the natural person within social groups the person attends or participates, such as family, school, thus reducing considerably the possibility of homonymity. (RODRIGUES, 2013 s.p.). The civil name until the middle of last century, was able to identify people with their respective genders.

Concerning the Social Name, the same author conceptualizes:

The Social Name can be defined as a civil name that did not adhere to the personality of the natural person, so it is the first name that is used publicly distinct from the legal name of the bearer. It is allowed for transsexuals and, in some cases, in school life, when, for example, a student does not want to be called by his/her legal name. Thereby the Social Name differs from the nickname, because if it were the same, in almost all acts of the life, it would be allowed to all individuals to be called by his nickname, with the highest distinction the lack of adherence of the civil name to the personality of the natural person - more accepted example: transsexuals in which the fact of being called by his civil name causes embarrassment and notoriously constant exposure to ridicule, as the civil name is not a natural person. Clearly the use of a different first name from the legal name in society weakens the civil name use for obligation, but in such cases gives precedence of personality and respect for those, for obvious reasons, who want to be called in a different way from their civil name.

Therefore, the use of the Social Name is a guarantee of respect for the person dignity since use it reflects how the person sees himself/herself, as he/she want be recognized and treated in social living environments.

The school, as a social space that it is, must face the Social Name as a legal necessity in compliance regarding the recognition and identification of the subject. With such needs, many universities have changed their academic records to meet this pressing need.

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Concerns about the sexualities, homosexualities and gender identities and expressions are also not new at school. However, in Brazil, only from the second half of the 1980s, they began to be discussed openly within different social spaces - including school and university (especially in postgraduate programs from which were constituted Studies and Research Centers about Gender and Studies Gays and Lesbians area) (BRAZIL 2007, p. 12).

According to the opinion No. 01 of January 16, 2015, in a conducted survey in the first half of 2014, 20 Federal Universities, 05 State Universities, 06 Federal Institutes of Science Education and Technology were identified that already normalized the recognition of the gender identity of transvestites and transsexuals. Other higher education institutions are currently under the standardization process of using the Social Name. The Education Department recognizes the right of transvestites and transsexuals to use the Social Name under his administration, since the publication of Decree No. 1612 of November 18, 2011 - this, in turn, was inspired by decree No. 233 of 18 May, 2010 of the Planning, Budget and Management Department. In basic education, from a total of 27 federative units, 16 have already been regulated by the councils and State Education Departments, implementing the Social Name in their school systems. In 2014, it is worth mentioning, for the first time, transvestites and transsexuals were allowed to use their Social Name in the National Secondary Education Examination (ENEM). This guideline has been therefore, at the expense of a lot of dialogue and reflection, taken into account by educational institutions in the country. There are already studies that show that the Social Name has been a strategy, for example, against truancy. (BRAZIL, 2015, p. 01)

The same paper reports the theoretical and inspiring support for the conception of Resolution No. 12 of January 16, 2015.

The construction process of their gender identity, transvestites and transsexuals people generally assume a Social Name, replacing, in their social relations, the civil name. The assumption of this Social Name is not mere superficiality, but on the contrary, is closely linked to the affirmation of their identity. When the institution or school system does not turn to these students by using the Social Name that reflects their gender identity, it denies him/her the recognition of his own identity, including helping to make him/her more vulnerable to violence and discrimination. To be daily challenged with a name that does not reflect the subjective construction of themselves is a humiliating and embarrassing experience with a clear emotional and motivational impact on these individuals. (BRAZIL, 2015, p. 02).

Therefore, the use of the Social Name in school, as well as a right, is very important to these individuals. Thus, it is not appropriate to the school community to judge people's character and personality by the biological sex or by the label designed to marginalize these citizen who also own basic rights such as free and good public education.

Operationalization

The opinion 01 of January 16, 2015, brings indications to the operationalization of recognition of gender identity, constructed from the listed parameters below and through researches and experiences accumulated over the dialogues promoted in meetings that approached the theme, based on: 1) the National Guidelines for Human Rights Education, which set as its foundations, among others, human dignity, equal rights; the recognition and appreciation of differences and diversities; the secularity state and education democracy; 2) the commitments of the Federal Government regarding the implementation of the “Brazil without Homophobia - Violence Combat and Discrimination Program against LGBT⁴ and the Homosexual Citizenship Promotion” (2004), the National Plan for Citizenship Promotion and LGBT Human rights (2009), the National Human Rights Program - PNDH3 (2009) and the National Plan of Policies for Women (2012); 3) the resolutions adopted by the National Conference of Basic Education - CONEB (2008), the 1st National Conference LGBT (2008), the National Conference on Education - CONAE (2010) and the 2nd National Conference on Public Policy and Human LGBT Rights (2011)

1. **Legal instrument and deliberative instance** - can be regulated by resolutions, decree or congeners. The important thing is that such legislation has a normative character and that the institutions and educational networks seek, within the deliberative system, the most appropriate instrument for such regulation.
2. **Addressee of the instruments governing the recognition of gender identity** - the guidance is that there is a self-identification, in which the subject asserts his/her own identity without taking into account medical, psychological or physical characteristics reports. The importance, then, is what the individual understands to be his- or herself.
3. **Legal Majority** - the request must and can be done for over 18 years, legal subjects, including regarding to personality and also to minors duly assisted by their legal representatives.
4. **Oral Treatment** - the use of the Social Name in interpersonal relationships is the first recognition instance. If the civil name registered in the identity document cause any constraints, everyday interpellation by a name that does not reflect the identity of the subject produces constant and permanent injuries. It is essential that educational institutions guarantee those citizens an oral treatment by the Social Name in any circumstances.
5. **Internal Identification Instruments use** - considering the name recognition aims, among others, reduce situations of embarrassment and harassment, it is important that this recognition is also reflected in all the internal tools for identifying, ensuring that the identity of gender is respected at all moments and spaces of academic life. This does not mean that there is a need to link Social Name to the civil name in instruments that do not constitute as official documents. Therefore, it is recommended to the networks and educational institutions to guarantee the exclusive use of the Social Name in internal tools for identifying, maintaining administrative records that makes the link between the Social Name and civil identification.
6. **Official Documents** - As there are still legal obstacles to the use of the Social Name in official documents, what is recommended, isto be used the civil name for the issuance of official documents, ensuring concurrently with equal or greater prominence, the reference to Social Name.

⁴ Lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT)

7. **Uniforms and other rules of dress** - when there is no uniform, it is common to follow rules on the use of dress elements and other objects. If there are distinctions in the use of uniforms and other clothing elements it is recommend that such rules are applied in accordance with the gender identity of the students.

8. **Use spaces segregated by gender** - if we recognize more than name recognition, but the identity gender recognition of students as well, it is necessary that this recognition is comprehensive, covering all aspects of theirs school and academic life, including access to areas segregated by gender according to their identity. Thus, it is stated that the spaces separated by gender are used according to each person's self-identified gender.

Thus, these are the guidelines that should be the used for the implementation and regulation of relevant rights issues for transvestites and transsexuals with regard to the use of the Social Name.

UFV Case - Universidade Federal de Viçosa

The *Universidade Federal de Viçosa* – UFV – was one of the pioneer universities concerning the regulation of the use of the Social Name. The rule is from June 4, 2013 and it is a Council Resolution of Research and Extension in that university, the highest decision-making organ in the didactic and scientific level, and has the scope “to regulate the use of Social Name by students, technical and administrative staff and teachers at UFV.”

Art. 1. It is guaranteed to transsexuals and transvestites people, the right to choose nominal treatment in records, documents and acts of academic life at the *Universidade Federal de Viçosa*. I - Social Name: first name by which the person is known in the community and their social integration, not contested in the civil registry. II - The use of the Social Name does not create the right to change the legal name. III – Will only be allowed to include the fist name, not being allowed the inclusion, exclusion or a change in the surname. IV - The insertion of Social Name in official documents issued does not imply the exclusion of the name - first name and surname - constant to civil registration.

Art. 2. The use of the Social Name must be requested by an interested person, by an application, with the Social Name to be used, delivered to the School Registration Board with a duly notarized signature. Sole Paragraph - In the case of children under eighteen, the inclusion of the Social Name requires parents' notarized signature, on the application itself.

Art. 3. The use of the Social Name will be regulated as follows: I - Social Name will appear at the student card, attendance list, transcripts of internal use, internal processes, e-mail address, internal documents used by the University with open view to the public. II - In the diplomas, certificates and official documents, must include the legal name. III - At the graduation ceremony, the degree will be granted, at the ceremony, using the registered name and must appear in the minutes of the Social Name followed by the civil name.

Art. 4. This Resolution shall take effect on the date of its publication.

By using four articles, the UFV ensures everyone the possibility of using the Social Name in academic and related records. Based on decrees and other regulations that deal with the subject, the CEPE 13/2013 UFV Resolution offers those who require the ability to have their

rights and dignity respected throughout the academic community. This measure ensures, among others, transvestites and transgender students are not discriminated and thus are not compelled to truancy.

In addition, this measure carries the indisputable necessity to respect the Constitution of the Republic of Brazil when it is about human dignity, about the educational offer of the issues of free and isonomic way.

Conclusion

In the search of legitimacy and effectiveness of educational rights for all, the Brazilian government has invested in the last years in public policies that have presupposed the expansion of access, permanence and learning to social groups that historically are excluded and marginalized from the educational system of the country.

This confrontation is the result of many fights, disagreements, dissonances and responses to inequalities arising from a society established under the effects of paradigms imposed by social prejudices. It is a process of democratization and leveling the differences which are daily submitted and are intended to reach these most vulnerable groups, including those people who, until then, always felt at the margins of society, discriminated by the option of being what they are.

Therefore, recognition of the individuals' gender identity is not simply set up in an administrative procedure by itself. It is a directive that is intended to guide educational inclusive activities that tend to create a more isonomic space for those who want to have a future ruled on equal terms, including those related to the use of space.

Therefore, as proposed in the opinion of 01 January 16, 2015 (Brazil, 2015, p. 06)

The affirmation of diversity and equality, together, have been the guiding principle of public policies in Brazil, especially in recent years. The professed to overcome hierarchies, discrimination and inequality brings invariably some tension, in that it affects privileges and hegemonomies in the material, political and symbolic. In this sense it is essential that the institutions and school systems keep the progress towards ensuring access and permanence in school all individuals, on equal terms, as recommended by our country's legislation.

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FOR A BRAZIL WITHOUT HOMOPHOBIA¹

Francisca de Paula de Oliveira²

ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper is to analyze processes by which power relations are established between the State and the Brazilian LGBT movement from 2004 to 2015. It seeks to understand a set of actions that resulted in the creation of a government program entitled “Brazil without Homophobia” (BSH). Thereunto, we present a brief history of the program in order to analyze its insertion in the public policy field. In the interpretation of these actions, designs of LGBT policies are on focus. The recognition was analyzed based primarily on the theoretical framework of Fraser (2001); and the public policy proportion was analyzed based on the theoretical and conceptual contribution of Frey (2000). The methodology included analysis of official documents, literature and free interviews with significant actors on the subject here focused.

KEYWORDS

LGBT Movement; recognition; public policy; Brazil without Homophobia.

Introduction

In this article we analyze a set of actions focusing on the process of building the demands for recognition of the Brazilian population of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender – LGBT rights, which culminated in the creation of a government program, entitled “Brazil without Homophobia” (BSH).

Initially, a brief historical background about the source of the referred program is exposed; then we investigate its inclusion in the Public Policy scope. The methodological approach was supported by bibliographic and documentary research as well as interviews with activists of the Brazilian LGBT movement.

The “Brazil without Homophobia” (BSH) program, created in 2004 within the Special Secretariat for Human Rights, during the first administration of the, at the time, President Luís Inácio Lula da Silva, has the basic premises:

- a) Deploy throughout the national territory Human Rights Reference Centers for the Fight against Homophobia;
- b) Finance Research Centers and promote LGBT citizenship;
- c) Enable groups and leaders in the subject of human rights for the fight against Homophobia.

This government program, in its set of propositions, enters the history of the LGBT population as a symbolic framework of public policy, despite the apparent instability in the con-

¹ Paper presented by the WG “Políticas públicas de gênero e agenciamento: da disciplina dos corpos à inclusão e às garantias de direitos”, at the Fifth International Congress on Cultural Studies: Gender, Human Rights and Activisms.

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solidation of LGBT citizens. However, while the “Brazil without Homophobia” was built from a public policy perspective, it is clear that, from a functional point of view, this program did not incorporate all of the relevant instruments to the primary idea.

Klaus Frey (2000) subsidizes this debate by providing a methodological theoretical apparatus about public policy, considering the context in which it was generated. For this purpose, the author points out contradictions inherent in public policies in Brazil to analyze their applicability. In this sense, he describes the constitutive mechanisms of the *policy cycle* while processing the formulation, implementation and evaluation of impacts.

The set of actions contemplated in BSH, although being in line with the dynamics of the *policy cycle* (Frey, 2000), differentiates between what “should be” - the process of formulating actions - and what is perceivably implemented. We can observe that the dimension of public policy considered here reflects various situations of political setbacks that hinder the full exercise of LGBT citizens.

In the following discussion, a brief consideration of Human Rights will be established, given that Brazilian managers attribute to such rights a sense of public policy. This idea was a key element in 1996, during the first version of the National Human Rights Plan (PNDH). However, the lack of reference regarding human rights of LGBT population was evident. With the second version of the National Human Rights Plan (PNDH II) in 2002, the inclusion of LGBT people is implicitly seen. However, among 518 proposed actions, only five contemplated such demand.

Another factor that precedes the creation of the “Brazil without Homophobia” refers to the consolidation of the Brazilian democracy in the 1980s. Throughout that decade, the Brazilian State proposed to ensure and protect the rights of all citizens. Thus, due to the possibility of the full exercise of citizenship, voices in favor of the recognition of the rights of LGBT people echoed in the Federal Congress. On this issue, it is worth noting the attempt to include in the Brazilian Constitution of 1988, terms such as “sexual orientation” and “gender identity” (CARRARA, 2001, p. 134), which was foiled.

Meanwhile, from the conventional point of view, the realization of dialogue between the LGBT movement and the Brazilian government was given by the installation of Councils through which priorities were signed to compose the government agenda. But only in December 2010 the “National Council to Combat Discrimination and Promotion of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (CNCD/LGBT) – Decree n. 7.388” (Portuguese: *Conselho Nacional de Combate à Discriminação e Promoção dos Direitos de Lésbicas, Gays, Bissexuais, Travestis e Transexuais* - CNCD/LGBT) was created, which ensured that population a political participation.

Analysis of the “Brazil without Homophobia” program in view of the Recognition theory

The “Brazil without Homophobia” program, besides emerging as a public policy proposal, also constitutes the basis for recognition of the rights of LGBT people. This analysis focuses on the notion of Recognition and seeks to clarify how such public policy interconnects the social recognition of LGBT individuals.

The term **Recognition**, whose meaning attaches positive value to the subject, was coined in the philosophical scope by authors such as Axel Honneth and Nancy Fraser. In

Fraser's interpretation (2001), the concept of recognition turns out to be relevant when she questions the attribution of meanings to differences.

The dynamic of recognition, in Fraser's version, refers to "Participatory Parity". In this perspective, this term is especially associated with the pragmatism of this author, as she brings the gender issues that emerge in the contemporary scene.

In the discussion and analysis of this dynamic, Fraser summarizes the recognition policies. This suggests an interpretation, above all, since the term takes on a critical dimension in the contemporary world in which the proliferation of differences claims the right to be different.

Then, thinking about the mainstreaming of exposed policy, emphasis is placed on the process that culminates in the political recognition of the LGBT movement. Another way to understand this mainstream would be the multiple dimensions of the marked actions in the "Brazil without Homophobia", because it is clear that this program condenses a bundle of actions without a monitoring and financing structure.

Still in this bias, this government program provides a set of actions that tangent, peripherally, public policies. Its scope covers precariously within the policy itself. Also, it did not overcome the performance of focus in the context of homophobia, only one of the numerous problems faced by the LGBT population.

In this context, the BSH worked as a monitoring political tool of LGBT requests. Therefore, its importance is due to the insertion of these requests in the government agenda, as well as scheduling and guiding such requests, up to now barely visible to the State. It is understood, therefore, that this program promoted the political recognition of the LGBT movement on a governmental level.

From the moment that the Lula government pledged to combat violence and discrimination against the self-declared LGBT social actors, this political attitude change initiated a great excitement inside and outside the national LGBT movement. That is, Lula, by emphasizing the BSH recognition of LGBT identities in the governmental level, impacted several sectors of the Brazilian society.

Analysis of the contradictions inherent to the BSH formulation process

In the LGBT activism field, differences in interpretation of the BSH prevail. If for some activists this program means a regulatory event for LGBT public policy, for others this program not only intimidates the movement's actions in question, but also limited them.

It is worth mentioning that Julian Rodrigues³ recognizes that the creation of the BSH accepted the citizen participation of LGBT people. According to this activist, the construction of this government program represented a political alliance between the LGBT population and the Workers' Party (Portuguese: *Partido dos Trabalhadores*, PT) government. Based on these considerations regarding BSH, we can observe a distinct way to enter the political participation spaces and ensure the rights that were denied to LGBT individuals. In this aspect, Julian Rodrigues says:

³ Julian Rodrigues is an activist in the CORSA group, of the Aliança Paulista LGBT and ABGLT.

The major milestone was the Brazil without Homophobia Program, because it opened the channels of participation and opened doors in ministries. The problem is that BSH was not institutionalized by decree, ordinance, etc. It was not included in the Multi-Annual Plan (Plano Plurianual - PPA) nor explicit in budget actions. The program followed because of the managers' goodwill and a lot of political harmony with the LGBT movement, especially the ABGLT. The first Conference, however, had ANOTHER construction process. Another heavy-weight player entered the scenario - the sectoral LGBT of PT. In 2006, I organized the preparation (as the Sectoral Coordinator) of Lula's LGBT program (Building a Brazil without Homophobia). (Julian Rodrigues, interview granted by email, on Dec 11, 2012).

Analyzing the contradictions that have been identified throughout the BSH formulation process, two aspects are particularly relevant. In first place, the contradictory position of the LGBT movement with the government. In second place, to make room for negotiation, the government brings to the center of discussion the conflict of interest. However, power relations are permeated with preconception, which triggers new conflicts.

In this sense, as indicated by the activist Lula Ramires⁴, the BSH does not have the law *status*. Because of this, it cannot be seen as the regulatory event of public policies claimed by the LGBT movement. Put in another way, this activist argues:

In my very modest opinion, I do not see a regulatory event in Brazil without Homophobia nor in the first Conference (considering that this program created the National Plan to Combat Homophobia two years later), because they constitute, in fact, letters of intent and have no legal force that can compel the Executive Power to act firmly in that direction. It is therefore the criterion of "sensitivity" of the duty manager to follow up the actions indicated (or "deliberated") or not. Like you say, it is a pact or an alliance, if you like, but still very fragile. In my view, it is directly related to the enormous resistance that we still face in the Legislature, especially in conservative and religious stands (fundamentalists), both Catholic and evangelical. (Lula Ramires, interview granted on November 5th, 2012).

Justo Favaretto⁵, activist of the LGBT movement, believes that the union of the movement's leaders with the Lula government damaged and weakened the claims of the LGBT population. Although he considers legitimate the movement and government approach, the activist said that the proposals of the LGBT public policy "actually remained on paper" with the aggravating factor that there is a widespread impression that much has been solved, which would influence on the overall levels of the movement's mobilization. In his evaluation of the results regarding this approach, he considers the following:

The draft law No. 122 in these eight years of Lula's government, was going "back and forth", and he did not say a word in favor. But, as he was more sympathetic to the cause, he attended to the first LGBT Conference, raised our flag, which is positively emblematic, so is

⁴ Lula Ramires is an activist in the CORSA group, social name: Luiz Ramires Neto; Graduate in Philosophy, Masters and PhD student in Education from the University of São Paulo. He is currently the Policy, Activism and Community Coordinator of the CORSA group.

⁵ "[...] I am First Secretary of the non-governmental organization "Primavera de Sertãozinho" (São Paulo's inland city), I am a member of the sexual diversity commission of OAB (Brazilian Bar Association) subsection of "Sertãozinho", but my greatest work is individual, independent, I'm better this way" (Interview granted Dec 30th 2012 via Facebook).

emblematic the President Dilma's actions, but negatively. (Justo Favaretto, interview granted on Dec 30th 2012, via Facebook).

When asked about the results generated by the BSH, Favaretto was pessimistic:

What results? Homophobic murders increased in an upwards scale, we are world champions in this matter! There is no practical result; we are expelled from school because of homophobic bullying. Transvestites are thrown into marginality due to this as well. Many young people are kicked out of home! And all to keep us quiet by whitewashing the situation without practical effect. (Justo Favaretto, interview granted on Dec 30th 2012, via Facebook).

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“Whitewashing the situation without practical effect” is the summarized perception of this activist regarding the relationship between the LGBT movement and the Lula government, above all, concerning this governmental program which proposed to combat violence and discrimination against this population. However, considered or not as regulatory event, it is important to clarify that the BSH was a result of an effective articulation between the government and the LGBT movement. The consequences of these articulations culminated in the campaign support of this movement towards the, at the time, Presidential candidate, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva.

Thus, a campaign commitment was settled, in which Lula agreed to promote the National Conferences on gender and alternative sexual identities themes. In this context, the political role of the LGBT movement was fundamental in the awareness of the Brazilian government's recognition regarding LGBT citizens. Julian Rodrigues said this process:

Was the candidate's public commitment to some important goals, including the holding of the First LGBT Conference. Thus, from the second half of 2007, I opened a dialogue while LGBT sector with the then Minister, Paulo Vannuchi. Workers' Party members dialogued and discussed how to move forward in implementing the program and agreed in the campaign. Paulo's performance was fundamental, an ally, and a great minister, sensitive and competent. After this initial dialogue with the sector, we called the ABGLT, ANTRA and other entities to discuss about the construction of the Conference. That is, there was a PARTY MEDIATION before a direct dialogue with the social movement. And everything worked fairly well because most of the movement's leaders were affiliated or sympathizers of the Workers' Party (PT) and / or allied to the base parties. Thus, by leaps and bounds, we managed the historic National Conference in June 2008, with the presence of Lula. (Julian Rodrigues, interview granted by email, on Dec 11th 2012).

Later, having located the advances and limitations of the BSH in all of their actions, which address the construction of the government agenda, what remains is to describe how to set the relationship of the LGBT movement with managers of public policies. In general, as Ivair Augusto Alves dos Santos⁶ points out, the process that triggered the construction of BSH involved 14 ministries that have committed to add proposals. Trading strategies that required the role of other public policy agents can be understood according to the report of Santos:

⁶ One of the public managers who served as the Special Advisor of the Special Secretariat for Human Rights and as the Executive Secretary of the National Council for Combating Discrimination.

I started talking to each ministry and obtained the support of 14. Each of them put on paper what they could and intended to perform, and the program was the sum of the proposals of each ministry. Some proposals were far too short considering what was needed - but that was not important at the moment. Establish a political and government proposal on the issue was important, as well as expanding beyond health and human rights, involving other areas. This joint work led to the first government document regarding this issue. (Ivair Augusto Alves dos Santos, interview granted to the Dignidade Group. In: Dignidade Group, 2008 p. 79).

Also, according to Ivair Santos, they were very important in the creation and development of BSH, as well as the experiences of entities that make up the national LGBT movement. It is in these terms that this manager refers to the role played by these entities as the following:

The *Dignidade Group* had the negotiation experience. Another aspect was: the government knows nothing about the LGBT theme. And in this sense the *Dignidade Group* was fundamental: they conciliated competence in their approach and in their way of speaking with the government so that they could accomplish what mattered to both sides, with great objectivity. (Ivair Augusto Alves dos Santos, interview granted to the Dignidade Group. In: Dignidade Group, 2008 p. 79).

Admired by the solid base on which the political arrangements that shaped the BSH are operated, Ivair Santos argues:

I have not seen any movement with *advocacy*⁷ action as they had with this specific movement. They managed resources for a government program. These amendments were able to implement substantial changes so politics would happen. And the Dignidade Group was ahead. I was surprised with the quickness. They did what no one else did. With the quality in which it was done, was impressive. (Ivair Augusto Alves dos Santos, interview granted to the Dignidade Group. In: Dignidade Group, 2008 p. 79).

Considerations about the challenges on thinking LGBT public policy

Considering the current⁸ political scenario, in which the lethargy of legislative⁹ and executive¹⁰ powers are visible, the LGBT movement seeks to overcome the setback of negoti-

⁷ ADVOCACY: "To argue in defense of a cause or someone" (The Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English: London, Oxford University Press, 1970, cited by Grupo Dignidade, 2008, p. 69).

⁸ The 2015 edition of the "Estado dos Direitos Humanos no Mundo", released on February 14 of 2015 homophobic manifestations of fundamentalist nature, resulted by political and religious pressure against the public. The report cites statistics compiled by the NGO *Gay Group of Bahia* (Portuguese: Grupo Gay da Bahia), of which 312 people were killed in homophobic or transphobic hate crimes in Brazil in 2013.

⁹ Note that the first homophobic manifestations in Congress were led by two deputies: Marcos Feliciano and Jair Bolsonaro. Mr. Bolsonaro, in order to prove the denial of LGBT human rights, called for religion to come to the defense of "gay torture." He supports the idea of punishing, with physical violence, the child who identifies himself as gay. Along the same line, the deputy Fernando Chiarelli comes out in defense of "drubbing" children that are gay.

¹⁰ Under pressure by the homophobic current present in the legislature, President Dilma Rousseff, on May 25, 2011, vetoes the material to combat homophobia produced by MEC, named Kit Anti-Homofobia (Anti-Homophobia Kit). It is noteworthy that the contents of the kit was evaluated and approved by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

ations signed during Lula's administration. Unequal power relations, in this perspective, emerge as another challenge that has the potential to shake the bases of this social movement. However, the movement's articulation with the judiciary¹¹ provides a broader understanding of Brazil's Constitution of 1988. This allows a greater coverage of human rights, to the extent that the Supreme Federal Court of Brazil (STF) recognizes the Stable Union between gay couples and ensures, constitutionality, the adoption by these couples.

Returning to the articulations prior to the origin of BSH, Lula's administration created the National Council for Combating Discrimination. This brought together representatives of the LGBT community and representatives of the public administration. This participatory management model is concomitantly a structured political field that aims to the construction of the Brazil without Homophobia Program. This government program aimed to act on different fronts, both related to combating violence as well as the promotion of human rights in various areas such as health, education, labor, culture, youth and women matters¹².

Therefore, the flexibility characteristic is what distinguishes the first of the second Lula administration. During the second term, the participation of entities that make up the LGBT movement in various power struggles was notorious. In the dynamics of building alliances between this social movement and the government, Lula was a pioneer regarding the participation of the LGBT population as a priority in the government agenda.

However, the recent process of participation of citizens in the current administration of President Dilma is paradoxical, since new forms of social representation are revealed as a permanent expression of diversity and contradiction. In other words, as seen, the entry of LGBT individuals in privileged areas of political disputes has found resistance from social groups and sectors of policy. These, in turn, hindered the opening of plural spaces for political participation.

In this sense, ideological justifications strongly founded on homophobic manifestations bring difficulties to the actions of combating homophobia. The permanence of LGBT individuals in the political participation is ensured by Brazil's Constitution of 1988. Nevertheless, it is clear that the *sexual orientation* term was not included in the Constitution as one of the forms of discrimination of differences.

The understanding that we have is that this fact provides the necessary conditions to configure prejudices. Thus, due to a homophobic dynamic, prejudice against LGBT people is engendered in the public policy space; it articulates and reproduces homophobic discourses that are widespread in social environments. Yet, even facing resistance from Brazil's Federal Legislature to approve anti-homophobic laws, the movement can advance the Health Policy field, answering the LGBT requests.

¹¹ Retrieved from: <http://redir.stf.jus.br/paginadorpub/paginador.jsp?docTP=AC&docID=628635> (Accessed September 30, 2015).

¹² This Program, through the Special Secretariat for Human Rights of the Presidency of the Republic, was launched in 2004. In the same year, the Ministry of Health published an ordinance, calling upon technical committees to discuss issues related to the needs of minority groups excluded from the health public policy, such as the LGBT population. So, in August of 2004, the Comitê Técnico de Saúde LGBT (LGBT Health Technical Committee) is institutionalized, through Ordinance No. 2227, which established a commitment to: 1) systematize proposals considering LGBT health public policy; 2) promote health public policies for this population; 3) incorporate subsidies for the social movements and research in the development of these policies; and 4) take part in actions aimed at LGBT health.

Sequentially, in 2007, the Integrated Plan to Combat the Feminization of the Aids Epidemic and Other STDs was launched. This plan aimed to attend the lesbian and bisexual contingent. In the same year, with the completion of the National Seminar of the LGBT Population Health (Portuguese: *Seminário Nacional de Saúde da População LGBT*), the need to develop health policies to cover the entire contingent of the LGBT population was discussed, since the Action Plan (established in 2004-2007) did not benefit this population.

That said, when it comes to establishing an overview of the challenges faced by this social movement, we highlight the actions of the Judiciary, which, unlike the Legislature, comes out in the defense of civil and social rights of people who self-declare themselves homosexuals. Thus, the Judiciary returned to the LGBT population the right to build a life in common, in addition to other benefits. Several jurisprudences aimed at the recognition of homosexual couples having the right to adopt children, were also brought forth.

The current representative of the Federal Executive Power promised, during the election campaign, to continue combating homophobic actions. In his government, the main approach measures regarding this theme were given by the creation of the National LGBT Council (Portuguese: *Conselho Nacional LGBT*) and the holding of the Second Conference. The strengthening of this Council expresses a social mobilization, which defines the relation between the differences, taking into account the sexual orientation.

Finally, the merits of the BSH Program are due to the visibility promotion of LGBT identities and due to the battles in favor of the recognition of these rights, giving visibility to heteronormative contradictions. BSH also led and supported the creation and maintenance, throughout the entire national territory, of the Human Rights Reference Centers for the Fight against Homophobia.

However, multiple challenges set to this social segment are intrinsic to themselves, with contradictions and paradoxes. Only the joint efforts and the mobilization of governmental and non-governmental organizations can overcome the challenges, by making the social politics effectively listen to the LGBT population.

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THE BUILDING OF HEAVEN BY DEMONS: FAITH, SEXUALITY, CAPTURE AND RESISTANCE IN THE RELIGIOUS LANDSCAPE OF INCLUSIVE CHRISTIAN CHURCHES¹

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ABSTRACT

This study has as its central theme the faith-inspired agonistic trend in the context of sexuality, as seen in the current situation of Inclusive Christian Churches. The general objective was to question, initially, the experiences of Inclusive Christian Churches in the context of regulatory settings related to sex, since the Bible is a moral code historically marked by patriarchal reasoning of a heteronormative and Western nature. In compiling data, it was discussed the difficulties found over the union of Christian practices grounded in the Bible and contesting fluid experiences, especially in the Queer perspective. Although we consider the movements of Inclusive Christian Churches as revolutionary and fundamental, we find it is necessary to continue discussing the experiences that are engendered inside them, so we can go on building liberating faith paths and not new bonds.

KEYWORDS

Faith; Sexuality; Capture; Resistance; Inclusive Christian Churches.

Introduction

It has not always been so, but what we see is that sexuality has increasingly been drawing attention from scholars from various fields, with diverse approaches and interests. No one can escape the many looks that are launched on sexuality and, consequently, on bodies, practices and subjectivities. Anthropological, medical, sociological, psychological, religious (Alves, 2009) looks are common. Powerful looks that in a game of power-knowledge (Foucault, 1972) move gears that, contrary to popular belief, do not discover the hidden sexuality and understands its essence, but produces it, controls it through mechanisms already naturalized with the help of Christian morals and the supposed modern modesty that requires

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that you hide the “shame”, in fact a schizophrenic movement, since it refuses everything that everyone does, including public defenders of this so-called morality (Foucault, 2011).

Therefore, considering the breakthrough phenomenon, always in a growing fashion, and the spreading of the ideals of Inclusive Churches, including their quest in the face of the traditional heteronormative culture (therefore, arbitrary), and believing as Foucault (2010a) did that power generates resistance and this resistance can be caught by a new apparatus of power, leads us to weave questions that aim to supposedly guide the investigative process of this proposal such as: How do Inclusive Churches, considering themselves Christian, break with the “compulsory heterosexuality” established by traditional churches through the notion of sin? How do Inclusive Churches build ideas of norm, if they do? That kind of morality is present or is produced in the context of Inclusive Churches? What family-related settings and representations such as marriage are found within Inclusive Churches?

From these inquiries we elected as a general objective to question the religious experiences of Inclusive Christian Churches in the face of the heteronormative religious culture and, as specific objectives, to identify how the Inclusive Church, intending to become Christian, break with the “compulsory heterosexuality” established by traditional churches, and renew the notion of sin; to verify how Inclusive Churches build normative ideas, if they do; to map morality issues that are present or produced in the context of Inclusive Churches; to determine what settings and family-related representations, including marriage, are found in the Inclusive Churches.

In this research proposal, some theoretical paths are key to guiding the required approaches and the questioning of the field, as the concept of heteronormativity, constituted under Louro (2009, 2004), Pocahy (2012) and Pocahy & Nardi (2007), an arbitrary political system set on determining normative conducts on ways to perform gender and experience sexuality, considering as its foundation the heterosexual drive (in its supposed evidence of character, that is, that everyone is born heterosexual, and related social privileges, given its fashion of something natural and indisputable - from the line of intelligibility amalgamated in body / sex-gender - sexuality / pleasure / desire).

Theoretical and Methodological Settings of the Investigation

We would like to reaffirm that we understand methodology as a way to go, one by which to do research, which will always materialize from a theory to which it is attached, related to its way of shaping the world and the research itself (Meyer & Paradise, 2012). That is why it is important to note that in this work we try to mingle with forms of socio-cultural regulations arising from approaches on gender and sexuality, having as a reference the theoretical and methodological elements of Foucault’s perspectives found in Cultural Studies, Feminist Studies and Queer Studies, which are posted on the border of an epistemological area, in a kind of intersection between postmodernism and post-structuralism (Prysthon, 2003).

This work falls within the qualitative perspective, in a constant process of creation of its own methodological way that does not claim to be rigidly defined. In addition, the researcher’s position in a qualitative research is based on a vision of science which is “relational, heterogeneous, established, political, ideological, non-dogmatic, untied to universal truths, not deterministic, critical, ideographic, therefore, essentially interpretative” (Roratto, 2010,

p. 176), allowing a close relationship with the paradigm developed here that explores the possibilities of innovation in its style of data collection and analysis.

At first we present here a theoretical discussion that seeks to tackle initial hurdles over the seemingly dissonant issues found in the experiences of Inclusive Christian Churches. Hence, we understand this work as descriptive and exploratory. It is descriptive in the extent that it searches “to describe the characteristics of a given population or phenomenon”, (Gil, 1999, p. 45), and exploratory since it is aimed at providing an approximate overview of a certain fact, (id, Ibid).

Initial challenges appeared after our exploration of websites from some churches, more precisely five: New Hope Christian Community, Metropolitan Christian Church, Contemporary Christian Church, Good Shepherd Evangelical Church and New Life Inclusive Church.

In this work we present an analysis of problems related to our concern arising from the exploration of website contents involving these churches, especially in matters dealing with moral rules and experiences measured according to their perception of sin.

Results

Sexuality / Sex and Religion, and the Judeo-Christian religion in particular, never seem to have been “friends” and that significantly influenced the history of mankind, at least in regard o the two thousand years of the Christian calendar. Traditionally sex is connected (although not officially) to the sin of Adam (Bible of Jerusalem, 2002); sex was a subject that religion seldom considered as a positive asset. While it is legitimate among living beings, in human culture it earned an air of rationality and administration, and religion contributed significantly to this through morality and the theology of sexuality that regulates sex and ties it to the reproduction of the species (Catechism of the Catholic Church, 1998. As Stefanuto argues (2013), “the human being is called to the grace of love in bodily and spiritual unity. Femininity and masculinity are complementary gifts, so that human sexuality is an integral part of the concrete capacity for love which God has inscribed in man and woman⁷, so every sexual experience that does not have the purpose of reproduction cannot be understood as correct.

Reflecting from Pochay and Dornelles (2010), we see that modern institutions, highlighting especially the churches, are supportive and maintain devices that encourage heterosexual models. To understand that is significantly relevant in order to support the discussions in this study.

It is, therefore, in this context that heteronormativity was/is constructed and/or fortified as the man - woman pair is accepted to be the only and legitimate choice to experience sexuality, so much so that Stefanuto (2013) says that “when love is experienced in marriage, it includes and surpasses friendship and blossoms between man and woman, given in full, respectively according to masculinity and femininity ...”⁸

The concept of heteronormativity is worked by Butler (Prins, B. & Meijer, I. C., 2002), according to her reflection on how western society was legitimizing gender rules from a “heterosexual matrix” as Butler herself puts it. This heterosexual matrix is marked by a binary

⁷ No page reference.

⁸ No page reference.

model of opposing values, male-female/masculine-feminine, and these dichotomies are mutually attracted like a magnets, crude legitimization of desire as always being heterosexual.

By legitimizing and imposing a “compulsory heterosexuality”, the various apparatus of modernity, and here we emphasize religious gears, put homosexual practices in an abjection condition in such a way that, for centuries, they were associated with nouns such as devil, evil, the beast...

Moreover, the Christian practices eventually elected as a true value the Agape-like love, whose assumption is that one must love beyond material concerns, and exclude any practice of an Eros-kind love, which refers to desire attached to erotic practices. Not to mention that bio-psychological sciences and other health-related disciplines that, as stated by Meyer (2012):

Constitute a privileged discursive field in the process of epistemic meaning of the body, gender, sexuality, human reproduction and parenting, as well as substantive processes of discipline and control that launch these bodies into the everyday life of modern Western cultures (p. 53).

It is within this complex and multifaceted scenario that we see emerge experiences and heterosexist practices that refer to practices and discourses seeking to affirm and legitimize heterosexuality as a superior and legitimate experience in face of other sexual practices, such as homo, bi or transgender (Van de Ven , 1996).

In its historical relationship with hetero/sexist practices, Western religions acted and act rebuilding a heteronormative life style that suffocates bodies and subjectivities by gender norms, where the belt of this collar is one of the effects resulting from repression of sexuality as Foucault (2011) puts it:

(...) it is a name that can be given to a historical device: not related to an underground reality that is learned with difficulty, but the great surface network in which stimulation of bodies, intensification of pleasures, incitement to discourse, formation of knowledge and reinforcement of controls and resistances, interweave according to some major strategies of knowledge and power (p.116-117).

As my thoughts⁹ swarmed with these issues, I kept thinking of my childhood catechetical teachings, especially when I came across a message from an Inclusive Christian Church, while sailing (or wandering) through the Internet. As they were called because they did not exclude gays and lesbians or other people due to color criterion (Nativity, 2008), being a fairly recent phenomenon in Brazil, as Weiss (2013) observes:

This draws the attention to the compatibility of non-heterosexual behavior and Christianity (mainly evangelical). From the early 2000s on one sees the proliferation of various denominations in Brazil, and the two major centers with the highest number of churches are Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo. (Weiss of Jesus, 2013, p.1)

⁹ I Write here in the first person to mark influences I had of this heteronormative culture which eventually help to direct my gaze. I feel that this is what justifies my research concerns.

Weiss of Jesus (2013) notes that the term Inclusive Church appeared as a “very controversial term, for it may designate churches in general when the idea is to make compatible non-heterosexual sexuality and Christian religiosity; since said churches are not discriminatory to LGBT” (p. 2).

412 | And it is precisely this attempt to unite Christian and non-heterosexual behavior that draws more attention to the study perspectives glimpsed by us, since the union between the Christian faith and homosexuality, for example, brings to the surface dogmatic and theological problems arising from the moral and sexual theology that was established and widespread. Inclusion churches, in our view, need, therefore, more than the name - inclusive: They need to break with tradition over sexuality that overtook us after years of dissemination.

Some studies have already been proposed in this direction, such as the one developed by Musskopf (2003), which advances a theological twist by announcing a Gay Theology or Inclusive Theology, although both appear so different.

Some Brazilian scholars have already been poring over this phenomenon and have even foreseen problems, including possible norms that arise from this movement of resistance related to Inclusive Churches. Among these findings we highlight Musskopf's (2004), who in his master's work, developed a didactic, historical and systematic study on the ministerial ordination of homosexuals, and Natividade's (2004) who discussed through a literature review about homosexuals' careers and Pentecostalism.

Four years later Natividade (2008) defended her thesis with the Graduate Program in Sociology and Anthropology at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ), evaluating the dispute over the meaning of homosexuality among evangelicals in Brazil. And more recently Rodrigues (2009) developed psychological studies about inclusive churches, based on the perspective of their pastors.

All these pioneering studies point to the revolution that was and is to propose a new form of religious life, where sexuality is not a problem, but is welcomed as something of God. However, in the game of power and resistance, it is necessary that we stay alert to movements that seek to capture the resistance, as well as to identify where resistance suffers cracks, although we cannot escape the recaptures, since it is in this sinuous game that we find ourselves.

In our initial research, we were surprised with the churches' sites churches, which were loaded with determined moral rules, which, although they are among advanced religious developments according to Western sexuality, still seemed too marked by heteronormative logic. Currently Inclusive Christian Churches, or at least part of them (since we could not evaluate all the sites and some do not list links to related actual rules), establish conditions as stable union of two years in order to accept marriage, and do not consider, for example, the possibility of conjugal experiences between three or more people.

Undeniably there are still rules dating back to traditional practices of marital and sexual practices that aim at adjusting the experiences of members to biblical requirements.

Discussions

In the face of historical, cultural and religious contingencies that determined that naturalized way to see men and women and their sexuality, it is interesting to examine this sup-

posed evidence and naturalness, especially when one sees this as a production, as stated by Louro (2008):

Construction of gender and sexuality takes place through numerous learning processes and practices, insinuating itself in very diverse situations; it is carried out explicitly or covertly by an endless series of social and cultural configurations. It is a painstaking process, subtle, always unfinished. Family, school, church, legal and medical institutions remain, of course, as important instances in this constitutive process (P. 18).

And the articulations that we intend to mount here are directly connected to the idea that both gender and sexuality are concepts constructed (Louro, 2012) by pedagogies of gender and sexuality, which refer to a variety of educational work carried out by several instances of society such as churches, media and schools (Louro, 2010).

These new discursive articulations over gender and sexuality and, consequently, over forms of general social regulation are and were strikingly felt, and certainly produced effects as a resistance effort against a natural way to see/realize/make one man or woman perceive sexuality.

So, we start from the “principle” that discursive articulations over sexuality are configured as restricting molds so much so as ongoing gender and sexual pedagogies seen in modern society proved immensely creative in their regulation technologies of bodies and lives of human subjects, marking out the ways to experience pleasure and sexuality (Louro, 2007, p. 204) by attracting, managing, capturing, in many different forms, the subjects and their experiences (Foucault, 2010b).

Evaluations of feminist and queer issues (Louro, 2004) on gender and sexuality play an important role here in the displacement of those representations, and it is from some of the assumptions and suspicions that those epistemological postures produce that we affirm (or not) our investigative look.

Final Considerations

Our evaluation of this study is that what is proposed here is not necessarily true, since we did not start it from universals, but from early probing investigations of the field. However, we could not help but notice the great challenge of re-territorializing the Christian religious matrix in order to meet its inclusive claims. Although we find in Jesus an inclusive posture, Christianity as a culture rooted in history, and the biblical configuration itself proposed through the apostles, engendered certain realities that still mark out and shape experiences, especially sexual ones, and this is clearly shown by the rules of Inclusive Christian Churches, since they do not yet fully consider the possibility of moving freely to promote their own cause.

At this time, we reaffirm our desire to continue approaching this fascinating and necessary universe, where we also find the Inclusive Christian Churches, but paying close attention to heteronormative and standard-setting speeches that can permeate the sexual practices of their members, as well as to resistances that arise in this context.

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MAPPING GENDER LEARNING INFLECTIONS DURING TEACHER TRAINING¹

Leandro Veloso Silva²

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ABSTRACT

This work reports some of the steps covered by a Master thesis that problematized the possibilities for changes in the educational processes for teacher training in the Lato Sensu Specialization Course in Gender and Diversity in School (GDE), in the Distance Education (EAD) modality. This study used, methodologically, document analysis to identify knowledge produced and registered in pedagogical situations and in the GDE course, and questioned the empirical material, considering the post-structuralist studies, cultural studies and Foucault's conceptual tools for speech analysis which referred to "learning inflections", allowing us to observe and point out that the teaching-learning process made by the GDE course allowed identification of learning times and redirecting of "learning on gender", producing "new knowledge".

KEYWORDS

Teaching; learning; inflection; public policy; teacher training.

To begin with...

This text seeks to report some of the steps of a qualitative research by a Master thesis in Education, which proposed to recognize, verify and deepen teaching-learning processes through Distance Education (EAD) course with continued teacher training, in the Lato Sensu Course of Specialization in Gender and Diversity in School (GDE), offered by the Department of Education (DED) of the Federal University of Lavras (UFLA).

The GDE is the result of a set of public policies offered by the Brazilian government that include gender and diversity – the result of major social movements and actions arising from the federal government, which came to power in 2003. In this same year there was the creation of the Special Secretariat of Policies for Women (SPM) and in 2004, the creation of the Department of Continuing Education, Literacy and Diversity (Secad).

In 2006, the SPM started the Program for Gender and Diversity in School, a pilot project, at distance modality, for public school teachers to guide them in how to deal with diversity in the classroom, combat prejudiced attitudes and behaviors regarding gender, race/ ethnicity and different sexual orientations.

Subsequently, the Ministry of Education – MEC³ established the Education Network for Diversity, with actions to be implemented by public institutions of higher education. From the Edict number 6/2009, the institutions proposed to offer extension, training or special-

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³ By means of Secad, in partnership with the Department of Distance Education (Seed) and the Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Level Personnel (Capes).

ization courses, through distance learning, on the theme of education for diversity, through the System of the Open University of Brazil (UAB). In this context, the Federal University of Lavras approved the Post-Graduate Lato Sensu course entitled “Gender and Diversity in School – GDE”, which was offered by two Education Network courses for Diversity: a basic course - Education for Diversity - and a specific course - **Gender and Diversity in School**⁴.

Thus all this work was carried out to establish a space to reflect and recognize what we call “learning inflections” - an internal movement of change - translated into (re)cognition and transformation of knowledge. Through research, we sought to identify and discuss moments of gender learning inflections in teacher training in the GDE.

The focus and interest of this study was due to my active participation in the construction of the GDE process and because of my role as a distance education teacher, being part of a group of collective teaching and/or multi teaching, a concept that Mill (2010, p. 25) proposed us to think, when considering teaching that characterizes the Distance Learning (EAD), as a “unit formed by the work of a professional team.”

Perceptions gave rise to curiosities and questioning related to the teaching-learning processes that took place in the EAD, such as: Is learning effective through distance education? Did the GDE course enable significant learning? Is it possible to (re)learn about gender? And what about diversity? What moments and course situations can be identified as inflection learning in gender? Can learning be (re)directed and (re)built? Is it possible to identify this (re)targeting?

These questions were in the checks and experiences because when I participated in dialogues with some course participants and analyzed their work, I could realize that there was learning, so it was possible to identify the paths and to map the trajectories of such learning, pointing out their lines, their designs and identifying signs of change and (re)knowledge of learning.

Therefore, the study was based on verification of documents generated during the course, that is, an analysis of written records, that were considered prime material for analysis and interpretation, enabling to map and identify “speeches - set of statements” which referred to “learning inflections” of/from participants. According to Foucault (1986, p. 135) “we will call ‘speech’ a set of statements that support the same discursive formation”. Thus, the objective in this writing was to recognize that there was significant, experiential and reflective learning, resulting in the construction of “new knowledge”.

Contextualizing learning inflections

Educational activities offered in the GDE course allowed learning by quite complex mental processes. Some of these processes began in the educational environment provided by the GDE course, and they were taken up in future times clippings, through the intense experience in disciplines’ processes that intentionally enabled to experience and reflect on some

⁴ The GDE has the purpose of promoting debates on education as a fundamental right that must be guaranteed to all, without any discrimination, promoting citizenship, equal rights and respect for socio-cultural, ethnic-racial, age and generational, gender and affective-sexual orientation diversity. Its political, social and educational objective is to develop the capacity of teachers from the elementary school [...] in order to understand and position themselves on the political, economic and socio-cultural changes that require recognition and respect for socio-cultural diversity from Brazilians and from people worldwide. (BARRETO; ARAÚJO; PEREIRA, 2009, p.263).

facts related to locked discussions, leading us to establish relations among these facts, the lived reality and the knowledge that each student already brought with them.

Thus, many reflections of learning could not be verified during the learning process, but may have occurred in moments of reflection about what the students were learning and experiencing, meaning that at a certain time the person came to understand an idea, or a certain concept, or the relation among the facts. Thus, when someone recognized that he/she learned something, a “new knowledge”, during a pedagogical action, which is not simply the ability to represent or repeat what was exposed. It is the result not only of that experienced pedagogical action, but a composition of the pedagogical action with so many other events and past memories in an internal transformation movement and (re)construction of the way of thinking, the way of knowing.

Thus, we can characterize such moments using and re-creating the concept of “inflection point” that, here we know or recognize and identify as something larger, arising out of statements produced by the teacher-participant in response to what they were encouraged to reflect and learn, moments that we have identified and mapped as ‘learning inflections’.

An inflection point and/or inflection is equivalent to an inner movement that allows to changes to be noticed. It is a concept used in different manners to designate that, at some point, there were movements and changes. Thus, we can sustain our thoughts, according to the concept of the inflection point that proposes us to think. Machado (2011), the author who seeks in the works and thoughts of Gilles Deleuze subsidies to recreate and propose a new perception for this concept, as an idea of what is to come or that ‘becomes’ the ‘becoming’:

Preliminarily it is understood as an inflection point, any (virtual) curve space where it is impossible to determine the trend of the movement. Contrary to the extreme, maximum or minimum points, the inflection point does not refer to coordinates: it is not at the top or at the bottom, or right or left, or in regression or in progression [...] inflection is the pure event at a line or point, the virtual, the ideal par excellence. The inflection point is the (non) place, that according to coordinate axes, as becoming, it is not in the world: it is before the world, its beginning, the place of appearance, non-dimensional point, point between dimensions. An event that would be event waiting (MACHADO, 2011, p. 2).

Still, according to the author, this definition of inflection refers to the scope of Deleuze’s thoughts, which always sought to combine the concepts that, even metaphysical, do not try to fix or determine, but rather forward and derive.

These are times of changes, “pure event” or “events waiting for events”, sense of meaning, (re)direction and consequently transformation of ideas and thoughts, we seek to know and/or recognize within proposals and speeches experienced in the GDE, referring thus to a possible new understanding of the concept of “inflection point” that we dare derive in “learning inflections”.

Understanding the GDE course learning processes...

Before going through the identifications and the GDE course, one must first understand how learning took place in the Distance Learning, a space - heterotopic - that was building possibilities, (de)constructing and (re)constructing the learning process and then trying to map and point these events.

On “other spaces”, we are already encouraged to reflect on Foucault (1967), when he stated that the present, or in his words “the present time, would perhaps preferably be the time of space” from other spaces, or “another space”. The prospects of these thoughts allow us to understand and consider the EAD as a “heterotopic space” of learning, i.e, another space to learn. Michel Foucault called the invention of other areas as heterotopic, because, according to him:

We are at the time of the simultaneous, we are at the time of juxtaposition, the near and the far, side by side, the time of the dispersed. We are at a time when the world experiences itself [...] less as a major route that would develop over time than as a network that reconnects points and intersects its plot (Foucault, 2009, p. 411).

Foucault’s position that the way we know the space today, how we aim it in our theories, in our subjects, is not an innovation, because the space has its own time and its own history. One cannot ignore the vital interweaving of time and space. Thus, EAD emerged as another area of education in the educational setting, a heterotopic space or heterotopic space for learning, by juxtaposing distance learning and in the teaching-learning process, proposing new hierarchy of possibilities in Education itself.

Learning, according to Deleuze (2009), is the movement that covers the gap between the not knowing and the knowing, in which the importance of the process dissolves the result. To him, learning is going by one’s-self in paths that lead to problem solving.

Learning is the name that befits the subjective acts operated in light of the problem’s objectivity (Idea), whereas knowledge designates only the generality of the concept or the calm possession of a solution rule [...] Learning is to penetrate the universal of relations, which constitute the Idea and the singularities that correspond to them. [...] This combination determines to us a threshold of consciousness at the level of which our real acts adjust our perceptions of the real relations of the object, providing then, a solution of the problem (Deleuze, 1998 apud El Khouri, 2009 , p. 3).

The learnings, in the GDE Course, occurred from a rhizomatic perspective, referring always to the multiplicity of forms of knowledge that interact with each other within historical and cultural contexts, to the emergence of the subject’s thought, so the learning put into practice the “questioning” and “thinking about” exercise.

As such, in this process of learning, we identified in the written records of the knowledge exchange - in speeches and transcripts as set out text corpus, learning moments where one’s (re)learning influenced the learning of another person. The teaching process adapted itself and complied with the conditions and the reality of those students that learned, taking into account all the socio-historical context of the individual who teaches and also learns receptive to always learn.

The invitation is [was] to destabilize the certainties that are rooted in binarisms: right and wrong, can and cannot, normal and abnormal; to deconstruct ways of teaching/learning and making up methodological possibilities. (RIBEIRO & SOUZA 2008, p.24)

From these ideas, this research proposed to lean on a *documentary analysis*, a method for qualitative analysis of empirical material in order to go beyond the described, a method that

can be divided into two stages: document collection and analysis (Flores, 1994). Such analysis sought the various operating possibilities of what was expressed and verbalized in statements that composed the discourse and discursive practices and the GDE, from their knowledge.

420 | Understanding the spoken or written words, present in the studied documents as a source of our data can be seen as small fragments of text and/or textual excerpts. We sought to understand the discourse, specifically the set of “statements”, following Foucault’s steps, articulated to “navigate” through ideas anchored in post-structuralism and cultural studies, that contrast and challenge traditional ideas that engender the understanding of what is established as fact(s). Truth is an invention, a creation (PARAÍSO, 2012), there is no “truth”, but there are the “regimes of truth”, ie, “discourses” that society accepts and therefore such discourses act as true (FOUCAULT, 2000).

In the speech analysis proposed, under the concept of “critical discourse analysis” or Foucault’s analysis, it was essential that we had in mind that knowledge would be tied to the “power relations” and its versions of “truth”, and that these relations were built by the subject in its historical plot. This leads us to reflect Araújo (2007), when analyzing the genealogically discursive formation, seeking a form of history that takes into account the constitution of knowledge, discourses of objects domain [as Foucault writes] urging us to walk to the “story” built, taking into account its indispensable dual role in the discourse analysis: the events in the knowledge order, and what should be taken into account [the story that recreates the context that our study subjects live in] - teachers in their continuing teaching training and the truths they have learned to believe.

The speech is not a close contact surface, or confrontation, between a reality and a language, the intricacy between words and experiences; I would like to show, through specific examples that, when analyzing the speeches themselves, we see the unravelling of seemingly strong links between words and things, and standing out a set of rules, its own discursive practice. (...) No longer treating discourses as a set of signs (significant elements referring to contents or representations) but as practices that systematically form the objects that they talk about. Certainly the speeches are made of signs; but what they do is more than using these signs to designate things. It is this more that makes them irreducible to the language and the speech act. It is this “more” that it takes to appear and it is necessary to describe (Foucault, 1986, p. 56).

The searches were therefore based on the history that built the knowledge of each subject, as well as in the material produced and in the results of the relations among knowledge, power and truth, and how it scaled from knowledge and new knowledge, intending to not only find the source of truth or simply the absolute foundation of knowledge.

Thus, the speech goes beyond a simple reference to “things”, it exists beyond the mere use of letters, words, sentences and prepositions. “It has an order, it is subject to rules of common runs at a given time” (FERNANDES, 2007, p. 33), it can be normative and regulatory, putting in place mechanisms of organizing reality through the knowledge and the practices it produces. According to Fischer (2001, p. 200), the speech “cannot be understood only as a phenomenon of mere expression of something, because it has intrinsic regularities itself, in which is possible to define a conceptual network of its own”.

In this movement of questioning reality, its power relations and the knowledge produced, it became necessary to characterize the speech as a practice of spoken and written production, as a practice of creation and meaning of the subject itself and its modes of subjectivity (PARAÍSO, 2012), understanding that these practices constituted it and mediated its relations - our subjects: teachers in continuing education - subjects that feel, think, live, experience, reflect, express and speak.

Realizing that there were possibilities of transformation of statements built during the GDE course in EAD - recorded in documents and texts where we can point out and map events of learning inflections - we sought to analyze these discursive practices. Intending not the proclamation of the “discovery” of the truth about the experienced reality (NOGUEIRA, 2001), but the “questioning” of what was said and thought about a particular topic (FOUCAULT, 2006), to portray the discursive practices, offering a version that is inevitably partial, since there will always be new possibilities to (re)interpret them.

Mapping gender learning inflections

Our paths now meet the identifications of what we call as “learning inflections”, i.e, mapping and showing the trajectory of the participants’ learning in the GDE course.

In order to do this, as suggested by Fischer (2002, p. 50), one must be aware of the minutiae, “pan texts, images, things said, visibilities (techniques and procedures generated institutionally), accepting the precariousness of those sayings and at the same time, multiplying them relationally and arranging them in temporary units “of meaning; it is not only seeking a source for certain discourse, much less intended to identify those who produce, on the contrary, “it is analyzing why is it said, in that way, at any given time and context, asking about the speech’s “conditions of existence” (SALES, 2012, p.125).

Thus, the discourse analysis aims to “determine what is the position that can occupy every individual to be its subject” (Foucault, 1986, p. 108), this position is contingent, historical, located in time and space, variable, flexible, plastic, permeable, multiple, never fixed, innate, finished, prior and surely determined, single, universal or transcendent (Foucault, 1986).

Thus the “Gender” studied in the course aimed to awaken in the teacher-participant opportunities to meet, identify and discuss the themes and concepts of “gender”, about their meanings in and to society, knowing masculinity and femininity and possible social relations between “gender”- results of interactions that are established between a man and a woman, considering all its implications and historical buildings.

After reading comprehension and analysis of the collected and documented empirical data on the discipline, we observed what the teacher-participant thought, understood and conceptualized as gender, as well as the features built into the formation of these concepts that mostly expressed differentiation of their individuals, restricting them, from a common sense, as the biological difference or their social male or female “models”, seen and accepted as truth.

[...]Gender distinguishes people in the biological dimension of sex ... It is the difference between the sexes, based on anatomy that distinguishes each body... (initial statement – teacher-participant₁ GDE, 2012)

[...]Gender, and sexuality, are grounded on socio-historical basis of distinctions based on biological sex ... refers to the social construction of anatomical sex, and was created to distin-

guish the biological dimension, basing that in humans there are males and females ... (initial statement – teacher-participant 2 GDE, 2012)

[...]When it comes to gender, what comes to mind is male and female, a situation that defines a person as man or as woman... (initial statement – teacher-participant 3 GDE, 2012)

422 | Such speeches expressed that in the previous teacher-participant's historical and cultural point of view, the concept of gender was closely related and restricted and intertwined these two specific situations: the biological sex of each individual, and the differences between male and female - to be a man or a woman.

All the participants agreed that gender can socially define men and women and its masculinity and femininity built in cultural relations, and they were not able to initially express the existence of various masculinity and femininity and all its complexity that constitute the social individual. Generally, these course participants used the concept of gender only to distinguish and describe the man and woman/male and female categories and the relations perceived in their surroundings, as the historically predetermined stereotypes that exists in society.

Therefore, recognizing and studying the concept of gender through the Discipline (GE), reaching its various meanings and definitions was - and is, essential to broaden the understanding of the term that is used to distinguish biological and social dimensions, meaning that men and women are products of social reality and not the anatomy of their sexed bodies.

Gender is understood as a way of referring to “cultural constructions”, the entirely social creation of appropriate roles for men and women [...] gender is, according to this definition, a social category imposed on a sexed body (SCOTT, 1995, p. 75).

Sexed body, made up by the culture, “there isn't a body that is not [since forever] been said and constructed by culture” (LOURO, 2004, p.81), by the story that constitute the individual. Butler (2003) draws our attention to reflections on “sex” and “gender” because, although sex seems to be intractable in biological terms, always defined by the anatomy of the body, gender is culturally constructed without fixity, thus it doesn't make sense to interpret gender as a cultural construction of sex. So we can understand that it is not the biological sex that determines the construction of various forms of male and female, man and woman.

From new insights and (re)construction of gender conceptions, possible by the experienced problematization during the course (GE), we observed conceptual changes that have materialized in the positioning of the teachers-participants through changes in their statements that they appropriated and used to verbalize new thoughts and insights when facing the issues involving gender relations, allowing us to see the emergence of new ideas and changes in learning.

[...]I realize now that men and women are products of a social reality and not the anatomy of their bodies. While biological sex differences are natural and immutable, gender is established by social conventions, it varies according time and cultural patterns ... (gender learning inflections – Teacher-participant 1 GDE, 2012)

[...]Gender is a social, historical and cultural construction; the biological difference is just the starting point for this social construction, subtending what being a man or a woman, from the size of the social relations of female and male... (gender learning inflections –

Teacher-participant 2 GDE, 2012)

[...]...Talking about gender, or better, speaking of gender relations is to talk about the characteristics attributed to each gender by society and culture. Thus, the notion of gender points, therefore, to the extent of social and cultural relations of the female and male, as we can see that there are changes in the cultural definition of what is a man or woman throughout life... (gender learning inflections – Teacher-participant 3 GDE, 2012)

These changes - learning inflections - were mapped and assembled into units of meaning that put together correlated or similar perceptions, which allowed us to identify the implicit and explicit ideas on the (re)construction of the concepts in the statements from the GDE's course participants. When mapping the text *corpus* - statements that make up the discourse and discursive practices - we noticed that there were significant changes in learning, which allowed the learning about the gender concept, producing "new knowledge" that address the social, historical and cultural dimension in the conceptual change movement.

(Re)building these concepts and ideas - from the contact with the theoretical framework and discipline content and (re)constructions enabled by problematization in each subject - allowed the GDE's students to produce statements that (re)dimensioned their vision and understanding of meaning, directing such understandings to possible understandings set out in the learning process. The statements presented suggest and point that there were significant changes in/of way these course participants think and position themselves about gender concepts in social and cultural dimension.

Considerations that do not end...

This was a work that sought to enter the teaching and learning processes in the GDE course, with the enthusiasm to critically analyze the individual - teacher - in another space, heterotopic, of learning, where the set of statements of discourse and discursive practices (re)dimensioned every new experience and living, where signs, meanings, and (re)meanings were possible and, at times, became identifiable.

There was no other intention, except mapping the occurrence of learning inflections in the teacher training process, and pointing out that such inflections lead to changes, (re)actions and expression of a new attitude and subjection condition of these teachers that (re)constituted as discursive practice, in a movement of (re)building their own historical process.

Perhaps, still, there are long ways to go, many routes and possible paths to tread, in order to the gender learning inflections become known as learning movements. But here by now, it is signaled the possibility of changes in learning.

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LESBIANS, BISEXUALS, CISGENDER, PROFESSORS: NOTES ABOUT SCHOOL DAILY ROUTINE

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ABSTRACT

This paper presents dialogues between researcher-activists of gender matters and sexuality with lesbian and bisexual teachers of the public education system of Vitória in the state of Espírito Santo in Brazil regarding themes related to sexual diversity at school. It presents reports of cisgender teachers about their difficulty in dealing with sexual diversity at school. This paper reports the impressions of teachers about this theme focusing on the implications of belonging to certain sexual groups and categories of gender and how it affects their teaching performance. It also shows that the school environment is permeated with prejudice where lesbian-homo-trans-and bisexual phobias are part of heteronormative discourses that oblige lesbian and bisexual teachers to hide their sexual orientation as a sort of protection and strategy to gain professional respect.

KEYWORDS

Sexual diversity, lesbian visibility, sexual education, school routine, lesbian phobia.

This research will treat a group of different people, different in many aspects, but with at least two common aspects between them: they are all women and teachers. Some of them work with children, others with adolescents and others with young adults. Some of them live in Espírito Santo's capital, Vitória. Others live and work in the countryside of the state in different cities. Some of them claim themselves as lesbians or bisexuals, while others claim themselves as heterosexual still, and another one who does not feel like she belongs in the LGBT⁴ letters. They are women who talk about themselves, their work field, the students they have to deal with almost every day, the situations in the school that intimidate or encourage them, the situations that make them think, that urge them to study, that boost them to live non-normative sexual expressions, that make them infer and interfere. This paper gathers fragments of stories of professionals that were collected in the last decade and that allow a reflection and other questions,

[...] about dimensions of heteronormativity present in daily school routines that impregnates the curriculum, create power nets, control and surveillance, that promotes the frontier of hetero(normality), produces classifications, tiering, privileges, stigmatization, marginalization, that compromises the right to quality education and involve the exercise of a mutilated citizenship (Junqueira, 2014, p.100)

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The hereby presented have occurred on different occasions, some of them being established dialogues in informal circles, in conversation circles promoted by social movements and also in formation courses about gender and sexuality, in which we act as trainers.

Our route is marked by personal interest in the gender and sexuality theme and by the professional involvement as professors and psychologists; we also belong to the homosexual and cisgender category, which we do not adopt as a political statement any longer.

426 | To register the sexual identities of teachers as well as ours, as authors, make us restless from what we understand about the fluidity of these identity markers, in line with what Tomás Tadeu da Silva (2000), Guacira Louro (2010) Stuart Hall (1999), Fernando Pocahy (2013) and many others think, that understanding that identity affirmations are part of a questionable political orchestration. We realized the need to refer to them to make us understand. Therefore, we will use the expressions lesbians, bisexual, transsexual and cisgender in this text.

We spoke with teachers to get to know what they bring in terms of findings, omissions, conflicts and leanings about sexual diversity.

Sapa⁵ teachers, some stories

We call *sapa* teachers, lesbian and bisexual women, with whom we talked to in Vitoria, in circles of conversations we promoted for the social movements between 2008 and 2012. These dialogues about Sexual Diversity at the School were open to all the education professionals and, in some of them there was a huge attendance of lesbian and bisexual teachers that we've known.

We use the expression “sapa”, a term reinterpreted by Brazilian’s lesbian and bisexual activists, and it is a reduction of the expression ‘sapatão’, frequently used in Brazil to stigmatize women that relates affectively and sexually with other women. The expression lesbian to most of the teachers we talked to, sounds uncomfortable.

We noticed clearly this uncomfortableness every time that we used this expression. Some of them verbalized how awful the word sound for them, and other women in the group encouraged them to reinforce it. This makes us consider the use of the expression lesbian

[...] it seems to be a “privilege” of feminist homosexuals that, when they recognize one another, tend to emphasize the political aspect of the homosexual option: the denial, in practice, is related to the power status established by heterosexuality, where man dominates woman (Luis Octavio Rodrigues, AQUINO, 1995, p.34).

We take the chance of the concept of use to bring the point of view of a lesbian activist about this subject, rescued from a relic text: copy of Boletim Chanacomchana⁶, 1982:

The word lesbian is derivate from Lesbos, an island in Greece where lived one of the greatest woman poets of the antiquity, Safo, whose work has survived to time and the repression of Christian misogyny, though fragmentary, but symbolized and still symbolizes not only the love between women, but also mainly the revolt against male oppression that always gave women

⁵ Sapa: A correspondent of this expression in English could be Butch, but Sapa has a lighter connotation.

⁶ The document does not record the activist's name nor pagination.

the role of slaves and merely reproducing apparatus. Safo immortalized love between women through shiny poems that trespassed, widely, the preparation of objectives for marriage proposed by the feminine circles where they taught art to women in her time. From her courage and her love to women, on the island of Lesbos, came this word so damned that the patriarchal system constantly tries to misrepresent. For us, therefore, to self-denominate as lesbian is not only a form of affirmation of our specific sexuality, but much more than that, it means a refusal policy stance of the submissive and dependent role attributed to women and a proposal for disobedience and autonomy in the search new ways of seeing the world.

Continuing, then, talking about these teachers. In the perspective of a first encounter with only lesbian and bisexual teachers in the year of 2012, we counted with ten women and we managed to talk with nine of them to present the proposal of a dialogue that consisted in getting to know their impressions about sexual education. We were interested to know: do these teachers treat questions about sexuality openly? Do they face prejudice? How do they react face to lesbo/bi/homo/trans phobia in case they face it?

We talked to nine of them individually to invite them, five of them denied immediately after the first approach. In their justification, they claimed that they do not like the subject, that they have difficulty to talk about it and that they fear the risk of visibility, that is, that their identities were declared even *accidentally*, to cite one of them. Of the five teachers that denied, three of them work as physical educators, one is pedagogue and one teaches Portuguese. They all had, at least, three years of experience in municipal schools in Vitoria and all of them are teachers of the permanent board of Educational Secretary. We considered relevant this information, once one of the reasons presented by some lesbian women to keep their orientation in secrecy is related to the fear of being fired from their jobs. As all were employed of the municipal net, the fear of losing their jobs did not apply to group.⁷

One of the teacher that denied was, at the time, a school principal whom we will name Ana⁸, but did not declared openly that she refused to participate to the dialogue, but in other words she said it during a conversation. She revealed that she did not like this subject nor did she agree with the acts of the LGBT social movements. In her words:

“People involved in the LGBT movement lose track of things, not respect anyone, they want to go out kissing in the street, making a scene. For me this is ridiculous.”

I understand that Ana refused to participate in the dialogue in this first contact, we anticipated it and we asked if she had experienced some prejudice situation at school because of her sexual orientation. Ana said no, she had never gone through any situation like this, except when she applied as principal of that school.

“There was an opposing candidate who played foully, talking to people, students and parents of the students a lot of bullshit.”

⁷ To work at the municipal schools in Brazil, one must pass a test of the government and once they are approved they have a indefinite position, which provides security and a certain stability.

⁸ Fictitious name

We asked her what did she considered to be “bullshit” and she answered that it was insinuations about her sexual orientation as a resource of the opponent to promote an positive evaluation of her own candidacy among the students and their relatives.

It caught our attention that at the same time she said she had never suffered prejudice, she also revealed an alarming situation where the opposing candidate used her lesbian sexual orientation to cast doubt on her professional competence. Furthermore, Ana had never been presented as a lesbian at school, as she reported. Distrust on her sexual orientation, we suppose, part from her masculine appearance.

Guilherme Almeida (2005) affirms, about this theme, that lesbian women with masculine appearances have more difficulty to establish themselves as subject of law and worthy of respect and admiration in comparison to the more feminine lesbians. In the social imaginary it is even common sense that it “might be gay or lesbian, but need not to be affected or butch” phrase commonly expressed when it comes to what Alexander Nortolini (2008, p.13) calls “conditional acceptance”. In other words, acceptance is even possible, provided they forego gender stereotypes that do not correspond to what is expected for a woman. In this sense, teacher Ana at least esthetically, seemed to bother the eyes and the conceptions of *what is to be a woman* of the opposing candidate, accused of being a lesbian and therefore less able to exercise the school’s principal function. At the time, Ana was in her second year as director at the same school.

We saw the refusal to join the conversation circle with concern. The fear of being discovered, shame, denial of lesbianism / bisexuality, the masks used to hide sexual orientation (use of female accessories, fake stories about boyfriends or a fiancé), in short, the everyday stress due to fear of discover their secret greatly affect the mental health of lesbian women⁹.

We conduct the dialogue, then with four teachers, who are named as follows: Sol (physical education), Mel (history), Purpurina (Portuguese) and Flor (pedagogue). Here the teachers, by themselves, starting with the Sol:

“I’m gay, white, Christian, and I work with children’s education. I never spoke openly that I am gay, but people are suspicious and there is gossiping in the school. That bothers me a lot. It’s happened twice in different schools, the principals call me to ask me if I *was*, saying that there was much gossip with my name. I have never denied. In both cases I said yes, I *was*.”

Sol continues her presentation talking a little about the everyday routine in preschools of Vitória:

“When there is any subject about sexuality, the teachers immediately tell the children to shut up, telling them that this is not child’s issue. I don’t. I let it go naturally and I talk, I explain, I encourage the children to think. This also helps my fame, I know, but I do not let go unnoticed anything that seems prejudice, any prejudice. I think this also helps them to think something of me.”

Louro (2010, p.138) about this subject, comments that “if a person speaks, in a sympathetic way about gays and lesbians, they become suspected of being gay,” and that feeling

⁹ On this, see: FACCHINI, Regina; BARBOSA, Regina Maria. Dossier saúde das mulheres lésbicas: promoção da equidade na integralidade, da Rede Feminista de Saúde. Belo Horizonte: Autêntica, 2006.

of fear of exposure can result in inhibition to discuss the subject in school. Teacher Sol said that she does not bother with it.

Let's see what teacher Mel says about her:

"I'm history teacher. I declare myself as white, non-practicing Catholic. I find it funny that, this story of non-practicing Catholic, but that's how I want to introduce myself. I have my faith in some saints. I do not fit into any of these little letters that boxes people. I do not want to be boxed into anything. What I know is that I like to relate to men and women it depends on who I meet, how I feel with the person. I hate patterns"

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Mel reports that she did not like to touch the issue of sexuality in school directly, but she talks about it within the perspectives of the discipline she teaches. This is the way for her to speak of respect for diversity.

When asked if she witnessed any prejudice situation on sexual orientation in their school, she revealed:

"We had a teacher there who had a very quick passage. The teacher even had a very good training, master degree ... Portuguese teacher. He was a homosexual teacher, gay, in a very gay way, with all the stereotype, characteristics, traits, right? And I remember that the students thus ended with him ... like every gay teacher suffers it. Students ridiculed him. I think he was not even a week. It reached a point, he left, and he ran out of the school and left, just left. Did not stay. Dropped. "I won't stay in this place!" He shouted. He left agenda, left everything, he went away and then I had mutual friends with him. They said he was traumatized. He said: "I never want to teach children again, I'll never again set foot in that place, I never want to go through that again." [...] He came out of that danger situation ... what every teacher goes through, what is to a gay teacher to begin to teach ... because the boys they are mean with them."

Mel continues the story saying that no one at school again broached the subject. She discussed the topic in a class of seventh grade, but the school, as a whole, "did not give importance that the fact demanded," in her words. "The teacher was a weak he could not stand the heavy bar that is the school," it was what she heard from some colleagues at work.

This silence about the fact revealed in the words of Louro (2010), the invisibility of gay people, the clear intention of eliminating them from the school environment. In this reasoning, Deborah Britzman (1996, p.80) alert to the myth that arises from the silencing discussed here: discuss the issue of homosexuality at school can encourage homosexual practices and identifications among students. The school, when it omits to discuss this issue, despite the serious situation occurred with the teacher, it indicates a political position "do not know" to "protect" that denounces Britzman.

From silence to silence, let's hear what says Purpurina about herself:

"I am Portuguese language teacher, I work in elementary education and Youth and Adult Education (EJA)¹⁰. I am currently director of the school. I am a white woman with straightened hair. Religion? I like Kardecism. As for my sexual orientation, I think, so far I have not figured out if I am lesbian or bi, yeah, I'm still trying. And I do not think I have to also set no. I think

¹⁰ Acronym used in Brazilian Portuguese.

we're at a time when we have to make choices: is he nice guy? Okay. The girl is cool? Ok. I do not have to say anything, to set anything. For some, it is easier - like this: I just want woman, I just want boy - and others are on the fence. I was always a person on the fence about it."

We asked the teacher if she discusses issues related to sexuality in school especially when there are egregious cases of prejudice, she said:

"I think, by the fact that I was lesbian/bi¹¹ it catches me a little, because then the person will say: she's defending because she's part of it."

Also in this issue, Purpurina comments on a schoolteacher discussing issues related to sexuality openly in any space, even in the staff room. She reports that, once this teacher caught the attention of colleagues about the treatment they were giving a guy called gay by the group. The teacher spoke with property that was a lack of respect for what happened there, and that all should be more responsible that matter. Purpurina reports the episode with a lot of admiration for the courage of the teacher in addressing the issue in this way, while justified:

"This teacher is married, attends church regularly, which I do not, she has a little daughter. [...] I found it very beautiful. I recognized myself in her speech, not with the same competence."

The declared heterosexual matrix of the teacher in question, in this case, is the protection of any suspicion of sexual deviation that could denounce her: married (to a man), goes to church, has a daughter. Prerogatives of *normality* above any suspicion and that allow the approach to the theme of sexuality without risk, without raising doubts about her morals.¹²

Let's get to know teacher Flor:

I am 45 years old, light brown color; I am an educator and teacher with experience of early childhood education to higher education. Currently working with early childhood education. I do not have religion. I believe in life, the universe, the positive thinking, but religion, no. Regarding to sexual orientation, I am considered a homosexual person, but I do not identify myself as bisexual.

Teacher Flor coincides with other teachers interviewed when asked about lesbian or bisexual visibility: they do not openly take their lesbianism or bisexuality in public. So whenever she goes out with her girlfriend, both behave like friends. At work, she never takes her to the year-end parties nor boasts couple of photographs on desks, personal wallets or cell phone. However, concealment of lesbianism does not always guarantee the tranquility in school, since any *suspicious attitude* like to be seen with a butch kind of friend or even use clothing that are not considered as feminine enough, can cause bullying, as revealed teacher Sol, paragraphs ago.

"But there is also has something else, right? I also sought to leverage my feminine side, my woman side. Just because there is a stereotype that a lesbian woman is very masculine,

¹¹ In Portuguese she used the expression "entendida" this expression was widely used in the 1980s and 1990s to refer to lesbian and bisexual women. Still used by some people.

¹² We suggest visiting the page of Dr. Leticia Lanz, who reports many privileges that cisgender people enjoy when compared to transgender people: <<http://www.leticialanz.org/cisgenero/>>.

right? So this was a side of me that I worked hard, worked very much to be feminine, and it may also be a way to hide the other side too, because when people see an extremely feminine woman it does not go through their heads that there is another sexual expression being experienced there, right?”

Also intimidated by a school principal who invited her to talk about the suspicion of their sexual life, Flor says:

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“Look, I had a personal experience as well as a kindergarten teacher. While a kindergarten teacher I was victim of a very large bias of a school in the city of Vitória. A school full of professionals with extremely Christian¹³ characteristics, right ... this time I had met my partner, and she was going to pick me up at school. Usually in the late afternoon, it was not every day, but once in a while she would pick me up.

So I was called in the principal’s office and she said to me that I had to be very careful with my attitudes in the school because the teachers were making comments about me, many unpleasant comments, even in the staff room. And then my position that day was ... I asked her if she had a complaint to make about my work as a professional in that school. She said no, that I was a great professional, very competent, I belonged to the school board and I was a reference in the school.

Then I asked her, which was the day I arrived late at school? She said none. What was the day I was absent and I did not warn you, I did not communicate to school? There is also no record of it. I told her, then, look, what concerns my private life only matters to me. In what moment did I have any attitude that would discredit my character here at school, to put people in difficulty? She said never. And I said, and what was the day that the person to whom you refer (I said it was my companion right?) Entered the school? Again, never.

I said then, look, you go and give the message to those teachers who are making comments that if this keeps happening, I will file a lawsuit against the school, against your administration and against these teachers. Because there is nothing in my conduct that could discredit my image. Now, my personal life belongs to me and I do not admit anyone to meddle.”

Sol, Mel Purpurina and Flor, with their fantasy names, are flesh and bone teachers, working in public schools in the city of Vitória, they did not know each other before the dialogue and they revealed very similar stories about issues of sexuality, fundamentally about hiding their sexual identities as a resource to ensure some peace at work. This omission often results in a failure to act against egregious situations of prejudice and discrimination by non-normative sexual orientation, or the mere suspicion of non-heterosexuality teacher or student.

All, in their own way, reveal that they excel in their professional lives. The words of Sol show clearly this kind of moral armor.

“Because I know that as a professional, a physical education teacher, I excel. [...]. So I give my best all the time, I am an excellent teacher. No one can say bad things about my professional competence.”

¹³ On the subject, we suggest reading: NATIVIDADE, Marcelo; OLIVEIRA, 2009.

The painstaking commitment to educational tasks, thus functions as a resource to compensate for “moral failure” of lesbianism (Marina Castañeda, 2007). On this, Paula Ribeiro (2009, P.2004) argues that: “a teacher who, among many other features, is a lesbian, run the risk of being seen, first of all (or only) as ‘lesbian teacher’ - and who knows therefore less professional [...]”.

432 | The following talks were experienced at different times in training on sexual diversity promoted by Municipal Education Departments of cities in the state of Espírito Santos between 2008 and 2012. The majority of the teachers claimed to be heterosexual and they were situated in cisgender category. There will not be here a detailed description on each one of them, neither the use of fictitious names to represent them. The approach aims to be more widespread but the reflections no less profound than before.

By talking with these teachers, which is the posture we perceive as they face the issues related to sexuality at school. Let us listen to these women.

Cisgender teachers and other stories

Rodrigo

“The girl arrived at school and just said: “My name is Rodrigo¹⁴ I want to be called that Put that my name is Rodrigo on the agenda, teacher. That’s how I want to be called...” Frankly, I was helpless, but I wrote down the name. In pencil, but I wrote it.”

To continue this conversation, we present here three other teachers who work in different regions of the state of Espírito Santo in kindergarten, primary and secondary school.

The passage that opens this section comes from a high school teacher. She described Rodrigo as “a girl who turned into boy” in her words. She said she knows him since he was a child because they live in the same small city in the south of Espírito Santo state, with most of German and Italian descents. Rodrigo is a white boy. Thus she describes him:

“A girl or a boy, who knows, my God! Well, we know her since her childhood, and she always had a boyish manner. Everyone knows she’s dating girls and all the boys respect it too. They get a bit upset, so I heard, because *Rodrigo* gets more girls than them, who were born real men. But they get along well; I never saw any confusion or anything. But I was taken by surprise, to be honest. I never expected that she wanted to be called by a man’s name. I wrote the name down but I do not know if that’s right. I was very surprised to see his courage to come looking at me like, open chest, claiming a man’s name. I’ve never seen anything like it and I did not know what to do, honestly. I appealed to the good sense and wrote the name down in pencil. I already got used to his male presence, but I still get confused to refer to him, because I knew him as a girl, you know? It is difficult, but I’m carrying on.”

When asked if there was split of the case at school, she said no. The case had happened three months before¹⁵ and she was waiting for the formation meeting to bring it to light and know what to do.

¹⁴ Fictitious name

¹⁵ This report was collected in October 2011.

Bathroom

“Well, the thing is that he or she, I do not know, at first wanted to use the girls’ bathroom because he claims to be a girl. The girls complained, and then she had to stop using it. In the bathroom of the boys he did not even try, because you know how boys are, right? Poor thing, he decided to not go to any bathroom. He spent all mornings without going to the bathroom.”

We bring here the bathroom use by transgender people and to follow this conversation, we bring the words of Junqueira (2014, p.116) when he states that:

[...] The spatial, crucial procedure of power devices, accompanied by naturalization that turns imperceptible (and legitimate) interdictions and segregations

[...] When informed by gender norms, implies the denial of the right of use of the bathroom to transvestites and transsexuals.

This conversation happened also in a city in the south of the state, with a strong Italian presence in the population. The student whose name was mentioned, according to the teacher who reported, it is black, “a bit mixed, because it has fine features” in her words. Obviously we take the chance of the use of *fine features* to discuss issues related to racial stereotypes and their direct connection with racist practices, this subject is difficult to discuss within the group of teachers and teachers in the region which prevented us to comment it in this article, considering also the page limitation required.

The teacher reported that she also knows the kid since childhood and that she always noticed a boyish in her little way. She said that her mother

“[...] I put on girl clothes on her since childhood because she asked for it. But at school she has always wanted boy’s clothes. Only now that she was teenager she is that open.”

The teacher reports that the girl never complained about the treatment she received from colleagues or teacher nor got in trouble at school, but she (the teacher) and some other colleagues when they learned of the situation (not using the bathroom), led the case to the school board to seek a solution. The collective decided that, facing the impasse, this student or any other trans student who was in a similar situation could use the bathroom in the teacher’s room. The measure received protest from the collective and decided, finally, that the bathroom to be used would be the school principal’s.

The student in question does not participate in any conversations about it, nor was consulted about the discussions on the use of the bathroom, as informed by the teacher. It reiterated further that the measure was celebrated by the student, who in fact, went on to use the bathroom designed for her.

It is important to note that the debate generated controversial positions by some participating teachers. Part of the group supported the idea of creating a third bathroom in school, exclusively for trans people. Other party understood that the trans person should choose the bathroom they want to use, and the school looked for ways to enforce that choice. Another group considered the school’s decision concerned the most sensible. Some people left out of the debate, explaining that they had no opinion to present.

The group of teachers participating in this conversation circle said this was the first time they debated the issue and suggested deepening with specific studies and discussions with

transgender activists. Fundamentally they agreed to discuss issues on transexuality and the rights of these people necessarily needs listening of the subjects themselves (PEDRINI, 2014).

Gay diagnosis

“During Carnival, we had a teacher at school that taught a dance from Bahia¹⁶. He wiggled a lot, and I saw that the older boys, of the final years, did not participate and were even mocking. But the little ones danced a lot. One of them razed, danced like a pro, imitating the teacher perfectly, amazing. We all soon realized that he looked gay. We decided to talk to his mother, because it was clear he would turn gay.”

The teacher who brings tells us this fact works in a primary school in the central portion of the state of Espírito Santo. She specifically works with children in the early grades, and the child suspected of turning gay at the time, was seven years old. Junqueira (2014) calls insult pedagogy the use of disqualifications attributed to dissonant people with gender norms present at school every day. Jokes, insults, insinuations, nicknames and other dehumanizing and stigmatizing expressions are printed in this form of teaching, this pedagogy. Thus, the dance of a boy in a festive time of school triggers a speech homophobic (also educational) expressed in the hidden curriculum and legitimized by silences and positions of teachers and professors. “It would be necessary to realize that not only are the students who watch every boy ‘effeminate’, but the entire institution. And they all do as, capillary and permanently, they control others and themselves “(p. 109).

Commenting with colleagues about the idea to report the case to the child’s mother, the teacher immediately had the support of most of them. When asked about in which bases she supported to develop conjectures about the child sexuality and, in addition, what exactly she and other colleagues wanted teachers to communicate to the child’s family his alleged gay destination, the teacher replied that

“This was not God’s will. This child, like all gays, would suffer a lot, because we live in society full of prejudice. It was then the family that decided how to deal with it.”

Again we note the weight of moral values grounded in Christian religious belief invariably defining ways of acting in school. On this, Fernando Seffner (2011, p.368) reminds us that “the Brazilian state is secular, [...] and the exercise of public office cannot be done from private views in religious terms.”

A pause in the conversation

Names on the agenda, bathrooms and diagnostics aside, here we bring these issues to highlight the positioning of cisgender teachers facing situations involving non-normative sexualities at school. Dozens of other situations could be addressed about this issue, but the article writing limits do not allow registration here. What we bring in this article are subsidies to produce more questions than answers, more doubts than solutions, more concerns than facilities.

¹⁶ Typical dance of the Brazilian state called Bahia. Considered to be a cultural patrimony.

Lesbian and / or bisexual teachers, because they fear negative consequences of visibility, omit themselves in front of themes related to sexuality in school? Or, just by living non-normative sexualities, they feel more willing to study and address the issue?

Cisgender teachers, for not having a suspected moral conduct, do they feel more encouraged to face the expressions of lesbo, bi, homo and transphobia in school? Or because they do not feel the situation under their skin the consequences of prejudice and discrimination spread by heteronormative values are less prepared for such questions?

Teachers, from any and all identities, are wondering about fairer ways of coexisting, dignified, respectable and fraternal coexistence among all people? Do they reflect on the consequences of racism and misogyny in submissive postures or rebellious students and co-workers? Do they see the school as a secular space where the truths in God's name must necessarily be eliminated, giving way to secular liberties?

In addition to the answers, what do these questions have to teach us?

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A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF THE TRANSVESTITES IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN THE PROVINCE OF CASCAVEL IN BRAZIL, AND THE REPERCUSSIONS IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE PERSONALITY OF THOSE INDIVIDUALS

ARE THE TRANSVESTITES IN THE SCHOOL OR ON THE STREET?¹

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ABSTRACT

Historically, there are different ways of generating oppression by who occupies a dominant role. Race, ethical issues, gender, and sexual orientation amongst other social issues⁴ are examples of this diversity which has been targeted and not has been accepted. This paper approaches the sexual orientation diversity, specifically the Transvestite and their access to education in public schools in the Cascavel province. Analyzing the aftermaths of this non-access, reflects on the life of the Transvestite even though they have legal rights, but they are constantly shunned by almost all social levels.

KEYWORDS

Transvestite; Education; Equity; Public School; Cultural Studies.

Introduction

The stigmas, the prejudice and the different ways of discrimination against individuals who are part of our social context have become subjects for discussion in various spheres of knowledge. Anthropology, Sociology, Psychology and Law, amongst others to seek explanations and understand what motivates and / or “justifies” this attitude of reproach, which sometimes leads to violence and murder.

Race, ethnicity, gender and social issues are part of this “agenda” of non-acceptance. When we come to refer to sexuality, rancidity increases in proportion to the complexity of this issue. It is difficult for those who decided to have a different choice - this usually manifests itself internally - imagine how it is when this can be observed to its exterior – like in the case of the transvestites.

Considering transvestites individuals with human rights, we very often can see their rights reduced or violated by various institutions in which they have been inserted and where they may have received service, such as the family, school, hospital, basic health units as an

¹ Study presented at the WG “Public policies for gender and managing: from study of the individuals, inclusion and rights guarantees” of the V International Congress on Cultural Studies: Gender, Human Rights and Activism.

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⁴ We used throughout this work the category “Social Issues” as the set of expressions that define the social inequalities in our society. This category also appears on the XIX in Europe in order to require the formulation of public policies that would enable the confrontation, mainly to inequalities.

example. Transvestites are still part of something that society would like to expel. This statement is possible to check in much of the speeches that demonstrate a visible disgust when anyone refers to the transvestite as an individual who represents a transgression of the whole of the order. However, this same society that denies their existence assumes a critical position when these transvestites are in vulnerable situations, such as when they practice prostitution to ensure their livelihood. Is the practice of prostitution by transvestites a result of denying them of their rights?

In this situation of hostility towards those considered “non-standard”, the Transvestites are inserted into this adversity scenario. If we think that this subject should play its own history (without disregarding other historical and material determinants), we come to contextualize his environment. Thus, we question the aftermaths of the denials, which find themselves subject throughout to their formative process that is peculiar in various contexts, but may have points of convergence.

Unfolding this reasoning and considering education as a policy that allows the individual an expansion in the process of autonomy and empowerment. We ask how these transvestites are inserted in public schools in Cascavel Province and we realized that this question opened a “range” of other questions. In dialogue with teachers, educators and agents from public schools in Cascavel that are still at a preliminary⁵ stage which we understand there are no transvestites in the school. However, we know there are many transvestites of school age who do not qualify for high school and will not merit from higher education, but unfortunately will fall into prostitution.

With this knowledge most of those involved with public policies work with these issues that education is one of the most defended rights at basic level, guaranteed to all. It is part of our country’s legislation, (Federal Constitution, LDB), international guidelines and other recommendations and agreements which this country is a signatory. This is further aggravated by the fact to realize this is a subject of exclusion. And thus, if these individuals are not in the classroom and do not finish their education, who is at fault? At some point there is a conflict. How it was solved?

On the other hand, when we consider them as individuals with legal rights, it is our concern to understand why there are “abandoned” by the transvestites in the city of Cascavel / PR / Brazil. This is because if we have an increase of this population in most vulnerable areas of prostitution and do not see them in other areas, that is our view. They should take part in other social schemes which we have a reinforcement of determination of society that is still imposing. We return now to the educational issue and conflict situations in which we know that, in most cases, the “solution” found to the conflict is to remove the “problem”, which in this case is the transvestites since they are to blame for what is called “deviant behavior”.

This discussion is a great challenge because developing concepts and moral values in a sexist society that is not willing to make changes is a confrontation with what is accepted as truth. However, our purpose at this time is to provoke discussion and also demonstrate that we continue to make mistakes in the form and content which demands an urgent need for change.

⁵ At this time, the questions were performed by sampling- only in some state schools in the city- and informal dialogues since we had no instrumental built research.

A preliminary study of no access by transvestites to public schools in the city of Cascavel Province / PR (Brazil)

438 | Dealing with sexuality is talking about life experiences, which is pervaded by countless issues of a social nature, and not accepted in higher values, beliefs or desires. It is much to define concepts and to set identities. Therefore, there is no way to deal with sexuality without this exchange of history, or society, it is in this exchange that we acquire our knowledge. Yet if we make this exchange into a political debate and recognize in this debate that something is not finished.

When we refer to homosexuality or any other definition of gender orientation out of cisgender⁶ context, the relations will now be based on the logic superiority and inferiority of social groups, as the groups considered “normal” start to enjoy a hierarchical authoritarian and imposing position.

[...] This hierarchical logic follows a chain of hegemonic values that contribute to the positioning of homosexual subjects in subordinate places, though these places are disguised, often, by the logic of eccentricity and prejudice. (PRADO; MACHADO, 2008, p.11)

Despite the increased visibility and appearance of these individuals, homosexuals in general, transvestites, transsexuals, drag queens, social, political, cultural and economic agendas, show that we are far from these situations being translated into acceptance and by the way, we may not have crossed the limit of tolerance.

In a survey conducted by the Gay Group of Bahia (MOTT, 2000) we coexist with homophobic prejudice. Consequently, with an absurd number of murders of homosexuals, whose motivation is homosexuality and no other issues, as well as other institutional violations that pervade with educational institutions, religious, military and others.

The first argumentation (if we can call it argumentation) for such a stance is their own prejudice about the “different”, the “unknown”, or the “out of the norm.” For Baroque (1996, p. 83) prejudice constitutes a “[...] form of moral alienation because it implies the negation of morality as a form of objectification of critical consciousness, the free choices, the construction of their singularity.”

In this line of reasoning, it is looking “tame” and the postures considered deviant. Thus, it was in medicine when it was tried to change the behavior with invasive treatments that would allow changing the orientation. That was the case in the field of psychology, when for a long time typified homosexuality was considered a disorder or disease. This still remains so, while in other areas, such as in the classroom, for example, normal speeches are legitimated.

The meaning of normality on the body and about sexuality of the individuals are professed and justified as right, true and legitimate. Therefore, the school has put into operation control strategies to become a “normal” or “abnormal” body. It is usually maintained a bond of sexuality with reproduction, in order to affirm heterosexuality as the norm, silencing and denying practices and bodily desires of / the students / those that do not conform to this pattern socially established [...] (Longaray, RIBEIRO, 2013, p. 181).

⁶ Jesus (2010), cisgender are / the individuals / whose gender identity is according to their biological sex

Clearly what is perceived is the dictatorship of one standard over another or, as said initially, is a relation of subordination. This is because we also understand that when it says who should occupy this or that place, tacitly determine the place that this or that subject should or should not take.

[...] Conceiving heterosexual identity as normal and natural, denies that any identity (sexual, ethnic, class or gender) is a social construction that all identity always in process, so never finished ready or fixed. It is intended that the identities are in some magical-frozen moment. (BAY, 1997, p. 141-141)

The fact is aggravated if the subject “transgresses” before our eyes. And that’s why the transvestite character still constitutes a larger “affront” to the society. Affront so much that often even the family - primary instance of the individual - can support this social pressure and happens to be the first to deny it, to leave it on the sidelines. It is in the family that starts the foreclosure process.

Lima (2011) explains that the idea that heterosexuality (and its consequences) is the natural, instinctive still remains in our society. Any other variance with this concept or approach is inconsistent. Thus, to follow this line of reasoning, heterosexuality is a virtually compulsory standard. If we also consider our religious perspective (although our state be considered secular) and our patriarchal characteristics we realize that the scenario worsens.

[...] Man is educated from childhood to be virile: virility is the collective and individual expression of male dominance. The man who adopts virile attitudes, with certain characteristics that are expected female, suffers discrimination-known homophobia. This is considered a form of social control that is exercised over all men, from the first steps of male education. (MOLINIER; WELZNER-LANG, 2009, p. 102)

We realize in this statement how complicated the process of building their own identity is when we are not part of this male-dominated model. Throughout the construction process, the individual goes through processes that tries to deconstruct it as a subject seeking deconstruct to it from what he is, what he feels and how he recognizes itself. The term itself (transvestite) is going through reinterpretation over time in our country, and with a lot of effort is looking for a stigmatization and its rightful place.

[...] In Brazil transvestites in the 1940s were seen as transformers, associating the term cross dresser to an artistic performance. Since the cross dresser category, while gender identity, it has been used since the 1980s currently, the term cross dresser is related to prostitution, crime and marginalization due to the vast majority of cross dressers are in the prostitution. (BARBOSA, 2013)

This fact - that the Transvestites also relate to prostitution - shows how much stigma still weighs on the Transvestites. It also demonstrates that despite the many elements we have to deal with to continue promoting inclusion movements that prevent the subjects seeing themselves as equals within their peculiarities. This is because our values (or, in a Kantian perspective, our “duty of be”) always will be guided by what we understand as “right” or “normal”, and then the discussion takes the most varied (and unexpected) ways. Thus, we

believe it is necessary for searches of deconstruction of concepts, myths, fetishes⁷, which is only possible when we have the inclusion of the subjects-all of them - in spaces that are of all, or in the problematic proposal for this work should be.

Men must live as men and women as women. And transvestites lives like?

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[...] the transvestites live in the world without reference and without references, feel lonely. What to do, where to turn and what to look for? It also has the coup de grace: when some parents, to truly discover the difference (emphasis added) that child over the other, do not hesitate to expel him from home. [...] But the transvestites need to survive and embraces the war. Begins his battle no job, no school-no you do not want to study, but the school is worse than your home-without regard to their identity, without respect of his peers and his superiors to get there? Work in what? After all, he did not finish the formal education. [...] (SIMPSON 2011, p. 111)

Clearly there is no free space of the manifestations of prejudice that still pack requests for help, even if tacit of these subjects. Even those who, in theory, would be the first to promote the deconstruction of the processes (like the school) or comfort (like the family), most often cannot deal with this issue.

For this reason, it is necessary to conjugate the work and continue to expand the various areas of knowledge so that the debate is becoming less academic and occupy increasingly formal and informal educational spaces because insofar as we approach these spaces we believe that interventions (and perhaps answers) occur.

Final Considerations

“I am what your eyes see.” This phrase of Janaina Dutra, a lawyer and activist who served as head of the Ceará Transvestites Association, which represents a little of what we seek to bring this work to conclusion. That is because perhaps one of the biggest challenges for the transvestites is still in the deconstruction of the stigmas built on the image of these individuals.

When we set out to develop this study, our approach was guided on education policy - specifically in the public schools of Cascavel Province / PR / Brazil. We began our search for professionals who work in this sphere and that could to base our way of research, preliminary, we initiated dialogues. What we perceive during our conversations and in this initial walk is that both the school and the society are still unprepared to discuss the matter.

Undoubtedly, we recognize that progress has been made in this discussion on diversity and inclusion. However, homosexuality still carries the weight of prejudice and discrimination, but noted that more and more homosexuals are “coming out” or more people “assuming different sexual orientation” (and increasingly earlier). Still, we are far from eliminating rejection and homophobia, and even worse, we still are hygienists, especially before the

⁷ A priori, we argue that the “function” of myths and fetishes has been the strengthening and / or the creation of stigmas; thus the figure of the “perfect enemy” is created (the one that has defined cause aversion shape and is dangerous). Wacquant (2005) draws our attention to these subjects and calls the underclass urban, according to the author, are described as a “fierce subculture,” a “concentration deviation” a “tangle of pathology” or “a nation apart”.

transvestites figure because it causes an affront to society and continues to offend and embarrass.

Choosing the Education system to be used in our study and think of an element that could act as a guide in the process of valuation of these subjects, we do not see Education as redeeming or as solely responsible for the solution of all conflicts, dilemmas and problems of the transvestites. However, we understand that Education is a fundamental element, from the understanding of these subjects (their identity), its construction with social rights holder and hence we can derive the process of autonomy of the transvestites.

To determine this scenario increases our unease. We see the transvestite as a guy to walk one way and set their places, not by her, but by society that excludes, criminalizes and judges contrary to all the principles laid down in human rights and education policies. Moreover, it is inconsistent with the principles that we advocate to repair the damage caused by the education denied to these subjects.

In this preliminary study, we intend to continue the analysis and dialogue with the individuals who are part of the educational policy in the city of Cascavel Province, Paraná / Brazil. We also intend in this proposal to participate in educational settings in order to modify this setting, allowing a greater role to Transvestites.

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BETWEEN THE CROSS AND THE GENITALS: CONFLICTS OF GENDER IN THE CURRENT BRAZILIAN POLITICAL AND EDUCATIONAL SCENARIO

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ABSTRACT

Immersed in the Brazilian reality and giving rise to recent debates in the country, this text reflects on how the impacts of the crisis in which we live in reverberate in our education and our social relations. We analyze the information that is disseminated, the power relations involving issues related to gender and the importance of thinking in an education that positions itself actively in the current scenario. We expose what we live in, we send out an S.O.S.

KEYWORDS

Gender; educational policies; education; power; silencing.

The Non-place of Brazil

This paper talks about a Brazil that currently is in crisis, just like the rest of the world. The interesting thing is that the crisis here is not merely economic, affecting the political scene as a whole, people here are also suffering from pressures of the Evangelical and Catholic Parliamentary Front - ECPF - using their dogmas and beliefs to dictate standard ways and manners of how to be a citizen in our country. We could say that *"things are getting ugly"*, or that *"human beings are going crazy"* but actually *"this crisis is becoming a mess"* because there's *"too much patrol, too much mess"* and *"there it goes the good life"** of an upper class that cannot support the approach of those who have always been silenced and socially placed as the sidelines and had their voices taken away.

The current Brazilian political scene has put into debate the concepts of gender and sexual orientation, which questions the validity and necessity of its articulation in the legal and educational fields. The inflamed situation came mainly from the approval of the National Educational Plan - NEP - and its spin-off in state and municipal plans. We thus witnessed the consequent suppression of identities and individuals, simply because they do not fit in the gender binary arising exclusively from medical-biological basis, which people are classified at birth only by their genitalia, fitting in two pre-set categories and named as man and woman.

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* Lines taken from a Brazilian song called "Alô, marciano" (Hello, martian), from the singer Elis Regina

The clash established between the advancement of research and gender theories for Education and ECPF raised situations that are the objects of analysis in this study. It also provided us materials for understanding the reality to which we are submitted but not subjugated as Brazilian citizens. Such materials are presented as interviews, blogs, texts, publications on social networks and videos that show us the power relations between people, governments and researchers concerned with the advancement of gender theories in the Education. In this sense, as well approached Felix (2014), the truths reviewed here do not present themselves as unique and absolute, but as circumscribed and historical, which reveals to us its contaminant character.

Among the situations generated by this mentioned encounter, we obtained the establishment of the Gender Committee, by MEC, which would assume responsibility for gender issues related to public policies of inclusion and support to those who would not fit in the structural, institutionalized and standardize pattern established by man/woman gender binary. It is important to state that this pattern has been related to failure and to students dropping out of educational institutions, simply because they do not feel belonging to the universe in which they need to stay for years of their life in order to complete their basic training. However, under strong pressure from the fundamentalists, the 'gender' word, as feared, was suppressed, resulting in the Gender Committee becoming the Combat Discrimination Committee.

We recall that this modification occurred in a span of only twelve days, which shows how the manipulation and irresponsible use of power by fundamentalists reverberates negatively on the necessary progress for an Education that deals with current, urgent and necessary issues to individuals who are part of the school. And thinking beyond the school, this impact will further strengthen the violence suffered outside the walls of schools on women, the feeling of 'social non-belonging' as common in a day-to-day basis for trans people, prejudice suffered by groups of gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, intersex and queer people.

It is necessary to show on which Education we are supporting to establish our gaze. We think, therefore, that education needs to be liberating and emancipatory, offering minimum benefits for the students to be able to establish their vision of the world they live in and relate together with the possibilities for changes and acting in their reality, besides also feeling safe to be who they are and not forced to act under established standards. We agree here with Louro (2013), who presents us an education that sees its 'normal' practices threatened by "new" subjects and the "new" practices that offer challenges to what is established. And to support, we seek help in the thoughts of Miskolci (2013, p.55) that deal with the need of Education to "stop being one of the standardization branch of biopolitics to the state and started to become a deconstruction social vehicle of a historical inequities and injustices order".

Thinking about the impact that the crisis in which we live can bring and has brought to our education and our social relationships, we analyzed the information that is disseminated, the power relations involving issues related to gender and the importance of thinking in an education that positions itself actively in the current scenario.

In the name of the Father, the Son and the Sex. Amen!

444 | The disputes between the fundamentalists, ECPF conservatives, progressive politicians, the theories of gender and the thematic breakthrough attempts in education bring to the Brazilian scenario multiple realities. In this article, we analyze two of them, directly opposite. At first, we found deeply rooted truths in an ideal of defending a traditional Brazilian family and the maintenance of good nation's customs. Filled with inconsistencies, violent vocabulary attacking several identities and individuals, we found a firm purpose of fighting a newly created "Gender Ideology".

As a counterpoint, and under constant current setbacks, we have the second reality in which we find the relentless pursuit of protection of basic rights to the individuality of the human being, the fight against discrimination and prejudice related to gender identity and sexual orientation, the school dropout reduction attempts motivated by such discrimination. In it, we found, as a way of maintaining constant movements, theoreticians that keep the heated discussions of issues that relate gender, sexual diversity and education.

The ECPF speeches are numerous and bring with them ideas that raise some kind of theoretical confusion, generating the mobilization of a large group of people that do not know the issues of gender. It is often used expressions without theoretical support to frighten and press families, fathers/mothers, teachers, members of the Church and society as a whole that are a part of the progress achieved by the gender studies.

On the suppression of the gender term and the modification to Combat Discrimination Committee, we transcribe some lines of Congressman Marco Feliciano (Social Christian Party - São Paulo), the ECPF

Thank God, the decree No. 916 of September 9 no longer exists. It was moved to decree 949 of September 21, formerly instituted gender committee, now instituted Combat Discrimination Committee. [...] There, now it includes all, whether the person is a man, a woman, whether it is a man who feels like a woman, or is a woman who feels like a man, this decree provides any kind of discrimination. It was a victory, we torn out all the gender words. [...] Victory to our family, victory to our children. And still here lurking, we continue here in Brasilia probing all things that are against the traditional family and against the morals of our nation (FELICIANO, 2015):

Here we find issues that do not even take into account respect for individuals, exemplified by the deputy's speech. To celebrate and finalize the modification of the Gender Committee, he generalizes the struggle of various social movements, silencing them when he says "There, now it includes everything." He even mocks the struggles for the rights of transgender people when he says that it does not matter "if the person is a man who feels like a woman or woman who feels like a man." It should be noted here the huge gap between the deputy and the theories that discuss gender, since we know that it is not just a feeling, but those are people who suffer from not finding themselves comfortable in the established and imposed standards from birth, or long before it, simply because of their genitalia.

The deputy also boasts about taking the word 'gender' out of the committee. When he uses the 'torn out' sentence, he perfectly represents what people are suffering in the various groups of people affected by the deletion of the term, which happened fourteen times over

the original text. It tore out not only the word but the individuality, the representativeness and the possibility of inclusion and maintenance in Public Education Institutions people who are placed on the margins of society because they do not follow the standards imposed. It is drawn not only fourteen times, but thousands of times a day through raping, murdering and not respecting the ideals of diversity as discussed over the years. He challenges his listeners, using as a defense the figure of Brazilian traditional family and morality.

Reaffirming this line of thought, but using a more violent speech, Federal deputy Jair Messias Bolsonaro (Progressive Party - Rio de Janeiro) also speaks of the Gender Committee creation

Turn little children [...] into homosexual and open the doors to pedophilia. [...] And now [...] the National Conference of Education began to guide the nearly 6,000 municipalities in Brazil to include in the Municipal Education Decennial Plan gender ideology. In other words, teaching the son of the poor [...] despite having an appendix, he is not a man or girl, he is something else. Plus, it guides the boy to try hugging a girl or a boy too. And it guides the girl to do the same thing. [...] The responsibility is Dilma Rousseff, a woman who does not govern anything, a woman who has no character, no moral! [...] A man does not want to come home and see his son playing with a doll just because he was guided to in schools. [...] They want, through the rascality, turn everything into a homosexual brothel. [...] Like the issue of a 12, a 14 year-old boy feeling like a girl or being a girl, and even going in as they are already going in the girls bathroom, through a resolution of a council linked to this garbage called the National Secretariat of Human Rights (SDH), which only supports vagabonds and scoundrels.

We were able to see the deputy's speech guidance to people who are far from issues of Gender, Diversity and Education. He uses a speech that carries with it the idea that theories, students, public policy and education want to turn children into homosexuals and the school in a "homosexual brothel" is, at least, one example of a person who does not even understand the prospect of keeping the work with the gender theme in schools. Besides ignoring the realities faced by people involved with the school, the deputy uses a sexist language, reinforcing prejudice, striking the image of Brazil's current President and relating her to "rascality", "crap", immorality and lack of character.

We note that the deputy's speech is something institutionalized in Brazil, which is threatened by gender studies. Given that such studies turn also to a perspective of gender equality, putting into question male, heterosexual, white, medium, urban and Christian supremacy, common in our country. By attacking the President, criticizing the transgendered children, putting homosexuality as a threat and classifying the SDH as junk, the deputy places himself as sexist, transphobic, homophobic and denies all rights to the exercise of individuality provided by SDH.

From these and many other speeches against the maintenance of the gender word in the NAP as well as its consequences, and also the creation of the Gender Committee, there is a moral panic about the gender word, coming from an interest group in this case, the ECPF. As stated Miskolci (2007, p. 115), this actually happens acting in a manner "to bring up any existing social fear and turn into the question of the moment", making everything that infers against their standards, a threat.

Gains in a battle involving moral panic may be material and / or moral. It is true that progress in a moral or ideological cause increases the status of a group as well as collectively reinforces the values that this group advocates. (p.116)

446 | And what values do such groups advocate? Who are the beneficiaries of the moral panic about the gender issue? These questions allow us to think about the political performances about life, about rights, both individual and collective, and on the body. As pointed out by Fonseca (2009), a biopolitics intervening on collective and individual life. They are political structures, devices, institutional, legal and scientific mechanisms of appropriating these beings and the duties of these beings. It is a repressive, limiter act with interdictions, which promotes domination, and with it, in symbiosis, violence.

A Communion Necessary for Salvation

Although we are experiencing a reality in which we find a moral panic brought by ECPF, on the other hand, we find a path drawn by researchers of gender theories, teachers, politicians among others who, dissatisfied with continuous setbacks of our country, look for ways to subvert institutionalized and replicated patterns.

Accordingly, the CNE launched a technical note, raising concerns with the fact that the issues of gender and diversity have been addressed deliberately the Municipal, State and District Councils and directed that they should be revised. Using five considerations based on national laws, the technical note also explains the problems arising from the generalizations that are part of the modification of the Council of Gender, such as the omission and disregard for the singularities.

Also in a statement released on his blog, Daniel Cara deals with the risk that the deletion of the gender term and the consequent modification of the Committee for something so generic represents to the society, especially for those men and women who are abandoned by conservatism. He also talks about the restriction that is established with these changes, making public policy something vague and without direct effect on people who were kept in social invisibility.

In the bubble of all this mobilization, Brazil received the philosopher Judith Butler, who represents a big name in gender studies and Queer Theory. When asked in an interview conducted by the Folha de São Paulo Journal about the movements and the conflicts addressed in this article, she offered the following statement, which strengthens our walks,

While some believe that life may have several gender and sexual trajectories, those who fear gender want there to be a single life. And they want it to be determined by God or a natural law. Everything else is frightening chaos, and they often choose hate as a way to deal with their fears.

Despite the great support on the maintenance of gender perspectives in education, we face setbacks that hurt the rights of the citizens, as addresses Deputy Jean Wyllys (Socialism and Freedom Party - Rio de Janeiro)

Education with a gender perspective and the fight against homophobia (and transphobia) regressed in schools, and every attempt to advance was quickly muffled and censored after

slanderous and scoundrel campaigns of the fundamentalists, who quickly made the government retreat (Wyllys, 2015).

While we see a government retreat regarding gender issues, we think, corroborating Britzman (2007) that the school and its curriculum should not close the identities, keeping them repetitive and standardized, but instead they need to explore and encourage them. We conceive that the act of exploring open spaces for students to understand themselves as historical, political, social and cultural human constantly evolving and subject to changes.

We also refer to Furlani (2015) launching a document-analysis to clarify the doubts generated by a brochure produced, not signed, against the much-feared “Gender Ideology”. The author dissects, point by point, the theoretical confusion present in the spread of the “Gender Ideology” expression, deconstructing totalitarianism and revealing its sensationalist content. She addresses issues related to intersex persons and transgender realities, as erased in the school reality and in the current political scene. She brings the idea, theoretically supported that gender is a social and a cultural construction and not a self-defined and personal construction, as stated by the other brochure, based only in medical and biological concepts.

As approached by Salih (2013), when analyzing the works of Judith Butler, we understand gender as something that presents non-natural way, which is not presented in a permanent field, but unstable, more related to what we do, not something that we are. Gender was therefore related to the speeches that have survived politically and culturally but they are, in a post-structuralist perspective, contaminations that recreate, renew and reinvent it constantly.

Then we have the Brazilian political speeches arguing for or against the inclusion of the gender issue in education. As Revel (2005) contributes, from the discussion of the discourse concept in Foucault, the speeches and statements create truths and aim to sustain engendered practices. It is also the discourse that articulates knowledge and power. And how elucidates Silva (2000, p 43), “Speech not simply describes objects that are external: the speech ‘makes’ the objects on which it speech”. We reflect, therefore, the need to keep questioning certain discourses that were established as truths, especially when they are grounded in religious dogma together with the political sphere.

We also note that the fundamentalist discourse confuses the work of gender theories with the fear of “early sexualization (or homosexualization) of children”, which brings us to the ideas worked by Foucault (1988) that in the case of incitement of speeches related to sex and a “police of statements,” shows us that

It was defined much more narrowly where and when it was not possible to speak of it; in what situations, among which speakers, and in which social relations; it was settled thus regions, but of absolute silence, at least of tact and discretion: between parents and children, for example, or teachers and students, employers and servants (p.23-24).

Well, if by an oversight, intentional or not, we changed the word sex for the word gender, as it is being mistakenly done by our politicians, the Foucault statement would become even more true in the current Brazilian scenario. It is feared that a word so present in our educational, social, political and cultural reality can be understood and addressed by all the people, strengthening the demonstrations and demanding that their basic rights are assisted. Thus,

it creates a field of censure and pressures such that most people will feel cornered and rebel against something that it is a right, namely, recognition, appreciation and representation of subjectivities and diverse and plural human identities.

Let's go in Peace and may someone be with us

Here is an arena in which the discursive struggles have been assisted, resisted and re-shaped every day. On one hand a political scenario not favorable, which insists on closing the eyes of the people, using faith in the name of God and the defense of the traditional family and morality. On the other, and more injured, there are those who try to keep open their eyes and ears in an attempt to denounce the abuses and the fallacies and prevent further setbacks, seeking to continue to rebuild an education that finds itself currently without support, perspective and with little confidence. We find possibilities of resistance, movement and some help in research groups that are part of the GT 23 of Anped in 212 research groups that have as focus Gender and Sexuality, in 186 groups studying Gender and Education, the initiative 'Watching Plans', in LGBTTT Social Movements, in Collectives, in Graduation and Post-Graduation on the theme of Gender and Diversity, among others that continue to sustain themselves in constant imbalance, in attempts to silence and in the negative received, keeping the heart and the will to follow.

We reaffirm, that “*you don't imagine the wildness*” of living in a place where we have “*every man for himself and everybody in the mud*”. Here “*the resistance is waking up*” and, even though we want that some kings ask to get out, we fear that those could be the ones fighting for the “*upper class to keep going downhill*”. “*Hello, hello martian, as usual we are at war*”.

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SCHOOL AND HOMOPHOBIA: VIOLENCE JUSTIFIED AS JOKES¹

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ABSTRACT

The discussion about LGBTQ issues has been expanded over the last years, especially in relation to the violence against their rights. In this context, the proposed work aims to discuss the pejorative terms that gays⁴ constantly experience in the school environment, which may be considered “mere jokes” by students, teachers and school counselors, at first. Based on the testimony of the interviewees, we seek to understand how such “jokes” are seen by those who experience them. It represents a type of violence that is silenced by the school (Louro, 2009, 2013; Junqueira, 2009), but that directly affects gay people there and in their private lives. Therefore, it is necessary to open a dialogue regarding this subject at school in an attempt to enforce their rights, especially in relation to diversity.

KEYWORDS

School; homophobia; pejorative terms; rights

Homosexuality: a cultural-historical understanding

In order to understand the creation of the term homosexuality (and the justification for its marginalization), it is relevant to inform that sexuality is built over a lifetime, receiving the influence of each culture that constitutes it. In other words, it is possible to affirm that sexuality, along with all the issues of gender, is socially constructed.

[...] Sexuality is not only a personal issue, but also a social and political one. [...] sexuality is “learned”, or better saying, it is constructed over a lifetime on many ways by each person. Bodies have social meaning. The inscription of gender - male or female - in the bodies is always made in the context of a particular culture and, thus, carry the marks of this culture. The possibilities of sexuality - of ways to express the desires and pleasures - is always socially established and codified. Gender and sexual identities are, in this way, composed and defined by social relations, they are shaped by networks of power in a society (Louro, 2000, page 11).

Considering Western society, which is typically influenced by Christian and Greco-Roman cultures, heterosexuality was established as the standard to be followed, defining its “natu-

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⁴ The term “gay” has been taken from the LGBT acronym, representing a sexual identity. The aim is to make a cut for analysis, neither canceling the other identities, nor undoing the violence suffered by women within the school environment. We also emphasize that the interviewees were defined by their classmates through the stereotypes that were created, thus, demonstrating “sensitivity” in their positions.

ralness” in society. Since the standard was established (heteronormativity), other relationships (gay, bisexual, transsexual and transgender) are placed as deviant from it. It is worth highlighting that heterosexuality is grouped with other social categories, especially those related to race/ethnicity and social class. This is why:

[...] historically, the rule that was established refers to the Christian heterosexual middle class white man and it becomes a reference that no longer needs to be named. The “other” social subjects are the ones to become “marked”, they will be defined and named based on that reference. Therefore, women are represented as “the second sex” and gays and lesbians are described as deviants from the heterosexual pattern (Louro, 2000, page 15).

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By defining heterosexuals as the model to be followed, those who do not fit this pattern are marginalized. Consequently, it generates stigmas in relation to sexual orientation, male and female homosexuals, bisexuals, transgendered, and transsexuals. Considering that heteronormativity was assimilated by society, people who do not fit this pattern tend to be verbally degraded, excluded from groups and even suffer physical violence.

The socially institutionalized belief, according to which there would only exist one legitimate way to live masculinity and femininity and a unique “healthy and normal” way for people to express themselves sexually – heterosexuality, is causing subjects who do not fit this representation to be marginalized and feel as if they were “deviant”, “aberrations”, “against nature” (Ribeiro et al, 2009, page 199).

However, for the heteronormativity to be set, it is necessary that institutions transmit it, reinforcing its ideology, defining it as the “right” standard to be followed within society. Among relevant institutions in this process, we can mention church, family, and school.

In order to make these marks effective, a significant investment is put into action: family, school, media, church, and law take part in this production. All these institutions perform some kind of pedagogy, they make an investment that often appears in a very articulated manner, reiterating identities and hegemonic practices while they subordinate, deny or refuse other identities and practices; some other times, however, those authorities provide different, alternative, contradictory representations (Louro, 2000, page 25).

As a basic principle, such institutions have to reinforce the idea that being heterosexual is something “natural”, not admitting other possibilities: the church does it by bringing a moral discourse on Christian values grounded in their holy book. The family is considered the main core of human formation, responsible for transmitting highly required values. And the school represents the institution that not only has the objective of developing aware and responsible individuals who will become fair citizens, but also reinforces principles - such as heteronormativity - considered socially “normal”. The author adds:

Despite all variations, contradictions, and weaknesses that characterize this cultural investment, society intentionally tries, through multiple strategies and tactics, to “establish” a lasting “normal” male or female identity (Louro, 2000, page 25).

School and homophobia: the justified verbal violence as jokes

The school has an essential role in society, especially considering that its main function is the formation of individuals to experience citizenship to the fullest, going through the educational processes of literacy - socialization – identity construction (among many other functions), thus, preparing individuals for life:

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The school is committed to ensuring that boys and girls become real men and women, which means that men and women must meet the hegemonic standards of masculinity and femininity (Severo, 2013, page 35).

In this formation process, heteronormativity is taught in many different ways during school routines, in which “boys and girls are exposed to messages about how to behave, what is expected from them, what they are allowed or not, and even what is ‘normal’ for them to like or not” (Teixeira, 2010, page 41). Activities such as playing with toys or playing games reinforce certain behaviors at school, where boys should develop their “manhood/virility” and girls should develop their “sensitivity”. For instance, there are balls and cars as toys for boys, and dolls and household items such as toys for girls, pointing out which roles the kids must play in the future. According to Felipe & Bello (2009), “the games and toys are, therefore, in this context, a powerful tool that is constantly driven to set/produce certain forms of gender” (page 150), in which the “thematic concerning homosexualities, bisexualities and transgenderism is invisible in the curriculum, the textbooks, and even in discussions on human rights at school” (Junqueira, 2009, page 30).

That being said, heterosexuality is more than only taught. It is experienced by all individuals in that environment as something “natural” to every human, excluding other possibilities. However, as sexuality is also culturally constructed, the interest and “curiosity” about other orientations are recurrent at many different ages and are not taken into account in the school environment. “The school refuses to receive and recognize differences among its public, being ‘indifferent to differences’” (Junqueira, 2009, page 30). Soares & Fernandes (2009) corroborate it when they report existing events within schools:

There is a cultivated and enhanced silencing of homosexuality, homosexual people, and their way of living. It’s a type of silence that produces and reproduces other sayings, and ways of seeing and behaving. Institutionally, debates regarding sexual diversity are avoided, and people continue to obstinately and openly teach and support thoughts and actions that discriminate, marginalize and stigmatize those who are considered homosexuals (Page 207-208).

By teaching practices that determine a specific way of experiencing gender, the school does not see other possibilities, allowing some sort of omission, frequently justifying homophobic name calling as a “game” that should not be taken seriously. If the school reinforces heteronormativity, how are the ones who do not follow this pattern expected to feel? How do boys and girls feel when they hear or read gender-related pejorative terms that depreciate them? Do they see those terms as a mere joke? If not, how do those boys and girls feel about them? What are their responses to the “jokes”? Do they take the issues to teachers and school coordinators? If so, how does the school react? If not, why don’t they do it? Under-

standing these and other issues related to the aforementioned terms is important for the school to become an environment not only of civic education, but also of practices that value the respect for diversity and freedom, which are essential to the exercise of citizenship.

In 2004, the program *Brasil sem Homofobia* (Brazil without Homophobia) was created, and its main goals were “promoting the citizenship of gays, lesbians, transvestites, transgenders and bisexuals for equal rights, and combating violence and homophobic discrimination, respecting the specificity of each person in the group” (page 11). This program was a response to the increasing levels of violence suffered by the LGBT people. According to a survey⁵ that took place in Rio de Janeiro, 56.3% of respondents affirmed that had already “gone through experiences such as name calling, verbal abuse, and threats related to homosexuality” (page 17). Therefore, concerned about not achieving the LGBT rights, the program established guiding principles for working on the subject in different levels/social institutions, including education/school.

In relation to schools, and based on the UNESCO research (2004)⁶ that took place in 14 Brazilian capitals regarding homophobic violence within schools, nearly 40% of students and their parents/guardians said they would not have a homosexual as a colleague⁷. It is also informed that, in schools, the most common type of violence is found especially in language, through the use of pejorative terms such as fagot, homo and queer (page 287).

It is essential to highlight the language used because it portrays the world views, representations, and also name calling with negative purposes aiming at humiliating, discriminating, offending, ignoring, isolating, oppressing and threatening. (Abramovay et al, 2004, page 286)

How can we reinforce the speech about respect and citizenship in the school if the use of pejorative terms to lessen students who do not meet the socially imposed standards is constant? Regarding the required behavior, an interviewee⁸ states the following:

During my childhood, what I usually heard from my own family was definitely the word ‘fagot’. Anything I would do that was out of the heteronormative behavior (what I remember the most is talking too much or in a high-pitched girlie voice) they would say ‘ya acting like a fagot’. [...] Regarding school, just because of my music, movies and TV preferences (they were pretty much everything to me, like High School Musical, Disney Channel, Hanna Montana and so on) everybody had already formed an opinion about me (...) because, in the eyes of any other boy in my classroom, those things were considered girl things, gay/queer/fagot stuff⁹. (João, 18)

⁵ Check “Política, Direitos, Violência e Homossexualidade. Coordenação: Sérgio Carrara, Sílvia Ramos e Marcio Caetano (2002). Realização Grupo Arco-Iris de Conscientização Homossexual, Centro de Estudos de Segurança e Cidadania/UCAM e Centro Latino Americano em Sexualidade e Direitos Humanos/IMS/UERJ. Rio de Janeiro: Pallas Ed.”

⁶ Research coordinated by Abramovay, M., Castro, M. G. and Silva, L. B.

⁷ The research informed little about lesbians, but the intensity of violence is the same (page 284).

⁸ Two senior students from Sabará/MG were interviewed, one from a public high school and the other from a private one. Both assumed their sexuality in High School (João e Joaquim). Another interviewee has recently graduated and assumed his sexuality afterwards (José) In order to preserve their integrity the names have been modified.

⁹ In Brazil, the terms faggot and queer are used for men in a pejorative way, because they reduce their manhood (virile and dominant) to a feminine condition (sensibility). It is important to highlight that the terms are not only used for men that admitted to be gay, but for whoever shows sensibility, going against to what society considers it is necessary to be a man as Louro (2013), Junqueira (2009) among others demonstrate in their researches.

The interviewee shows that, ever since his childhood, he has been listening to insults just because he does not behave the way society considers normal. When asked about his feelings towards those terms, he states that he used to be ashamed as if he had done something inexcusable and the blame would come along, even if, at that time, he did not understand the reason. It is perceived that the terms used defined not only an unacceptable behavior for society, but also conveyed depreciative characteristics aiming to diminish the individual. That can be seen by analyzing the individual's feelings towards something he was not able to comprehend.

Regarding the school, it is noticed that, due to his fondness for things considered appropriate only for girls, the interviewee was prejudicially labeled. "Many teachers work in collusion with discrimination and prejudice against homosexuals by considering expressions with negative connotation as jokes, unimportant words." (Abramovay et al, 2004, page 277). About those "jokes", the interviewees stated that such words had always intended to disparage them and that they felt uncomfortable when they listened to them. One individual reported the following: "When I was at school, I had always been restrained. It was something nobody should know, but name calling was constant. I was called fagot, fag, homo and even queer" (José, 19). During the conversation, the same individual informed that just because he liked to dance, it was an excuse for the students to insult him verbally at school. Another interviewee (Joaquim, 19) narrated some different terms the other students used to call him, such as cock watcher¹⁰ and tacky queer¹¹ and the individual did not even know what they meant. Regarding those terms and how they are faced by people at schools, a UNESCO research contributed to the analysis informing that even the faculty corroborates this violence by being silent or by talking to the students and acting as if they were part of a joke.

Some teachers comment that, in spite of homosexuality being approached due to a respect concern, it is quite difficult to deal with the matter, for the students never take it seriously. Others assume a distancing attitude culminating in a passive connivance with violence against young people thought to be gay. Each person is or could be whatever/whomever they want to. In some other cases, they disregard the issue as something that is not their concern. Thus, debates about topics that are engendered by prejudice and discrimination are omitted and, when there are debates, those are about abstract tolerance conveying the idea that anyone can be whatever they want, even though in practice that does not happen. (Abramovay et al, 2004, page 288)

As indicated, it is common that the use of such terms is seen either as a joke or in a way that it is not given due importance, both to the teachers and to the school's administrative staff. In relation to this problem, one interviewee informed that "if teachers bothered to lecture them a bit, that would be it" (João). The same interviewee clarified that those "jokes" became constant, part of their routines, and then:

Since ninth grade, when I started to consider admitting myself as being gay, the mockery was getting more and more usual and it ended up in bullying [...]. MSN was common at that

¹⁰ Referring to some men who stare at other man's genitals.

¹¹ A poorly dressed gay who does not possess the glamour usually associated with the homosexual community. Lack of style. Found in Dicionário Informal.

time and I used to receive messages FULL of insults about me. I can't remember what they used to say, but they were horrible. If I'm not mistaken, they had threats of physical violence, I guess. (João)

It is observed that the terms used not only represented physical violence, but also developed psychological abuse at that time, for that individual cannot remember which terms were used. However, he makes clear that they were FULL of insults. When asked about the school's position, the interviewee declared that:

When the situation was brought to the school's attention, X, the coordinator, fully supported the cause, whereas when Y, principal and owner of the school, knew about it, Y said that what had happened didn't concern the school. Then, she couldn't do much. (João)

Another interviewee said:

I went to the vice-principal and principal's office. The only answer I got was this one: 'There will always be prejudice. So, the solution is to overcome it'. I complained about the offensive jokes, but there wasn't a fast response to that from the school; some teachers talked about homosexuality; once I was called by the supervisor. I went to her room and she talked about prejudice and such, but she only talked, very little was done about it. (Joaquim)

As noted, very little or no attention is paid whatsoever to the complaints or to the students who feel humiliated by those terms, resulting in what authors (Louro, 2009, 2013; Junqueira, 2009, among others) define the school's attitude towards homophobia as silencing. If the schools tend to be silent, how does the student facing such jokes feel? What are the possible consequences for students' formation in the schools? One of the interviewees (José) narrated that when he listened to the pejorative words, he used to feel very bad, but kept everything to himself. Another adds that he "practically faced that alone" (João) whereas Joaquim said that listening to such offensive words made it difficult to be fine. He used to be sad whenever that happened and did not want to go to school. Here, in addition to demonstrating that students felt bad and inferior due to the terms, one interviewee provided information that reinforces the intensity that these "jokes" generate: "I did not feel like going to school." According to some authors and the UNESCO research, a large proportion of students is dropping out of school due to the prejudice they continuously suffer within its environment and do not find support to continue their studies, as the author quotes when he analyzed some consequences in relation to the problems that the LGBT public has because of prejudice and discrimination in the schools:

It is hard to deny that homophobia in schools exercises an effect of deprivation of rights on each one of these students. For instance, it affects their subjective well-being; it interferes in the social relation among all the students, and also among students and the education professionals; it disturbs the expectations towards school success and development; it induces intimidation, insecurity, stigmatization, segregation and isolation; it stimulates a simulation to hide indifference; it generates disinterest in school; it provokes age-grade distortion, abandonment and evasion; it harms the inclusion in the labor market; it rises distorted visibility; it weakens students, both psychologically and physically; it disturbs the

configuration and identity expression process; it affects self-esteem; it influences social affective life; it hinders homoparental and transgender families integration in the school community and stigmatizes their children. (Junqueira, 2009, pages 24-25)

456 | Students not only silence themselves in face of the homophobia they have been suffering, but some of them drop out of school due to the aggressive environment, as seen in the interviewee's statements and also in the analysis above. For this reason, it is necessary to open people's eyes to the existing assaults, which are constantly justified as mere jokes that should not be taken seriously by the victim.

If the school as an institution seeks to educate individuals to be good citizens, it must be aware of the existing diversity (ethnic, religious, sexual...) and promote effective campaigns that are capable of raising awareness about the importance of respect. The silence results in distancing schools from one of the functions of education:

Preparing people for living with the differences through the production of feelings and attitudes of fraternity, solidarity and equal rights, valuing the collective and ensuring access to information, without which it is impossible for people to build their citizenship. (Peres, 2009, page 249)

In conclusion, we must build an environment not only capable of dialogues about sexuality, but also create effective mechanisms which guarantee an environment of mutual respect. For this, projects involving awareness and aiming at the faculty and administrative improvement are necessary. Besides that, it is paramount to work in different ways in the classroom demonstrating how diversity is beneficial.

I emphasize here the importance of not only listening, but of creating measures related to the rights and duties and their implementation. After all, "fagot" and "queer" are not mere jokes. On the contrary, they are terms that represent a homophobic view of the individual, exposing students to ridicule in the school environment. And, as an interviewee said referring to the question of homophobia within the school environment, "some things are so rooted that do not go away easily" (João).

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BOOKS FOR HER: AN ANALYSIS OF BOOK COVERS OF LITERATURE CONSIDERED FEMININE

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ABSTRACT

Though feminine literature is not a recent expression, it tends not to be mentioned directly but as a part of the romance category. However, today, there are bookstores which use this expression to categorize certain literary works. In response to this phenomenon, this article explores the gender construction that is reflected in book covers belonging to the category Novels in the Feminine, created and displayed in Fnac's bookstore website, so as to understand if it is a positive construction or a negative one, and what is the extent of its persuasive power. It was concluded that the idea of feminine which is sold and bought through the book business is one constructed by society and one continuously reproduced. It is also one connected to a consumer society, one which revolves around a romantic and sexual background and one which objectifies women.

KEYWORDS

book covers; feminine literature; woman; cultural industries; objectification.

Introduction

Fnac, which is a case of success in several European countries, including Portugal, is a company created according to one of the cultural industries' assumptions: culture for all, and not just for the elite. Through physical stores and an online platform, the Fnac intends to play the role of intermediary between creators and buyers, by presenting a catalogue containing various cultural products, including books.

In Fnac's online platform, one can perceive a curious phenomenon that is not a reality in physical bookstores. In physical bookstores, fiction books are grouped together according to the visual and intellectual connection they share. This connection, however, is not named, but defined only by the layout of the physical space. At most, the group in which the books are integrated is classified by an alphabetic letter. On the other hand, on online platforms nomination is required, due to their very nature, to the way in which information is presented and to the lack of physical space, which could otherwise subjectively emphasize the connection between books. It was the very fact that a given literary group was displayed in Fnac's online platform as *Novels in the Feminine* that determined the theme of this article.

The notion of books designed for a feminine public is not a new one. However, there has always been a tendency to hide this notion behind subjective clues instead of presenting it clearly, through naming. Because *Novels in the Feminine* is such a broad-ranging designation of a population group, it is also dangerously volatile, in permanent risk of falling into the

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clutches of stereotyping. For this reason, through a qualitative analysis of book covers within the previously mentioned category, this article intends to understand the nature of gender construction reflected in these book covers, so as to comprehend whether it is positive or negative and assess its persuasive power. It should be stressed, however, that the issue of the authors' gender is not going to be discussed in this article, for it was considered to be of no consequence to the ongoing research.

It was hypothesized that after the qualitative analysis a hegemonic and stereotyped vision of feminine would be found. More specifically, it was expected that the book covers analyzed would follow a very particular design, one that reflected the idea that society has of what is feminine, for instance, a design featuring the color pink or decorative elements such as flowers. It was also expected that most of these book covers would portray men, objectified, whether alone or not, as an element of a heterosexual relationship. This was due to comic books. In these books, supposedly created for male readers, women are a common feature and are frequently objectified. For this reason, the reverse was expected for books regarded as books for women.

Nevertheless, we believed that, regardless of the gender of the individuals featuring in the book covers analyzed, they would reflect a unique and well-defined ideal of physical beauty. Bearing in mind the social construction of the female gender, it was also hypothesized that the book covers would reflect romance, as well as romantic and sexual relationships, and would present an image of perfection, mirrored by idyllic landscapes, the characters' socioeconomic situation and even on their physical appearance. Last but not least, it was also anticipated that the design of the book covers analyzed would be a repetitive one, as an echo of the cultural industries' essence and one that, as a result, would exert a substantial power of persuasion.

Literature Considered Feminine – From Drafting to Final Consumer

Literature regarded as feminine falls within the scope of cultural industries, whose ulterior objective is, according to Adorno (2013), to make a profit. Therefore, the value of a cultural production lies on its profitability. As a consequence, instead of taking risks, cultural industries tend to base themselves on the intensive repetition of formulas which have already been successfully tested, since, thereby, profitability is more certain. Though any particular novelty may be announced, it is nothing more than a way of hiding an immutable, underlying structure. This conjecture, which derives from a capitalistic system, leads to conformism, to conformism, to the enforcement of behavior patterns and to the consolidation of the *status quo*, given that the cultural industries simply offer the public what it so desires: a world in order, joyful, from which one can reach a state of well-being. These ideas were reinforced by Santos (2007).

Almeida (2007) addressed the issue of soap operas, which are a part of cultural industries and therefore are related to literature considered feminine. They share, for instance, the tendency of cultural industries to employ a formula of intensive and predictable repetition, that does not drive away spectators simply because they are based on the identification and projection principles – spectators recognize the reality they see on screen because it

seems familiar to them, without, nevertheless, being theirs, for the simple reason of being based on living standards above average.

On the other hand, there are common features between the soap operas' plot and that of novels considered feminine which concern the heroine's role (who, nevertheless, is only a heroine in the fields of affections and relationships, becoming, as a consequence, a prototype of the perfect woman). Furthermore, all the obstacles the heroine must face along the way are related to the fields already mentioned, with these being, however, invariably overcome in the end (the end being invariably happy) – this reflects the principle of repetition.

The book, the object to which this paper relates, does not escape the logic of the cultural industries, being the purpose of its publication, in this field, to sell and to make a profit. When it comes to achieving success with the selling of a book, Powers (2006) states that book covers play a fundamental role, since they are extremely cheap and powerful marketing and advertising mediums, for they are integral parts of the book as an object. However, as Costa (2011) pointed out, the purpose of design is to communicate. For this reason, any element of design possesses a given symbolism. According to Eiseman (2000), in Western societies, red stands for passion, while pink, a toned-down version of red, symbolizes innocent romance and gentleness, and black might bring to mind the idea of death and sadness, but also of mystery.

Thus, as in any communication chain, there is an issuer, who possesses clear and established goals. For the achievement of these goals, the issuer uses a combination and layout of pictures, texts, graphics and other elements which compose a message, whose meanings are predetermined by him or herself, even if the receiver is not aware of it, since the message conveyed by the design presents itself to the latter as a representation of the real, given that the message's process of construction is omitted.

However, this great and subtle power of design can be used for good or for bad purposes. When used for good purposes, design may contribute to attractiveness and beauty, to the dissemination of information and to the dissemination of culture. On the other hand, when used for bad purposes, design may become "persuasion design (which tries to convince and to seduce, so that people buy things, vote in people or adhere to certain ideologies, for instance)" (our translation, Costa 2011: 12).⁴

Barnard (2013) also addressed the issue of design being used for negative purposes. He stated that using design for negative purposes may contribute to the construction of stereotypes. This situation becomes even more pungent when elaborated stereotypes are related to the feminine, once they create and convey a generalized and simplified image of women, overruling the complexity and diversity existent in this group. By way of example, he stresses that female-oriented designs frequently include round shapes, traditionally associated with gentleness and naturalness, characteristics assigned to the female gender by society.

Certain dangers may arise from the creation of stereotypes. Mota-Ribeiro (2005), for instance, points out that stereotypes related to a given group may nurture a dominant ideology. Thus, in that which concerns women, stereotypes may build a reductive image of what it is to be a woman, that people assimilate and try to imitate, ending up considering it a norm. In order to explain this theory, the author made use of the analysis of publicity images

⁴ Original citation: "design de persuasão (que tenta convencer e seduzir, para que as pessoas compreem coisas, votem em pessoas ou adiram a certas ideologias, por exemplo)"

found in magazines considered to be for women, in order to understand which image of the feminine was being disseminated.

He concluded, first of all, that all construction of the feminine revolves around the body and beauty. Thus, women figure in publicity images as simply visual objects, for they figure alone, performing no task, nor job and being in no specific place. This way, the purpose is to be seen, to exhibit an attractive appearance and to attract the male gaze, for instance, by presenting an image of mystery and assuming a guarded position, sometimes in a subtly seductive way. The mere fact that in these advertising materials women feature alone, as sexual and visual objects, seems to demonstrate the existence of a relationship with a nonexistent observer. Unconsciously, this nonexistent observer is seen as masculine by women who, however, are the real observers. For this reason, the author considers this representation to be stereotyped and reductive for women, with the potential to bring negative consequences if assimilated as a reflection of reality and potentially imitated.

Furat and Sönmez (2013) made a similar analysis and came to similar conclusions. Nevertheless, their study focused not only on publicity images, but on all content of magazines considered to be for women. They stress, however, bearing in mind the contents featuring in these publications, that the potential female reader is perceived as someone who considers men to be essential to a woman's life, with their objective being winning them over by resorting to their physical beauty. On the other hand, the idea of beauty that transpires in these magazines is one of beauty built with the help of consumerism, through beauty products, clothes, fashion accessories, weight-loss techniques, and others. In addition, the authors stress that women tend to be represented in everyday situations and, therefore, any mention of inequality problems or oppression that sprout from a patriarchal society is discarded.

Thereby, according to these authors and Milestone and Meyer (2012), the idea of feminine which is thus disseminated is the product of a male-dominated society that asserts itself as superior, reducing women to their body and the role of simply being attractive. Fredrickson and Roberts (1997) advocate that from the fact that women are reduced to their body derives the objectification of women, who exist only to be appraised by others. By suffering social pressure in order to replicate this reductive vision, women end up conforming to the existing paradigm and, therefore, falling into what the authors call "self-objectification".

Taking this into account, it may seem surprising that women choose to read this sort of literary works. Radway (1987) attempted to understand this phenomenon. She concluded that women read books considered to be for them because these allow them to escape the patriarchal society they are part of, a society in which they are considered to be subordinated and inferiors, and where their necessities are frequently ignored. Reversely, this sort of literary works presents women with a world where they are the center of attention and where they are treated with seriousness. It is in this literary atmosphere that, as opposed to what happens in reality, the values established by the patriarchal society for the feminine (affections, romance and feelings) prevail upon the values established for the masculine (competitiveness and determination). In the stories divulged in these publications, men do not reveal themselves as cruel, nor indifferent, but affectionate. The problem is not in men's personality, but in the inability of women to understand them. This way, it is in the hands of women to solve the problem, and, for this reason, they are the heroines, confined, however, to the field

of affections. For all this, the books here mentioned are generally books that belong to the romance category.

Radway (1987) also points out the negative role that novels considered to be for women perform when it comes to the maintenance of the patriarchal society's vicious cycle and the inferiorization of women. This is because these novels provide women with a safe harbor, and they do not constitute an instigator of insurgency, which is essential to social change, reconciling women, instead, with the existing paradigm and thus preventing the creation of more egalitarian systems. However, the author stresses the possibility of change, if female readers become aware of their active role in the maintenance of inequalities.

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Methodology

The qualitative research of the material was considered to be the most suitable research method for the elaboration of this article. Denzin and Lincoln (2006) defined the qualitative research as implicating

[...] the study of the use and the collection of a variety of empirical materials – case study; personal experience; introspection; life story; interview; artifacts; texts and cultural productions; observational, historical, interactive and visual texts – which describe moments and routine and problematic meanings in the life of individuals. (Our translation, 17)⁵

The material used for the elaboration of this research comprised book covers contemplated on the category *Novels in the Feminine* used in Fnac's website to organize and to classify literary productions. Firstly, 150 covers of books published between 2012 and 2015, included in the category created by the aforementioned website, were selected randomly between the October 4th and November 12th of 2015.

Afterwards, the design components of these book covers were visually analyzed (text, pictures, and graphics), through the Internet, so as to understand what sort of components these are, what their symbolic meaning is, and, by means of comparison, if they are repeated. In order to complement the book covers' analysis, 73 of these were physically analyzed, using both sight and touch, in a Bertrand bookstore in Aveiro. Only in this way was it possible to examine the book as a package, and to collect data from the copyright page, something that would not have been possible using only the Internet.

Deconstructing the Formula of Literature Considered to Be for Women

Women are present in 110 of the 150 book covers analyzed. In the vast majority of these occurrences – 86 book covers –, the woman features alone. However, in some cases the woman shares the cover with a man, representing a sexual or loving relationship. On the other hand, the man featuring alone in the cover is a rare case. This reflects what Almeida

⁵ Original citation: “[...] o estudo do uso e a coleta de uma variedade de materiais empíricos – estudo de caso; experiência pessoal; introspecção; história de vida; entrevista; artefatos; textos e produções culturais; textos observacionais, históricos, interativos e visuais – que descrevem momentos e significados rotineiros e problemáticos na vida dos indivíduos.”

(2007) asserts for soap operas, which are a product of cultural industries: they are based on the principles of identification and projection. Women appear alone and detached, suggesting that they are the heroines, the main characters. What is more, the woman in the cover and, consequently, in the narrative, is a heroine in the field of affections, who shares the same necessities as female spectators. All this facilitates the process of identification.

All women featuring in the book covers analyzed are supposedly attractive and careful about their physical appearance, reflecting, thus, a well-defined beauty standard: women are slim, young, and they almost always have light eyes, fair skin, and long hair. Curiously, they almost always feature in the covers wearing dresses. These women also all come out as very tidy and elegant, in the way they dress, the way they style their hair and the way they apply makeup. All this put together conveys an ideal of beauty achieved through consumerism, as advocate Mina Furat and Sönmez (2013), which, therefore, indirectly promotes it.

When women feature alone in the covers, they rarely feature in full body. There is always a part of their body that is emphasized in detriment of the rest. Even when women are represented in full body, they are distant and hardly visible, or they appear in a defensive position so as to hide their body from the observer. Therefore, they are frequently depicted with their faces hidden or backs turned.

In many cases, women are portrayed as not having any occupation. That is, they don't perform any task, nor do they seem to have a job of any kind, which gives rise to the assertion that they only feature in the cover to be observed. In certain cases, women even appear to be decontextualized, for the background of the book cover is abstract in such a way that it does not reveal their physical location. Nevertheless, this is a rare case, which can be explained by the fact that the setting, even if not important for the contextualization of women, is important for the construction of the imaginary of the narrative. Thereby, the decontextualization mentioned by Mota-Ribeiro (2005) as a substantial feature in the advertisements of magazines targeted to women doesn't seem to have a fundamental role in what concerns fiction books.

However, the fact that women featuring in the covers of books considered to be for women display a well-defined ideal of beauty, are lessened to certain parts of their bodies, and are depicted with no occupation at all, seems to reflect what Mota-Ribeiro (2005) advocates: that all construction of the feminine is linked to the body and to beauty. Women are, according to the definition conceived by Fredrickson and Roberts (1997) and supported by Milestone and Meyer (2012), objectified and represented as a mere decorative object, which is displayed to be seen and to attract gazes. The gaze that these women aim to attract is not that of spectators, but that of the loving partner, that of the man, seeing as it is sought through a seductive manner. Therefore, in the majority of the book covers analyzed, women exist to be beautiful and to please men, an idea advocated by Furat and Sönmez (2013).

Also very often, book covers do not feature women nor men, but objects which are, in a certain way, connected to women and which reflect their objectification, for they are also connected to physical beauty. These objects can, therefore, be, for instance, mirrors, perfume bottles or necklaces. This situation seems to be more frequent when it comes to books that deal with the issue of sexual relationships instead of love relationships, as if they were conveying an idea of mystery.

Despite the fact that they represent less than half of the sample, landscapes are also represented in the book covers analyzed. These landscapes, however, are always idyllic landscapes, pleasant and warm, no matter if they are connected to nature or to industrialization and large cities. When cities are represented in book covers, they are, most of the time, touristic cities, such as Paris, whose cultural value is world-renowned and which represent romance. Mansions and castles are also common features of these book covers. When seen from the outside, these constructions are magnificent, beautiful and rich, and surrounded by large gardens. When seen from the inside, these constructions are represented as elegant and richly decorated. Here is reflected the idea mentioned by Adorno (2013) of a kind of happiness connected with materialism.

As for the colors, there seems to be a tendency for book covers to always feature pink, even if slightly, but also black, blue, red and gold. However, these colors are not used irrespective of book categories within the spectrum of books considered to be for women. It is not surprising that the color pink is extremely frequent, for pink is socially the color generally associated with the female gender and romance. By way of example, pink, used together with light tones, is frequently used in books that deal with romance, giving rise to the idea of innocence and affections. In contrast, stronger colors, mainly red, but also black and dark blue seem to be associated with books of a more erotic nature or more sexually charged, even if implicitly. Thereby, it is possible to understand how these considerations are close to what Eiseman (2000) theorized.

The existence, in 50 book covers, of decorative elements, that is to say, misfit elements that feature in an image but which have no relation of continuity with it, being useful only to adorn, is also relevant. These elements are, in general, flowers or leaves or arabesques, but can also be butterflies, birds or ribbons. The arabesques have round forms which, according to Barnard (2013), represent kindness and naturalness, which are values ascribed to the female gender by society. Nearly half of the book covers analyzed exhibit embossment, or a glossy varnish. The embossed elements of design are frequently the title or the decorative elements. In addition, these books considered to be for women possess customized wrappings: many come inside glittering bags of bright colors, others possess ribbons, and others even come in a format with a distinct way of opening, for instance, an envelop format.

On the whole, the design of these book covers seems to reflect what Adorno (2013) and Santos (2007) think about cultural industries' products: these give the public what it wants. They present the public with an idyllic picture, reflected in landscapes, in colors, in decorative elements and even in beauty, which conveys happiness, something that potential female readers long for, once it is something they have been denied in real life, according to Janice Radway (1987).

Colors are often altered in order to look surreal and more vivid, even if the book in question is not a fantasy novel. This, together with the fact that women are often decontextualized and displayed without any sort of occupation, seems to be important to move the story and the protagonist away from real life. This is of the utmost importance, for, according to Radway (1987), books considered to be for women constitute a way to escape reality and its problems.

It seems to be of the utmost importance to display in these book covers the high number of copies sold, or even the fact that the book in question is a bestseller, for it draws the attention of the potential female reader to the books read by other women. This feature is,

therefore, critical when time comes for the female customer to make the decision of buying a book or not, for she will tend to buy what other women read as a result of social pressure. Fredrickson and Roberts (1997) mention social pressure as being related to objectification; however, regardless of the nature of the social pressure, it leads to something stressed by the authors: conformism. A potential female reader, when buying a book considered to be for women that mentions the number of copies or the status of bestseller, will be doing what she thinks society expects of her as a woman, experiencing a feeling of belonging, of being safe within the system by doing what many other women do. This feeling of belonging is seen as comforting.

Even if the book covers analyzed are different from each other, it was already concluded that there is an aesthetic structure that is common to all of them. This way, despite the fact that the research conducted revealed that the majority of designers of the analyzed book covers are women, this number does not seem to be relevant. What can be taken from this analysis is that it is not important if it is a man or a woman who is responsible for the design of the book covers, for, when doing their work, both seem to follow the same aesthetic pattern, a repetition of a vision of the female gender constructed by society, which according to Adorno (2013) and Almeida (2007) is a feature of the products of cultural industries. Adding all the considerations presented so far, it is possible to understand the way in which all the elements of design featuring in the book covers analyzed conglomerate so as to create a simple and subtle, though undoubtedly effective, form of advertising, corroborating the ideas theorized by Powers (2006).

Conclusion

The idea of feminine brought to light after the analyses of the covers of books considered to be for women is a hegemonic and restrictive one, for women are reduced to a certain part of their being – the body – as the others are neglected. The image of women that these book covers depict is, above all, a stereotyped one, since it is used to define a certain group of individuals in a simplified and generalized manner, highlighting the assumptions of Bernard (2013) and Mota-Ribeiro (2005).

Some of the assumptions initially stated were attested, namely the fact that the idea reflected in the analyzed book covers is a stereotyped, reductive and repetitive one, and the fact that the individuals featuring in these book covers represent a well-defined ideal of physical beauty. However, contrary to what was initially believed, it is the objectified woman, and not the objectified man, who is mostly represented in the book covers. It was also resolutely attested that the book covers in question depict an idyllic atmosphere for the reasons previously mentioned. Nevertheless, it was not expected that this idyllic atmosphere would be connected to consumerism and would eventually promote it.

What is more worrying, however, is the fact that these books are often bestsellers and that they continue to be a safe bet, in what concerns profit, to cultural industries. What Radway (1987) verified for the textual and visual contents of this sort of literature is still a reality today. But if these conclusions seem to be dramatic and fatalistic, let us not forget what Costa (2011) asserts about design: that it can be used for good and for evil. The repetitive self-objectification of women, which leads to the maintenance of these ideals, is an automatic pro-

cess, yet not a conscious. If women were able to see this type of literature in a conscious and critical way, they would feel encouraged to fight for changes in reality.

Despite the fact that the analysis carried out in this study revealed important conclusions, it is, nonetheless, incomplete. There is still much more to explore in this field of literature considered to be for women, not only in what concerns cover design, but also in what concerns the very nature of the text. This paper does not clarify, for instance, if there is a significant difference between book covers' designs of different publishing houses. It also does not clarify the authors' nationality, so that it would be possible to understand if the book covers analyzed are mere reproductions of the foreign covers or not, and what this says about our society's values as opposed to the values of other countries.

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GRANTA AND THE FEMININE – THE INFLUENCE OF GENDER ON PUBLISHING OPTIONS

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ABSTRACT

Granta has been, since its inception, an important literature-disseminating vehicle. With this analysis, we intend to understand the role women have been having as collaborators of this literary magazine. For this purpose, the 132 issues of Granta released between the fall of 1979 and the summer of 2015 were qualitatively analyzed. It was concluded that the presence of women as collaborators of Granta is clearly inferior and that the gender of collaborators seems to also have an influence over the theme and the literary genre to be published, but not over the opportunities given to emerging authors. The gender of the editors who select collaborators is also a weighty variable on the final panorama. Finally, the participation of women in Granta has shown a tendency to increase.

KEYWORDS

Granta; gender; publication; literature; inequality.

Introduction: Of Granta and the Objectives of this Analysis

Granta – The Magazine of New Writing is, in its current form, a literary British magazine which has been dedicating itself to the promotion and diffusion both of already consecrated authors, but also of new authors who are still taking their first steps in the world of literature. *Granta* as we know it today appeared in 1979, with Bill Bufford as editor, with a fixed quadrienal format having been adopted as of 1983. Since 1979, 132 issues of *Granta* have been published, each with a different theme to which several writers dedicate themselves. All these issues have been analyzed in the context of this research paper, including works of fiction, essays, memoirs, poetry, interviews and artistic pieces hailing from a variety of countries. It is important, however, to keep in mind that, while in terms of the sort of literature they produce, the authors included in the many numbers of *Granta* don't seem to work according to the repetitive and comfortable paradigm characteristic of cultural industries which Adorno (2003) theorized, they would eventually insert themselves in the scope of these same cultural industries, since they would start a literary career that would get them involved in the world of publishing.

What this research paper intends is to analyze the participation that women have had as collaborators of *Granta* in the 36 years of its existence. In what pertains to methodology, a qualitative approach was adopted, based on the analysis of the contents of the summaries of the current 132 issues of *Granta*. Before the gathering of data and the establishment of conclusions (which brought to light issues that had not been previously considered), it was

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expected that the number of female collaborators of *Granta* would be relatively low when compared to the number of male collaborators. It was also thought, taking into account the theme-oriented character of the publication, that the number of female authors would be higher in themes socially considered feminine (such as the topics of *Home*, *Children* or *Love Stories*), and that their participation would be lower in themes socially considered masculine (here topics related to war, politics, sports or economy were included). It was further assumed that women would mostly work with fiction, while men would primordially prefer essays and non-fiction in general. Finally, it was anticipated that there would be a bigger percentage of male collaborators still unknown, as opposed to a number of female collaborators still unacknowledged that was expected to be smaller.

Theoretical Framework: Of (In)Equality and Gender-Based Stereotype

Beere, King, Beere and King (1984) defined gender-role equality as the ability to view individuals regardless of their gender. Thereby, no one, either male or female, would be discriminated against based on gender, and the opportunities that a person would be presented with and judgment of his or her true capabilities would not be dependent on any perception made biased by gender. However, a careful evaluation of current reality, even after the strong and demanding feminist movements of the 60s through to the 80s, will showcase the fact that this state of equality still hasn't been established. There are, in fact, several studies that corroborate this notion on various levels.

Steinpreis, Anders and Ritzke (1999) exposed the way how, in job-searching situations, with equal CVs, men end up being favored. Eigenberg and Whalley (2015) concluded that parity is still nonexistent in academic publishing by analyzing the publication of women in journals on the criminology field. Goldin and Rouse (2000) analyzed the discrimination to which women were submitted during auditions for orchestras, even concluding that the number of hired women would increase when gender-blind auditions were held. Eagly and Karau (2002) dealt with the issue of the *glass ceiling* and the reasons for which women still see themselves prevented from reaching jobs involving great power and responsibility. Ceci, Williams and Barnett (2009) sought to understand the still worryingly low number of women working in fields related to science.

A reason that would explain why this discriminative framework still remains could be the prevalence, even nowadays, of gender stereotypes. Williams, Satterwhite and Best (1999) believed that gender stereotypes would have their roots in the different psychological characteristics attributed to men and women, with these stereotypes being either universal or specific to a given culture. The psychological characteristics we attribute to members of both genders will then influence the way we view their capabilities and, consequently, the way we evaluate their suitability for certain tasks or roles – which would greatly explain the aforementioned situations. The wrongfulness of many of these stereotypes is confirmed by Ross and Geffner (1980), who mention the research of Pheterson, Kiesler and Goldberg (1971) in which it was understood that, while men and women were evaluated in an egalitarian way when their work was already amply recognized, women would still be discriminated against when they were still relatively unknown. Therefore, for women, the problem would be in

reaching notoriety, since, when that status was attained, their capabilities would no longer be questioned.

One of the main problems inherent to the existence of gender stereotypes is how difficult it is to break them. This happens because stereotypes are a product of centuries of misogynistic and gender-biased thinking, which is absorbed and interiorized by society from a very young age. This creates a double-edged sword when it comes to the options that young women make throughout their life, namely in what pertains to the choice of study areas and professional occupations. On the one hand, it is possible that women have interiorized social and cultural notions related to the capabilities they possess and the fields that are available to them, making them consider themselves less apt for fields socially considered masculine or contributing, even if unconsciously, for them not to consider them at all. On the other hand, it is possible that a woman, even while knowing her own capabilities and not carrying these possibly unconscious stereotypes, would be aware that the society that surrounds her possesses those stereotypes, which would equally condition her choices and options, thus contributing to this vicious circle (Correll, 2001; Evans, Schweingruber and Stevenson, 2002; Eccles, 1994).

The question of gender stereotypes and the discrimination to which women have been subjected has already been approached in the scope of other research papers similar to the one here presented, even if having different publications as objects of analysis. Gualtieri (2011) sought to understand the tendencies verified in the choice of works written by women to be included in the eight editions of *The Norton Anthology of English Literature* (with the first having been published in 1962 and the eighth in 2006). Gualtieri came to the conclusion that the number of women there comprised has been increasing considerably, with six women having been published on the first volume of the anthology and 66 on the eighth. Therefore, the existence of a temporal progression when it comes to the number of women chosen for this publication is clear. However, something very interesting that Gualtieri noticed was the connection between the number of women present in the editorial team and the number of women published. Thus, only in 1986 two women joined this editorial team for the fifth volume of the anthology, and this was followed by an increase from 18 to 26 women published, with this tendency continuing on the next three volumes.

On the other hand, Oggins (2014) studied the presence of female authors on the *Best American* anthologies and the connection between this and the gender of the editors. As with the previous research, it was concluded that women are still underrepresented, even if the number has been increasing, especially under the watch of female editors. However, Oggins also discovered that, when women comprised bigger percentages of the editorial team, the presence of women in anthologies dedicated to themes or literary genres socially considered masculine would also increase. Therefore, it was concluded that women have a bigger tendency to consider other women competent, regardless of the femininity or masculinity socially inherent to the object of their creation. Another interesting conclusion was the one Jarema, Snyckerski, Bagge, Austin and Poling (1999) came to by analyzing the presence of female texts on the *Journal of Organizational Behavior Management*. Having reached the same conclusions regarding the connection between the gender of editors and authors, they further concluded that, while both male and female authors were repeated throughout the publication's existence period in a relatively proportional way, male authors would reach amounts of repetition much higher than the female authors considered.

Thus, taking into account these situations, it is possible to observe three tendencies. The first is the tendency for the increase of the number of women present in these publications, even if it remains below that of men. In this context, it seems possible to extrapolate to literature the pipeline theory of Xie and Shauman (2003), who believed that the reason why women were still amply unacknowledged in science was the fact that they had only started to constitute representative quantities of professionals in this area a few decades before. Therefore, it would be a matter of time until a state of equality was reached. However, Lincoln, Pincus, Koster and Leboy (2012) came to the conclusion that such isn't, in fact, applicable, since the acknowledgment of women in scientific fields continues to be very dependent on the genders present on the award-giving committees and, simultaneously, from the 90s to the 2000s, the number of women scientists to whom awards and other distinctions were awarded diminished. This panorama is not, therefore, very different from the literary panorama of the last decades.

The second tendency that was observed is related to the valorization of male works in detriment of female works. This is not new, but it is interesting to consider the research conducted by Lebuda and Karwowski (2013), who analyzed the impact of the gender deduced from the name of an author on the perception of his or her creativity when it came to scientific works, poetry, music and art. It was concluded that, generally, works signed with a male name were frequently smashingly preferred as opposed to those signed with a female name. In the case of scientific works, even those anonymous were considered superior to those signed by women. The difference is not so considerable in the case of music, but it is still there. The opposite was concluded when it came to art and poetry, where differences tended to diminish considerably.

The third tendency observed was the connection between the increase of the number of women in editorial teams and the increase of the number of women contributing to publications. Ward (1981) mentioned, once more, the tendency to prefer the work of men in detriment of the work of women, with this tendency being exacerbated when the responsibility of evaluation and choice fell on the shoulders of men. On the other hand, Tajfel (1974) theorized, regarding group dynamics, that belonging to a group – for example, the male or female gender – would lead to a tendency to prefer or favor works by members of the group we're a part of in detriment of the same works by members of a group other than ours. Thus, this could explain the reason why male editors select a smaller number of female works and female editors select a bigger number of female works.

Methodology: Of the Gathering and Systematization of Data

With the purpose of gathering data for this research, we resorted to a qualitative methodology, which can be defined as "(...) the study of the use and collection of a variety of empiric materials – case studies; (...) texts and cultural productions; observational, historic, interactive and visual texts – which describe routine and problematic moments and meanings in the life of individuals." [our translation]⁴ (Denzin, Lincoln, *et al.*, 2006, p. 17). From the

⁴ Original citation: «(...) o estudo do uso e a coleta de uma variedade de materiais empíricos – estudos de caso; (...) textos e produções culturais; textos observacionais, históricos, interativos e visuais – que descrevem momentos e significados rotineiros e problemáticos na vida dos indivíduos.»

various methods that can be used in the scope of qualitative research, we selected content analysis, which Minayo (2007, p. 304) presents as a “data-treatment technique, [which] possesses the same logic of the quantitative methodologies, since it seeks the encrypted interpretation of material of a qualitative nature” [our translation].⁵

474 | In this case, the summaries of the 132 issues of *Granta* that were published between the fall of 1979 and the summer of 2015 were analyzed. These were published at a generalized rate of four issues a year, with certain exceptions for the first years after the establishment of the magazine and issues pertaining to special occasions. The summaries made available at the official *Granta* website (www.granta.com) were accessed and for all issues the information therein contained was strengthened, whenever possible, with the visualization of the summary page occasionally made available on open access on the Amazon website (www.amazon.com). Regardless of these efforts, it’s possible that some articles were not contemplated on this analysis due to lack of access to data referring to their existence, but it is possible to affirm that the great majority of the articles published in the aforementioned period in the various issues of *Granta* was analyzed.

To reach conclusions, all issues of *Granta*, as well as information available regarding themes and periodicity, were taken note of. Besides this, for each issue a table was constructed with the authors published, title and genre of their work (when it was possible to know it with absolute certainty) and, resorting to official government directories, such as British Council Literature, and to the official websites of authors, when these existed, we tried to understand which works the authors contemplated in *Granta* had already published when they first appeared in the magazine and which awards and distinctions they had already received. This collection of information enabled the elaboration of the results that will be presented in the following section.

Analysis of the Results: Of the Decreasing Inequality in *Granta*

In total, 1979 articles were analyzed. To produce this number of articles, 2041 contributors were necessary (authors who published in several issues of *Granta* are included here). Of these 2041 contributors, 571 were women, with this figure corresponding to approximately 28% of the total; 1466 were men, which corresponds to approximately 72% of the total; and in four instances (approximately 0.19%) it was impossible to ascertain the gender of the author. If we consider the real number of collaborators, that is, if we remove from the totals above the repetitions of authors, we get a total of 1224 contributors, 374 (approximately 31%) of which were women and 846 (approximately 69%) of which were men. There is no variation regarding the number of authors whose gender was not ascertained.

It is therefore clear that there is a very slight variation between the number of male and female collaborators when we contemplate repetitions and when we don’t. Invariably, the percentage of male contributors remains higher, corresponding, in both situations, to over two times the number of female contributions. Thus, it is concluded that there has been a discriminatory tendency in the selection of authors on the part of *Granta*, which is in ac-

⁵ Original citation: «técnica de tratamento de dados, [que] possui a mesma lógica das metodologias quantitativas, uma vez que busca a interpretação cifrada do material de caráter qualitativo.»

cordance with other previously analyzed examples of gender-based discrimination (Steinpreis *et al.*, 1999; Eigenberg *et al.*, 2015; Goldin *et al.*, 2000; Eagly *et al.*, 2002; Ceci *et al.*, 2009).

We should, however, take into account that these numbers reflect data referring to a period comprised between 1979 and 2015. Reality when the publication of *Granta* was instituted was very different from the one we have nowadays, and the truth is that this progression is evident, since in the first issue of *Granta* only 17% of contributions came from women, while in the last one these corresponded to 65% of published texts.

The first circumstance in which the number of female contributors equaled the number of male contributors was on the 66th issue of *Granta*, published in 1999. The first occasion in which female contributors surpassed male contributors was in 2009, on issue 106, on female editor Alex Clark's watch. From then on, six other instances in which the number of female authors surpassed that of male authors have occurred, but, as is clear, this only happened in an extremely recent past. It is also important to mention that all four issues in which no female contributor has been registered were already published in the 90s. Thus, there is a progression in the number of female contributors, but we are also still far from a situation of parity, and the pipeline theory, as with science and in accordance with other studies already conducted, does not seem to be applicable (Xie *et al.*, 2003; Lincoln *et al.*, 2012).

To understand if there was any connection between the number of female contributors included in the various issues of *Granta* and the themes of those same issues, we separated themes into topics socially considered masculine, feminine or neutral. We considered that socially masculine topics were those that dealt with war, revolution, politics, economy or sports, for example. Socially feminine topics were those related to love, children, home, family or memory. The remaining topics, such as travel, geography, death, cinema or stories, were considered neutral.

If we organize the various issues of *Granta* according to the percentage of female contributors included in each one of them, it's clear that the most common percentage is that of 15% (not included) and 20% (included) of female contributors. In issues with female contributions below this line, that is, those in which women are underrepresented the most, we find themes almost invariably masculine or neutral, with the exception of the feminine topic *Home*. This tendency is maintained in the window comprised between 15% and 20%, that is, the window of the topics in which the representation of women is most common, with the exception of the female topics *Celebrity* and *Love Stories*. As we advance on the percentage of female contributors, that is, as we find a higher percentage of women writers, we continue to find some masculine themes, but nothing overly relevant. We find, instead, more feminine topics and, mostly, neutral topics.

Therefore, it seems that themes with a tendency to be considered male are those with a bigger propensity to present a smaller number of female contributors. What is odd is that, in a general way, there doesn't seem to be a tendency for female contributors of *Granta* to deal with feminine topics. However, there is a respectable amount of these themes in which the number of male writers is considerably superior to the one of women writers. Inversely, there is no issue with a masculine topic in which the number of female authors surpasses the number of male authors, since this only happens in feminine or neutral themes. Thus, the question of exclusion here observed is that of the pushing of women away from topics socially considered masculine, for reasons that have already been pinpointed as explanatory

of the perpetuation of stereotypes in relation with the choices women make (Correll, 2001; Evans, Schweingruber and Stevenson, 2002; Eccles, 1994).

There are more occurrences of repetitions of male authors than of women authors, but if we take into account percentages, which allow us to bear in mind the differences in totals of both genders, the difference is from 24% to 28%, which doesn't seem to be significant. For both genders, the majority of repeated authors was repeated two or three times (with men reaching 49% and women 51% in the case of double repetitions). In both situations, the majority of repetitions is focused on these very low figures.

However, men clearly reach higher numbers than women. From four repetitions onward, women are not repeated over five times. The highest number reached is that of ten repetitions, but only in two situations. On the other hand, men still reach very high figures even after four repetitions, such as, for example, ten occurrences of seven repetitions and eight occurrences of nine repetitions. With the maximum figure reached by women being ten repetitions, from this number onward and inclusively, we observed, for the case of men, eleven occurrences more. Besides, the maximum number of repetitions in the case of men is 24, even if this is probably due to the fact that the author in question (Ian Jack) was the editor of *Granta* for many years, which gives rise to regular contributions in the form of introductions. With the removal of this figure, the highest number reached is that of 14 repetitions, which still comes to show that, even if both genders are repeated, men are so the most when it comes to frequency.

In what pertains to genre, the total of 565 texts produced for *Granta* by women in which genre was discernible, 180 corresponded to essays and/or memoirs (32%), 35 to poetry (6%), 221 to fiction (39%), 18 to art and/or photography (3%), 5 to interviews (1%), 32 were uncategorized (6%) and 74 were of an uncertain nature (13%). Therefore, we conclude that women produce mostly fiction, even if the difference between fiction and essays and/or memoirs is of only 7 percentage points.

On the other hand, we analyzed 1454 texts produced by men, of which 643 corresponded to essays and/or memoirs (44%), 39 to poetry (3%), 386 to fiction (27%), 45 to art and/or photography (3%), 14 to interviews (1%), 120 were uncategorized (8%) and 207 were of an uncertain nature (14%). Thus, we conclude that men produce mostly essays and/or memoirs for *Granta*.

When comparing each gender's percentages, we conclude that men also published a bigger volume of poetry and fiction than women. On the contrary, they published the same volume of interviews and art and/or photography. Finally, women published a bigger amount of uncategorized texts and texts of an uncertain nature. On what pertains to the primordial production of essays and memoirs on the part of men and fiction on the part of women, we can see a perpetuation of what, based on stereotype, is expected of each gender (as Correll, 2001, Evans, Schweingruber and Stevenson, 2002 and Eccles, 1994 explained). The discoveries of Lebuda and Karwowski (2013) were also corroborated, since the majority of the essays published was written by men. However, these authors' research was also corroborated in the reduced difference between men and women in the publication of poetry and the non-existent difference in the publication of art and photography.

To understand if, amongst the new authors published by *Granta*, more opportunities would be given to new male or female authors, we considered as being emergent authors

those who still hadn't received any awards; the receiving of a single award, due to the acknowledgment it stands for, was seen as sufficient for an author to be seen as consecrated as long as it was accompanied by at least two published works. In cases where no award existed, the publication of at least three books was necessary for an author to be considered non-emergent. We concluded that there are no significant differences between men and women. Actually, 32% of male authors were new authors, and 33% of female authors were new authors, which shows that there is equality when it comes to opportunities in *Granta*. This goes against the conclusions of Pheterson, Kiesler and Goldberg (1971) about gender-based discrimination when women are still not amply acknowledged.

Finally, it's important to stress that, in the 36 years of its existence, *Granta* has only had two female editors: Alex Clark (issues 104 to 106, in 2009) and Sigrid Rausing (from issue 126 in 2014 to the present). Firstly, as is clear, only very recently have women become editors of *Granta*, which is reminiscent of the paper on the difficulties women feel when attempting to reach positions involving power and responsibility, related to the matter of the *glass ceiling* (Eagly *et al.*, 2002). Secondly, a stabilization of the numbers of female contributors on higher figures was observed from the moment women started to become editors of *Granta*. As has been mentioned, the first instance in which the number of women surpassed the number of men occurred on Alex Clark's watch, who maintained two of the four issues she worked in with percentages of female contributors over 40%. The same happened with Sigrid Rausing in all the issues she's worked in so far with the exception of one. Thus, the presence of female editors has definitely been proving an important factor in the increase of the number of female contributors of *Granta*, echoing the research of Gualtieri (2011), Oggins (2014) and Jarema, Snycerski, Austin and Poling (1999), which can be explained by the already presented theories of Lebuda and Karwowski (2013), Ward (1981) and Tajfel (1974).

Conclusion: Of the Clarification of Assumptions and Perspectives for the Future

Corroborating in a very interesting manner the research of Gualtieri (2011), Oggins (2014) and Jarema, Snycerski, Austin and Poling (1999), we conclude that the role women have been having as contributors of *Granta* has been mostly reduced when compared to that of men. However, this is a situation that seems to be in the course of developing in a positive way, even if parity still hasn't been reached.

Therefore, the first assumption, that the number of male authors would be superior to the number of female authors, was undeniably proven. The second assumption, on the other hand, was only partially confirmed. We didn't observe a predominance of female authors in themes socially considered feminine; on the contrary, we actually observed that, in many of these, there was a preponderance of male authors. However, the notion that there would be less female contributors in more masculine topics was definitely proven. The assumption related to the preferential genre of the works published by men and women was also observed, with women writing mostly fiction and men writing mostly essays and memoirs. Finally, what had been anticipated regarding the publication of a higher number of male unacknowledged authors versus a stronger publication of already recognized female authors was invalidated. Additionally, we came to the conclusion that there is a connection between

the increase in the number of published women and the gender of the editor that selects works for publication.

It's impossible to determine an absolutely explanatory reason for this situation in the context of the publication of *Granta* in a paper such as this. However, it seems to us that it is correct to state that there are two hypotheses to consider: either *Granta* is a reflection of a potentially discriminatory environment that exists in the field of literature; or the editors of *Granta* and other collaborators unconsciously share the chain of stereotypes over which we have previously dwelt. Regardless of this, it seems wise to set aside the assumption that, in this case, discrimination is intentional.

Thus, we conclude that, while there is still no parity in the publication of female authors in *Granta*, this magazine has proven itself less discriminatory than other literary publications. Even if there is still a long way to go on the path to gender equality in this magazine, the panorama of the present decade seems to reveal a positive tendency toward it.

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THE LAWYER THAT MATTERED, THE GIRL THAT DID NOT COMPLY – ASPECTS OF THE PLIGHT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND GENDER ISSUES IN HARPER LEE’S NOVELS TO KILL A MOCKINGBIRD AND GO SET A WATCHMAN¹

480 | Maria de Fátima Pais²

ABSTRACT

This article aims at shedding some light and at provoking some discussion and reflection on the questions of race, racism (whiteness and blackness), on the defense of civil rights, on justice and in its intricacies, on the bringing up of children through experience, guidance and advice, and on gender issues, based on the novels *To Kill a Mockingbird* and *Go Set a Watchman* by acclaimed American writer Harper Lee.

KEYWORDS

Race-civil rights; coming of age-gender; justice

To Kill a Mockingbird is a novel published in 1960. Since then it has achieved the status of a classic of American literature and practically since its publication it is mandatory reading in high schools’ curricula and it is the second most read book in the United States next to the Bible. Dean Esmay referred the following words by the author, Harper Lee, who loathes and usually refuses interviews and conversations about her work, to the Birmingham Post-Herald, in 1962:

My book has a universal theme, it’s not a “racial” novel. It portrays an aspect of civilization. I tried to show the conflict of the human soul reduced to its simplest terms. It’s a novel of man’s conscience...universal in the sense that it could happen to anybody, anywhere where people live together... (Esmay, 2015)

In fact, both *To Kill a Mockingbird* (1960) and *Go Set a Watchman* (2015) have such a palette of issues within the generality of human and civil rights, justice, and gender that it is difficult for the reader/observer to focus on a single question - both books are overwhelming in that they entangle subject with subject. Therefore *To Kill a Mocking Bird* is such an acclaimed novel; this article is a very small contribution to all the criticism it has arisen and still arises nowadays. The *leit motif*, the aim of this work is an attempt of mine to provoke some reflection and, eventually, some discussion on the questions of race, defence of civil rights and, at a lesser extent, on the coming of age and gender questions of the younger characters in this book, which makes it a work about learning things in life, of the perception of one’s self, and not necessarily with the help of the school system. From July 2015 to this date, this novel has a companion, provided by writer Harper Lee, the author, *Go Set a Watchman*, which according to recent criticism is either a follow-up of *To Kill a Mockingbird* or its draft version.

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After reading the novel one discovers that the author, through use of history, moral instruction and character development, has presented a strong moral message to her readers. The title suggests that a sin occurs when one kills a mockingbird and Scout Finch's (a female child character) recounting the central summer of her life reflects the integrity of her moral and gender development, greatly under the influence of her father, the lawyer Atticus Finch. With the historical context of the Scottsboro Trials³ and character representation, the author's moral message finds weight. She begins by setting her story in the town of Maycomb, in the state of Alabama, in the final years of the Great Depression, exploiting her reader's familiarity with the financial position of most Southerners, especially the poor white farmers and the somewhat Victorian mentality that reigns in this microcosm. She then establishes the mind set and attitude of the Southern whites toward other races and cultures, which might well represent the feelings of many Americans.

According to a review of *The Guardian*, from October 17th, 2013, in the section Culture & Books, the novel,

(...) focuses on that gut instinct of right and wrong, and distinguishes it from just following the law. Even the titular quote: "Shoot all the blue jays you want, if you can hit 'em, but remember it's a sin to kill a mockingbird" is in itself an allegory for this message. Being in itself a generic message, the idea of 'doing what's right' obviously has a different meaning depending on when and where you're reading the book. If you take 1960, when the book was written, America was in a state of ethical development as social inequality was - very - gradually being overcome. Women's rights and black rights movements were beginning to emerge and some campaigned through violence.

Taking into account that Atticus Finch (lawyer character), though being white, defends an African-American against all odds and, by all odds, I mean the white American society, he has his white values and status. His own daughter questions him often across the book: "Atticus, are we poor?" to which he invariably answers: "No, not that poor!" His status is a standard of humanness to which some aspired to and in relation to which they were judged. According to Eric Lott, *in* Simon During (2000):

(...) whiteness is a constructed and imagined identity which, especially in the US, requires continual efforts to sustain. The effort is made by whites performing whiteness in all kinds of ways- performances which are addressed, not necessarily explicitly, to blacks. The construction and performance of whiteness is best unpicked through an analysis of white impersonations of blackness, so called "blackface", a term which Lott extends beyond the familiar theatrical genre to a quite widely dispersed white desire to be black, or at least to seem blackness.(Lott, 2000:241)

By defending the black Tom Robinson, accused of having raped a white woman, Atticus Finch impersonates the blackness Lott refers to. He would probably prefer to be black so that

³ The Scottsboro Trials involved nine African-American young men accused in Alabama of raping two white American women on a train in 1931. The landmark set of legal cases from this incident dealt with racism and the right to a fair trial. The cases included a lynch mob before the suspects had been indicted, a frame up, all-white juries, rushed trials, and disruptive mobs. It is frequently cited as an example of an overall miscarriage of justice in the United States legal system.

his struggle to defend Robinson would prove more effective. On the other hand, his whiteness contributes to his statute of heroism. It is Alabama, in the 1930's, after the 1929 Crash, the country is going through a tough Depression, so it might be unlikely that anyone white, also suffering the consequences of the Depression, would accept to defend anyone for free, just for the sake of the truth and of humanistic principles. However, and by analyzing both novels, one notices a change in Atticus's view or humanistic principles. There is a difficulty in Atticus to keep on defending his principles abstractly- he fights for justice but he clings to the white side. It is his whiteness that speaks louder than his own words, it imposes itself in a higher status. And as Rob Atkinson claims,

(...) the greater appeal of *To Kill a Mockingbird* may tell us something else than wholly laudable about ourselves, those to whom it appeals. It suggests, in the shadow of Nietzsche, that we who would be liberators prefer (Harper) Lee's liberal-democratic vision, at least in part because, in insisting that our job is to lift others up, we implicitly place ourselves always above them. Before we liberate them, they need us; afterwards, they should be thankful to us. Abstractly and formally, we are never more than equal to them; practically and historically, they are always beholden to us. We have both ways, at their expense, all the time (Atkinson, 1999: 608)

In my opinion the above quote applies more to *Go Set a Watchman* where, for instance, Atticus Finch appears as a not so generous character. However, in both books, a look at the Finch family - the children and their father and their community - reveals a deep moral message. In this book there is a house attached to a lot of spooky rumors about the man who lives there. He never leaves the house, so that many of the children, including the Finch children, make up stories about him and even fear him for being different. While making fun of this man, the Finch children, Jem and Scout, are reprimanded by their father and he teaches them to think about how they would feel if the roles were reversed. Atticus also spends his time defending the black man accused of raping the white woman. He is innocent yet despite a great defense by Atticus, the jury convicts him and he is shot trying to escape the fate in store for him. Despite the fact that he was innocent, racism allowed the jury to convict him simply because he was black. Depicting fatherly instruction and neighborly advice, Harper Lee in some way educates her readers on the moral responsibility of how to treat and deal with others. As the children search for clues to their mysterious neighbor's existence, for example, and face the consequences of racism in their small Southern town, they receive lessons in how to live in society with respect and kindness regardless of whom the people are or from where they come. Lee's characters demonstrate how often and abusively people suffer misjudgment and mistreatment because of fear and prejudice. It is an assertion of Lee's that one can live among all cultures and races without fear and prejudice. Readers are thus encouraged to consider and ponder their judgments and subsequent treatment of others. According to Maureen E. Markey,

To Kill a Mockingbird reflects the natural law belief that human beings are sustained and improved by good positive law. Civilization rests on respect for law because good civil law brings with it the moral virtues that reflect the natural law. Individuals are capable of good and evil, and the only real safeguard against the vagaries of human nature is the rule of the law. But to be effective, the civil law must conform to the higher moral law (Markey, 2009:4)

Higher moral law here may imply tolerance regardless of social class or racial differences. A strong code of conduct that individuals and communities should practice is presented throughout the book, the reader is practically forced to accept a moral standard. However, one might perhaps remotely consider that what has been referred to in these pages and in the above quote is a simplistic view of a traditional conservative *status quo* that should be followed and that does not allow deviations or faults that belong to human nature. To reinforce this reflection, there is criticism on *Mockingbird* that claims that the work is nothing more than a children’s or a juvenile novel, intended to inculcate traditional moral values in which the good triumphs over evil, in which racism can be overcome and that equality among races is not utopic. Similar criticism surrounds the recent publishing of *Go Set a Watchman*, thus making Harper Lee a third-class author. All this is arguable. Editors and bookselling figures tell the opposite. The overwhelming success of the 3 Oscar-winning 1962 motion picture, starring Gregory Peck as Atticus Finch and the London 2014 theatre adaptation of the novel, starring Robert Sean Leonard, favor the work and its author. Also and during the month of November 2015, there was notice that many theatres in the United States are putting the book on stage, with children and adolescent from schools playing the roles of the children in the novel. Newspaper criticism attributes this boom to the July 2015 publication of *Go Set a Watchman*.

The racial concerns that Harper Lee addresses in *To Kill a Mockingbird* began long before her story starts and continued long after. In order to sift through the many layers of prejudice that Lee exposes in her novel, the reader needs to understand the complex history of race relations in the South. Many states — particularly in the South — passed “Jim Crow” laws⁴ (named after a black, minstrel show character), which severely limited how African Americans could participate in society. The U.S. Supreme Court paved the ways for these laws in 1883 when the court ruled that it couldn’t enforce the 14th Amendment at the individual level. The first Jim Crow law appeared in 1890; the laws increased from there and lasted until the civil rights movement of the 1960s. Many whites at the time believed that instead of progressing as a race, blacks were regressing with the abolition of slavery. Southern churches frequently upheld this racist thinking, which also helped give the Jim Crow laws some of their power. Ironically, African American churches were as likely to uphold the Jim Crow laws as white churches were. The continued oppression of one group over another is largely psychological. The dominant group first uses force to obtain their power. Slowly, the group being oppressed begins to feel hopeless that the situation can change and begins to unwittingly buy into the oppression as the norm. Before the civil rights movement gained momentum, many African American churches concentrated on helping their congregations deal with the oppression rather than trying to end it. The fear of interracial unions reached its apex in a widely held, unrealistic fear that African American men would rape and impregnate white

⁴ Jim Crow laws extended into almost every facet of public life. The laws stipulated that blacks use separate entrances into public buildings, have separate restrooms and drinking fountains, and sit in the back of trains and buses. Blacks and whites were not allowed to be served food in the same room in a restaurant, play pool together, share the same prisons, or be buried in the same cemeteries. African Americans could not play professional sports with white teammates or serve in the armed forces with white soldiers. Black children were educated in separate schools. Black barbers could not wait on white female clients, and white female nurses couldn’t attend to black male patients. Not every law applied in every state, but the Jim Crow laws were demoralizing and far reaching, all in the name of protecting white culture and power. (Source: A Brief History of Jim Crow, Constitutional Rights Foundation, 2002)

women as a means of penetrating white society and, worse, white power. Stuart Hall reflected on race and multiculturalism. In the following excerpt he refers the problematic of governing and ruling multicultural societies:

Multicultural is the qualifying term. It describes the social characteristics and the questions of governing present in any society where different cultural communities coexist and try to build a common life, but at the same time, try to retain something of their “original” identity. On the contrary, multiculturalism is substantive. It refers to the strategies and adopted policies to rule or administrate issues of diversity generated by multicultural societies (Hall, 2003:52)

Lee may have got the inspiration for Tom Robinson’s case from the Scottsboro Trials of 1931. The black community had shown spurts of enthusiasm in pursuing civil rights since the end of slavery. By the 1950s, however, the latest interest in the civil rights movement had lost a good deal of steam. Many African Americans seemed resigned to accepting the Jim Crow laws and living within the existing system. Educated blacks in Alabama were looking for something to rekindle the interest in civil rights amongst the black community. When the Supreme Court overturned Alabama’s segregation laws regarding public transportation, the civil rights movement gained momentum. Martin Luther King, Jr., a minister from Montgomery, Alabama, rose as the recognized leader of the movement. Several women worked behind the scenes organizing the boycott and keeping the movement alive.

Harper Lee wrote *To Kill a Mockingbird* in the midst of these developments. Her story was informed not only by the laws and attitudes that were part of her youth and her culture, but also by the civil rights movement. The civil rights struggle continues today at various levels, and in this sense it makes *Mockingbird* a timeless novel.

Beyond the issues of racial relations and the injustices that minority groups suffered during this time, Harper Lee’s novel is also a coming-of-age story, or a *Bildungsroman*. In this story the central character moves from a state of innocence to one of maturity as the result of suffering and surviving various misadventures. The children pass from innocence to knowledge. They begin to realize their own connection with the community’s outsiders, and they observe one man’s heroism in the face of community prejudice. In *Mockingbird*, Scout Finch, one of the central characters, and one of her biggest concerns throughout the book is coming to terms with the expectations her society has for women. In the 1930s, women in the South were pressured to conform to a widely held ideal of “Southern womanhood.” – The Southern Belle, term coined by Kathryn Lee Seidel (1985). About this concept, Seidel claims that:

The patriarchal South had made white men the dominant group (...) Women and blacks, on the other hand, were deemed subordinate in status, role, and temperament; a woman’s status depended upon her father or husband, her economic role was that of a marriage alliance-maker before marriage and a homemaker after marriage, her sexual role was that of a chaste maiden or a faithful wife (...) and her ideal temperament was passive, docile, ignorant, and virtuous (Seidel, 1985:147)

Women were treated as delicate, fragile creatures, and they were expected to act in accordance with that treatment. Scout (Jean Louise) is anything but delicate and fragile, and a

good deal of the story focuses on her attempts to fit into a world that expects tomboys like her to wear frilly dresses and maintain a dainty disposition. The tantrums she throws for having to wear a dress to go to school are an example of that. According to much criticism, Scout appears as a tomboy in the novel. The expression *tomboy* is defined by the Oxford English Dictionary as *a girl who enjoys rough, noisy activities traditionally associated with boys*. Gender scholar Judith 'Jack' Halberstam (1998) has noted that while tomboyism is often tolerated or even encouraged in young girls, older girls and adolescents who display masculine traits are often repressed and punished. Thus, youthful gender expressions are increasingly linked to sexuality and evaluated in relation to heterosexual norms. As a matter of fact, Scout does not correspond in any stance to anything feminine and is repressed by some characters in the novel. She plays boy's games, she swears, calls her father by his first name as if she was not his daughter. She prefers reading to anything allegedly more feminine like sewing or knitting, for example, she does not help in the kitchen and, in some way, despises her real first name. As a female child she hides behind the neutral name Scout, almost despising her very feminine first names' combination, Jean Louise. A matter of conflict with the Finch's maid, Calpurnia, and Scout's Aunt Alexandra is the question of her having to dress like a girl, according to the society that surrounds her, the Southern small town mentality and the typical image of a girl. Also her first grade teacher reprimands her about the way she dresses. In the following passage of the novel, Scout, as a grown up narrator, unburdens her dislike for feminine outfits:

Aunt Alexandra was fanatical on the subject of my attire. I could not possibly hope to be a lady if I wore breeches; when I said I could do nothing in a dress, she said I wasn't supposed to be doing anything that required pants. Aunt Alexandra's vision of my deportment involved playing with small stoves, tea sets, and wearing the Add-A-Pearl necklace she gave me when I was born; furthermore, I should be a ray of sunshine in my father's lonely life. I suggested that one could be a ray of sunshine in pants just as well, but Aunty said that one had to behave like a sunbeam, that I was born good but had grown progressively worse every year. She hurt my feelings and set my teeth permanently on edge, but when I asked Atticus about it, he said there were already enough sunbeams in the family and to go about my business, he didn't mind me much the way I was. (Chapt. 9, 90)

As is stated by Dean Shackelford in Harold Bloom (1999: 115), this passage reveals the importance of female voice and gender issues in *To Kill a Mockingbird*. He goes on acknowledging that the issue of Scout's gender is crucial to an understanding not only of the novel but also of Scout's identification with her father. He, in turn, accepts her the way she is. However, Scout has to deal with her brother's insults when playing outside and she is fearful and whines at the sight of a horrifying house. Her brother accuses her of getting more like a girl every day, the implication being that boys are courageous and non-fearful and girls are weak and afraid. Resented and feeling insulted for being called a girl and that being female is valued less than being male in her small town, she tries to become brave in order to remain acceptable to her brother and to another male companion. Scout has to face "attacks" both from the feminine side of her surroundings and from the masculine side and that surely creates a conflict in the formation of her personality and in the perception of who she is gender like. She prefers playing and going around roughly in her old and sometimes dirty overalls but she

is and feels constantly reprehended for not being like “soft teacakes with frostings”. Her journey is the one of a girl who has to challenge gender stereotypes in her determination to remain a tomboy. Laura Hakala (2010) argues that a few critics center their arguments on gender issues as far as this novel is concerned, the most extended of which include Dean Shackelford’s comparison between Scout’s narrative voice in the novel, Laura Fine’s discussion of the patriarchy in it and Gary Richards’s assertion that author Harper Lee destabilizes heterosexuality. Hakala argues on that, though Shackelford, Fine and Richards all discuss Scout as an unconventional female, she would place Scout within the context of the tomboy’s multifaceted history, which emphasizes her gender-bending behaviors. In my opinion, Scout’s trying to live as a tomboy, makes her experience the opposition that arises when people cross the boundaries of gender stereotypes. Laura Hakala’s opinion meets mine when she suggests that “Scout’s struggle between tomboyism and ideals of femininity constitutes a central conflict in the novel but that, ultimately, her tomboyish tendencies are far more consistent than her feminine ones, even though her femininity may occasionally surface”. Gender theory authority Judith Butler (1999) claims that gender is a cultural construction, and that we create “gender” and its sub-categories through repeated acts. Again Butler’s assertion that

“if there is something right in [Simone de] Beauvoir’s claim that one is not born, but rather *becomes* a woman, it follows that *woman* itself is a term in process, a becoming, a constructing, that cannot rightfully be said to originate or to end”.(Butler, 1999:33).

This becoming, this process can be seen in Scout, now Jean Louise in the novel *Go Set a Watchman*. With *To Kill a Mockingbird* in mind, Hakala (2010) claims that Scout and her parental figures demonstrate this flexible view of gender. Scout is not born with an innate predisposition to be a tomboy; rather her behaviors define her as a tomboy. One could establish a relationship of Scout’s behaviors with Judith Butler’s theory that gender is performative.⁵ According to the author, we assume a role, act in a certain way and there is a series of effects, as for instance, the way we act, walk and talk that takes us to the consolidation of the impression of being a man or a woman. Butler also considers that gender is a crucial role-play for our assumed gender, once, in her opinion, nobody is gender from the start. One should then understand, in the light of this theory, that Scout performs being a boy, enjoys it and lives in this stance throughout the novel. In *Go Set a Watchman*, the illusions of Jean Louise Finch (Scout) and several generations of idealists are shattered when, arranging her father’s pile of reading material on a visit home from New York, Jean Louise discovers a pamphlet called “The Black Plague.” She picks it up, reads it all the way through, then takes it “by one of its corners ... like she would hold a dead rat by the tail” and throws it away. “Jean Louise,” her aunt says, in response to her indignation. “I don’t think you fully realize what’s been going on down here”. It’s an awakening that’s not so much rude as cruel: Maycomb County, Alabama, is now a different world from the one she grew up in, and *To Kill a Mockingbird*’s Atticus Finch, a paragon of the legal profession, the father figure and steward of the nation’s conscience, is revealed to be frail and flawed. He is, at 72, a rheumatic and unrepentant segregationist who believes with complete conviction that the white race is supe-

⁵ Cf . Interview with Judith Butler “ Gender is performative” in <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Bo7o2LYATD-c&list=PLudCuZLRsoFHAFSYXUE48IPOF4N9DQ4gq> (accessed December 8th 2015)

rior. “Jean Louise, have you ever considered that you can’t have a set of backward people living among people advanced in one civilization and have a social Arcadia?” he asks late in the book, to her horror. “Do you want Negroes by the carload in our schools and churches and theaters? Do you want them in our world?” Sophie Gilbert claims that,

the publication of *Watchman* has been surrounded by controversy, and the knowledge that a much-beloved figure in an incomparable work of American literature was once portrayed by his author as an indefensible racist promises to be no less so. The not so clear origins of the book (it was reportedly found by Lee’s lawyer in a safe-deposit box last year, although that account has been disputed), the uncertain agency of Lee in its publication, and the squirminess with which the publisher, HarperCollins, has presented the novel as a newly discovered manuscript rather than a rejected first draft of *Mockingbird* or a failed sequel as every step of the book’s rollout has added to a sense of unease (Gilbert, 2015)

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For all its flaws—a meandering, distinctly unfinished style; stilted dialogue; an unsatisfactory ending—*Go Set a Watchman* is worth welcoming. It’s not just that Jean Louise, now 26, is as wry and engaging and bold as she was at the age of 6. It is that through her eyes, and her imperfect but well-meaning attempts to interpret the fall of her hero father, the book offers what has become increasingly difficult and necessary in the five decades since *Mockingbird* was published: an attempt to wrestle with racial prejudice. In the opening chapter, Jean Louise, tomboyish and incisive as ever, is returning home to Alabama for a two-week vacation, immensely happy to be back, but with a sense of foreboding—“an ancient fear”—that something is wrong. Atticus, sketched only briefly in the first few chapters as a gruff but straight-talking figure who occasionally gets “an unmistakable profane glint” in his eyes, is happy to have her home, but soon raises an unexpected question. “Jean Louise,” he asks. “How much of what’s going on down here gets into the newspapers?” This query leads one to think that perhaps Atticus fears that the media may report the social situation in the US south.

To sum up, *To Kill a Mockingbird* powerfully analyzes the theme of isolation and its causes through the stories of several unusual characters. Harper Lee also explores the concept of moral courage, and in Atticus Finch she gives the reader the model of a perfect human being, a Christ-like man of courage, integrity and compassion. The general tone and moral of this book seems to be that you should always stand up for what is right, no matter the cost, as defending a black man cost Atticus and his children a lot of torment and lost them a lot of friends. To Atticus, the right is always the right thing no matter how hard it may be to do. Whether it be not making fun of people who are different or standing up for the little guy he believes it is worth doing because it is right. His children learn a lot from him about what is right, about prejudice, and about life. He shows them how not everything is what it seems and that no matter the circumstances, everyone deserves to be treated fairly. Prejudice in the novel, is described as the “simple hell people give other people without even thinking” and the novel powerfully portrays examples of racial, social and sexual prejudice. The most obvious form of discrimination in *To Kill a Mockingbird* is racism; however, there are other types of prejudice and discrimination that typify relationships among the novel’s characters. Scout, for example, is ridiculed in *To Kill a Mockingbird* for being a tomboy and not complying to what is expected of someone of her gender. Boo Radley, who lives in the

spooky house, is ostracized despite the fact that hardly anyone knows him. Reverse racism is also present in the novel, as evidenced by the threats against Atticus Finch and his family as he defends the black Tom Robinson. Harper Lee also skillfully paints a detailed picture of growing up in a small Southern town during the Depression and vividly illustrates the dark side of human nature, as well as it highlights all that is good and noble. *To Kill a Mockingbird* holds up a mirror to society and teaches valuable life-lessons about prejudice, injustice and moral courage. Harper Lee uses pathos, in the sense of excess, suffering and feeling, to create empathy and evoke powerful emotions. Again in *To Kill a Mockingbird*, inequities and injustices are depicted by Lee to point out the issues of power, voice, identity, gender performance, oppression and liberation. *To Kill a Mockingbird* depicts a segregated society marked by strict race boundaries and prejudice. Maycomb County offers a social structure that places whites at the top of the social hierarchy while putting blacks at the bottom. The time when the novel is set reflects the values that were challenged and presents the relationships between blacks and whites (May, 1987). According to Lochte,

the issues of power, voice, identity, oppression and liberation in relation to race could be discussed in several contexts in *To Kill a Mockingbird*. Lee develops several of the characters based around their attitudes on race. For example, the character of Bob Ewell is used by Lee to depict the kind of racism that white Southerners prefer to live by, which is one covered by much hypocrisy (Lochte, 2006).

The same can be said about justice, for hypocrisy also reigned during Tom Robinson's trial, and, on the other hand, hypocrisy also affected and interfered with Scout's gender issues.

All in all, the two novels make a difference, although I prefer to refer to *To Kill a Mockingbird*. It allows the readers, through the example of some characters, "to walk around in the shoes of others" as Atticus often says, who are different from ourselves. The novel challenges our stereotypes - the Southerner, the African-American, the eccentric, the child and the young lady. It also teaches the reader to respect and preserve those who are frail and do not do any harm to others, like the mockingbird which gets on well with all bird species.

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THE CURSE OF HANSEL AND GRETEL: APPEALS OF AN ETHNIC IDENTITY¹

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ABSTRACT

Taking Stuart Hall's observations as a premise, where he notes that contrary to some expectations, contemporary identity constructions head for an ephemeral plurality and a paradoxical demand for ethnic references, I induce the hypothesis that such identity characteristics correspond to an immature stage of the global socio-economic system, in a transdisciplinary perspective of a bibliographical and documentary basis research, lacking in coordination with references that go beyond the semiotic and cultural self-referentiation. Since this reflection looks forward to transcend its signic thresholds, its continuation rests on symbolic articulations, guided by Jungian qualitative paradigm. Finally in the culmination of the inductive exercise, I confirm the relevance of the proposed hypothesis.

KEYWORDS

identity; ethnicity; symbol; capitalism; Puer.

Introduction

Perhaps because of its inaccuracy today we can see that a number of consecrated views expected, or still hoped, that the globalized society would sustain large identity constructions and that it could be universally unified. However, what is observed does not confirm its expectations. It is observed instead an identity fragmentation that seeks to cipher the diversity of its experimentations in more narrow ethnic experiences because it's rather unable to anchor deeper buildings.

In the body of this reflection, I have allied to myself the disbelief that the globalized form of the capital system can house more consistent identities, based on the hypothesis that these identity postures correspond to children's behaviors which, for some reason, stagnated in denial of its own in order to do not reach more mature stages.

The main problem with a hypothesis like this is that its elaboration and treatment are impossible from purely rational references. Rationality is what makes us human, so to criticize humanity in rational terms is to talk to us, about us, and from ourselves. This self-referentiality is presupposed in our semiotic systems, for the development of signs that rationally mediates is actually ours. It is therefore necessary to return to the sign its substantiality, to dare to deal with the ineffable which always results in the interaction with the object itself, this is to articulate through imagination, our rational side with its irrational substrates (Velázquez, 2015).

It is in this direction that I look for resources in qualitative Jungian paradigm research (Penna, 2004) so through the ways that symbols can offer I extracted from fantasy a different

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hypothesis that I can later induce it before a multidisciplinary theoretical body. There is always a risk in these relationships of the subjective developments which makes us allow it to again hold onto its self-reference which, in principle, it was intended to overcome. Although it is not of absolute assurance, in this regard I proceed through intersubjective confrontation that results in unsuspected “colorations”, which almost holographically brings the object to participation: the so-called “analytic third” (Maroni, 2006).

Finally, unable as humans that we are to move away from overly semiotics interface, it is necessary to assume the partiality and transience of the findings of such as thoughts, as well as the possibility that the descriptive meeting of simultaneous processes on the same object may prove itself paradoxical.

Back to ethnicity

According to Stuart Hall, despite predictions both liberalist or Marxist, that identity constructions are centered on attachment to the local, the particular, the tradition and the roots would give way to more rational and universalist identities, “(...) Globalization does not seem to be producing neither the triumph of the ‘global’ nor persistence in its old nationalist form of ‘local’.” (Hall, 2014, p.56) If it is true that globalization has a “(...) pluralizing effect on the identities, producing a variety of possibilities and new positions of identification and making the identities more positional, more political, more plural and diverse; less fixed, unified or trans-historical “(Hall, 2014, p.51) what is noted in the observation of contemporary social movements is a paradoxical trend back to ethnicity. Stuart Hall cites Bauman, not only to endorse the validity of this observation, but also so that he may clarify that this contemporary demand for ethnic references has, however, character and a symbolic function (cf. Bauman, 1999)³.

In Bauman’s texts the term symbol transpires the meaning of a socially agreed representation. Although this meaning coincides with the usual interpretation of semioticians such as C. S. Peirce (2003), for example, in view of an opportunity to extend the limits of this analysis I would regret to see myself confined to such narrowness. There is no room in this paper to discuss Peirce’s texts, so I will limit myself to suggest in the hope of future discussions that a convention can also be held various qualities between the sign and the object. Thus, a symbol can agree, that is, combine, adjust to each other various object’s characteristics which its associations features are not necessarily a match to reality but metaphorically relates to sensations, impulses, elaborations, or less obvious experiences. With this meaning Levi-Strauss (2010) and Lacan (1995) use that term and, moreover, this meaning emanates from Peirce’s observation that the symbol can relate to its object “(...) by a natural instinct or an intellectual act” without the need for a factual connection between sign and object (Peirce, 2003, p.76). For Laplanche & Pontalis, the symbol in psychoanalysis, if we think in a broad sense, would be an “indirect and figurative mode of an idea’s representation of a conflict, an unconscious desire” (1994, p.476) and it is in this direction that Jung (2009) warns us that “symbolic and semiotic meaning are very different things.” (p.443). By analogy, representing something known in an abbreviated way is semiotics; while a symbolic expression introduces

³ Faced with the impossibility of verifying the source of Hall, I refer the reader to this reference, although it does not correspond textually confirms the quotes ideas.

itself as “(...) the best possible formulation of something relatively unknown and that cannot, therefore, be lighter or characteristic (...) [a symbol represents] the unsayable in an unsurpassed way.” (p.444).

That said, I would like to focus the attention on two terms that are central in Hall’s analysis: identity and ethnicity. Identity elapses from the radical *Identitat* that in turn derives from the word *idem*, which in Latin means “the same”, “oneself”. The identity supposes thus a confluence of elements that become a single amalgam, the same thing, a unity. On the other hand, ethnicity has for radical the Greek *étnhos*, which elapses from Indo-European *swedh-no*, which indicates “itself”, “the peculiar unit” (Gomez de Silva, 1998).

Having it overcome, at least within the limits of this text, which Levi-Strauss designated as the “utopia of the century, which is to build a system of signs on a single level of articulation” (2010, p.44), we can see a close relationship between identity and ethnicity, as the second characterizes the unit that defines the first. Characterization that in “semiotics” articulation we tend to relate to notions known as local, nation, race or tradition. However, as it is the symbol itself, as in Jung’s view, this articulation darkens and complicates itself when we extend it to an organic nature’s substrate with its implicit and dynamic modes. I quoted the “utopia of the century,” from Levi-Strauss, as we seem to think that an identity amalgam is possible in the unique confluence of cultural elements, forgetting that the cultural sphere, ethnic (peculiar) of humanity, is inscribed in nature and depends on it.

This is perhaps the most complicating factor in this articulation because given the inability of the human species to survive in the natural environment, culture, as an opposition to nature, raises as a perennial sphere of the species (cf. Flusser 2011, Freud, 1995 Levi-Strauss, 2010). To include nature in analyzes about ourselves implies a consideration of the viability and relevance of our stay as a species on this planet, and that is frightening (Morin, 1970).

Unlike other animals that are born more or less ready to face the wild, marsupials drop out of the mother’s womb untimely so that in an external bag, they would complete pregnancy to the point where they will be able to respond appropriately to nature. Humans also drop out of the protection of the mother’s womb, however, the bag that should complete our “pregnancy” time is not biological, but cultural (Campbell, 2005). The problem is that, although there have been - and there are marginally - societies engaged in directing their cultural development to a harmonious understanding with nature, that is, to complete the maturation of their young to face the outside, this is not the case of modern Western culture (cf. Campbell, 2008 Eliade, 2001).

How, why and at what time this break occurred has been the subject of several epistememes. Nevertheless, given the complexity of the subject, there is always, in every approach, something from the order of ineffable that renews and strengthens itself in the confrontation or in multidisciplinary articulation. For this reason, I will try, then, to approach this rupture through a symbolic view.

Aware that the thoughts that I could extract from the following mythologem could also match my attitude towards the object, I will expose it in an attempt to cooperate with the elucidation of the issue launched by Hall, at the same time that I will submit to the possibility of expansion through confrontation.

I selected the tale of “Hansel and Gretel” (Anaya Group, 2001), collected by the Brothers Grimm in the first place because of the archetypes that it presents, but also because it is a story harvested in the dawn of the nineteenth century next to the proximity of Hansa city, a time and place strongly significant in the affirmation of bourgeois activities that defined the spirit of modern culture. As it is known, the story in question is not really of the authorship of the Grimms and they harvested it in the popular tradition, which in its dynamics, can be introduced into the narrative as an indicator of then current events.

Next to a large forest...

Hansel and Gretel lived in a house neighboring a large forest, with their father, who was a lumberjack, and their stepmother. They were poor, but at this time the poverty in the country was intensified and the family could not even get their daily bread. The stepmother proposed to her husband to abandon the children in the woods and even though he wanted to reject the idea, he could not impose himself to the woman because he was unable to offer an alternative to raise funds.

The theme of the mother who, until a certain moment shows herself indulgent and protective to then show threatening features of expulsion and helplessness is recurrent in mythological reports. It corresponds to a natural stage in the maturation of the offspring that some human civilizations practice with the same purpose in rituals (Eliade, 2001) and pedagogical form (Jung, 1990, p.73). A clear picture of this passage can be found in the mother bird that, after feeding their young in the nest for some time, expels them, forcing them to fly and seek food for themselves.

Symbolically, it is what Jung called the “terrible mother” (2011). Nevertheless, the positive symbol of parental dyad, the father, as a convex symbol tends to be conniving with the expulsion and usually is also a model to be achieved externally. In the case of Hansel and Gretel, the father is negligent, incompetent and without initiative. This detail is important because, faced with a troublesome situation, the creative response we can offer is proactive and therefore symbolized positively. Hansel and Gretel lack a positive reference and therefore in the light of the moon, which is also a symbol of maternal care (Jung & Kerényi 2011, p.189), they can only make a negative response: the parental regression protection.

On the other hand, we have to consider that in the nineteenth century, when this story was told, the industry mechanization expanded, from England to the rest of Europe, devaluing the craftsmanship and condemning to extreme poverty workers that were replaced by machines. In these circumstances, the proactive capabilities that the father had were untimely taken and the children, because of the lack of his model, were forced to make an unusual response. We will return to this hypothesis.

The stepmother/terrible mother nevertheless did not abandon her mythic role and cast her young in a deeper place in the forest. This time, included the Great Mother, or Mother Nature itself, as someone who helped to the task, causing the birds to disappear the way back by eating the crumbs of bread that Hansel had left as a trail.

As explained in Campbell (1988), to enter the forest is an introspective attitude - proper to those looking for resources to face a new conflict - and as negative displacement, entering in the unknown, the unconscious, it is also a movement toward the core of the mother's

symbol. It is therefore not strange that in the depths of the woods we find the witch, the one who in her spells holds the secrets of transformation. The blind witch who eats children is because the regression that I have been talking about being so intense that reaches the deeper functional layers, instinctive, such as swallowing and digestion without any analytical sieve, therefore, deprived of vision. Always symbolically when the child is introduced in the core of the mother's womb he or she becomes again an object of transformation. As Jung says, the Oedipal complex - the penetration in the mother - becomes also a Jonas complex who, in the belly of the whale, was initiated into the mysteries of a deep transformation of deified matter - the origin of life forms in the ocean - for matured by the experience, he or she would return to life on the surface (2011, p.488).

It is the primitive myth of "vagina *dentada*" (Campbell, 2005, pp.71-72) that swallows and pierces the hero until he reappears being able to destroy the menacing teeth and turn the monster (the gross nature) in its fertile complementary. The hero's tearing usually precedes its reconstruction by the maternal figure who is also renewed, as a young virgin who helps the foundation of a new cycle (Mendes, 2014). It is the subject that transcends his or hers childishness (puerility) because having completed his or hers pregnancy in a "cultural bag", resurfaces now able to harmonize him or herself with the external environment.

By judging studies of analytical psychology, Hansel and Gretel, as it is typical in myths (such as in Apollo and Artemis, Osiris and Isis, Mictlantecuhtli and Mictecacihuatl, etc.) represent the sexual bipolarity of a psychic unity: Animus and Anima. When the conscious life of an individual is male, his unconscious complement is feminine, the anima, and vice versa, the male unconscious of a woman's personality is the Animus (Franz, 2010). Thus, in the witch's guts, the male aspect of the infant in transformation is strengthened - Hansel was very well fed for fattening - while the female aspect is initiated into the mysteries of transformation, for the witch makes Gretel work extensively in the preparation of her projects: she became her apprentice.

The height of the preparations should be swallowing and digestion, that is, the transformation of the psyche in a maturing process and to that end the transformer element is fire. Gretel was instructed to light the fire of the furnace and she realized that cooking her brother would be only the second intention: the witch intended first to cook her as well. According to Jung:

The furnace (as the incandescent "tripod" in Fausto) is a maternal symbol. From this one Paris and Helen come out, the royal couple of alchemy; in the furnace, according to popular tradition, the children are roasted. The *athanor alchemists*, this is, the melting furnace means the belly, while the *alembicus* or the *Cucurbita* the *vas Hermetis*, representing the uterus. (Jung 2011, p.200)

And still Kerényi reports us:

(...) Demeter as a handmaid (...) gets Demophon her care, the youngest son of the king. Every night she secretly lays him on the fire: a peculiar procedure to provide him with immortality. (Jung & Kerényi 2011, p.169)

Here is the unexpected formulation of the answer from Hansel and Gretel to the situation which I promised to get back to. The childhood that starts in this story refused to change: Gretel tricked the witch and not only managed to escape, but killed the threshold of transformation with its own resources.

Although this outcome is not often observed in the longest traditions of myth, the tale of Hansel and Gretel is not the only one that signals this refusal. In the version originally collected by the Jacobs of "The Three Little Pigs" tale, the third little pig not only managed to escape the wolf (another destructive symbol of nature) by the affirmation and strengthening of his cultural protection - the brick house - but also steamed the wolf in a pot and ate him for dinner (Anaya Group, 2001). In Jack and the Beanstalk he climbed a beanstalk, to reach to the giant's treasures (parental reference from a child's perspective) fooled him and caused his death in order to get hold of the goose that laid golden eggs, light eggs, fire, fertile cells designed to regenerate life (Great Mother), and that he turned into wealth.

When Hansel and Gretel went back home the children were faced with the external correspondence of their achievements in the guts of the unconscious: the stepmother also died and their father, in tears, lamented the absence of the children without taking any initiative. Such as the three little pigs, this story culminates with three children: Hansel, Gretel and the father, free from the threat of maturity and of seeing themselves compelled to face the outside world without disregarding that Gretel, given her attachment to the scary meeting with the witch will also become the "mother child" who refuses her transformation into the "terrible mother" and will conceive herself only as a protective mother. Our adventurers will be happy forever, at home, under the care of the extended cultural bag with the threat of hard labor banned forever and secured to obtain all the necessary - and more than that - thanks to the resources that they improperly extracted from nature and that from then on will circulate with new meanings such as values exchange.

Final considerations

Capitalization is a children's vital attitude. In nature, any offspring finding itself in a development stage must capitalize resources in order to reach their adult size and strengthen their abilities to respond to a hard environment. Of course, during the growth period, the infant attitudes are selfish and their answers can be dull and inconsequential. But this is a stage to be overcome because there is no mother, whether it is the nature or the culture itself that even if so desired would not have conditions of any kind to indefinitely sustain a son who refuses to become mature and ends up becoming a parasite (Hillman, 2008).

Perhaps underneath all Marxist idealization is the intuition of this obviousness and it can hold in a more simple way and therefore more straightforward and direct, any prediction of collapse of the capital system; however, as Duarte says, "(...) the very world that the capitalist system has equipped itself with conditions artificially produced in order to, so to speak, 'bypass' its validity." (2001, p.28) This is the point where the triumphant story of Hansel and Gretel charges with a curse contours: the bird that refused to leave the nest and capitalized resources beyond its young-adult size will eventually win with its obesity, the resistance of the very nest. And what is worse, their wings never confronted with the external environment, will be discovered only in the vertigo of the fall with its atrophied skills.

Hansel and Gretel form the ancestral couple founder of a new era. It is clear that the reversal of the old monarchical system would require a new-born system, a renewed childhood; but it is also evident that this child can only assume “more universalist identities”, such as Hall intended, (2014, p.56) in that if it accepts itself as a stage. Among many other historical passages the international crisis of 1929 might have been a good landmark of transformation. Hansel was fat, was a saturated market, which meant a drastic reduction of needs. It was time to go into the oven so that, like the Phoenix, from the cremation ashes would arise a new life, refreshed, balanced and, above all, better adapted; in a word, matured. But Gretel had a Russia hidden up her sleeves: initiated by the witch, she knew how to deceive the real and strengthen the illusion, the Maya of the Vedic way. Just like magic Gretel laid the bases of the century’s utopia: a self-referenced sign system. Utopia embodied by the industry in addition to producing excessively and indiscriminately and that also started to produce the needs of its consumers (Baudrillard, 1995).

Hansel and Gretel will never suffer the hardships of excesses, there will always be renewed appetites in this new dynamic system. The consumer’s society is a *puer aeternus*, an ever-increasing and greedy demander, confident in the inexhaustibility of its resources because they are “magical” in origin, they belonged to the witch, and now it has become money. It and only it is able to make more money ... or at least that is what the infant believes.

But turn into what? Socialism? In communism? I do not think so. And after all, it does not matter. An authentic creative act cannot be entirely projected (Jung, 2012). The courage to include the unknown has as reward luminous answers, because they are unexpected. It is not what we precisely expect from creativity? For now, we continue to use the old *puerile* resources to avoid the sacrifice necessary for transformation. The “(...) pluralizing effect on the identities, producing a variety of new possibilities and positions of identification, and making the most positional identity, more politic, more plural and diverse; less fixed, unified or trans-historical” that Hall observed and assigns to globalization (2014, p.51) also makes sense if its compared to the compulsive transformation that many mythological infants practiced in an attempt to confuse and deter their tormentors. Zagreus, the first Dionysius, son of Zeus and Persephone, wanted to escape the dismemberment by the Titans sent by Hera, metamorphosing himself into a bull and other creatures (Kury, 2009). Another example among man, is the story of the Celtic hero Gwion who, fleeing from the deadly threat of the witch Ceridwen turned himself into a fish, in a hare, a bird and finally in wheat grain; form which the witch, transfigured in a black hen, eventually swallowed him (Wood, 2011, pp.100-101).

I apologize for concluding my text with another obviousness: it is impossible to form a unit when it is denied parts of the whole. If we turn to the deep sense of the term, the achievement of an identity that becomes deep and authentic, depends on the transcendence of an egocentric and awkward stage of childhood to a loving delivery, mature and responsible of the human society towards its surroundings. Mutual respect of love between potentialities and limitations, and with the tacit commitment of transforming together. Only under these conditions an ethnic appeal may be more than blind fundamentalism, diaspora in despair, incompetence mendicant, academicism, eugenics, curation, fanaticism, trafficking, terrorism or the ultimate fashion cry.

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VIDEO GAMES, CULTURAL ARTIFACTS, REPRESENTATION: DISCUSSING THE PRESENCE OF LGBTQI CHARACTERS¹

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ABSTRACT

The presence of video games in the homes of children, adolescents and adults has grown impressively since their insertion in the 1980s. Their technology evolved and has become increasingly realistic. In this space, the RPG game narratives for video games have become a space for learning, living and socializing among players. From the exploration of this virtual world we found several reports commenting on the inclusion of some characters identified as gay, lesbian, or transgender. Thus, understanding that video games are also involved in the formation of the identity and subjectivity of their players, we aim in this article to know more about how these characters are present in RPG narratives and what the players think about them. Therefore, we use, as sources of research, reports available on sites about video games that deal with the history of the character Cremisius Aclassi, from the Dragon Age: Inquisition series. The analysis is guided by a poststructuralist conception of cultural studies, comprehending such sites as cultural artifacts, possessors of a pedagogy, and also responsible for educating their players. From the analysis carried out in four selected reports it was identified that the issue of the inclusion of gay, lesbian and transsexual characters has been a matter of discussion among players. Thus, through the reports, we highlight the authors' concern in discussing how this character was represented, and is considered in these discussions the importance of this character for representing a transsexual in video games making room for LGBTQI players to identify themselves.

KEYWORDS

Videogames; characters; transsexuality; cultural artifacts; queer theory.

START: introducing the research

Electronic games emerged in the social landscape between the 1950s and 60s as the arcade games, known in Brazil as *fliperama* games. Those were big machines that contained games produced from a digital interface and presented, even in their first issues, elaborate images and plenty of action for the entertainment of children, adolescents and adults. It was from the 1970s and 80s that video games were released for home use. The hardware sizes decreased and their visual interface gained more detail and quality.

Since its inception, technological advances made it possible for video games to achieve spaces and provide experiences close to reality for their players. From its predecessors, the arcade games, video games surpassed time and space barriers, becoming, with the advent

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of the internet, games that allow the sharing of experiences and virtual lives online. We can see in the evolution from the first Atari devices to the well-known Wii and PlayStation consoles that the gaming world is not about to lose its charm and potential.

It was in this context that the first studies on video games emerged in the 1990s. Since then, much of the research has been concerned with the possible negative effects of continuous exposure to scenes of violence, as in the case of one of the most popular games nowadays, *Grand Theft Auto* (GTA). Thus, over the past three decades, many studies have sought to measure these effects, presenting in many cases contradictory results. Examples of this contradiction are the studies by Eric Uhlmann and Jane Swanson (2003) who, after the analysis of a sample of 121 student players of the *Doom* game, indicated a relation between the increase on the players' violence index and a high degree of violence in the game's narrative. In contrast, a more recent study published in the *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, conducted in the United States by scientists Christopher Ferguson and Cheryl Olson (2013), with 377 children in the age group of 13 years, indicated that violent games do not encourage or cause aggressive behavior in their players.

Gradually, studies on media and technology in the field of education enabled the look on video games to gain another focus. Thus, many studies have been developed in order to understand the possibilities of learning through video games, as indicated by the studies of James Paul Gee (2004) and Marc Prensky (2007).

In this article, we aim to observe another aspect that has gained ground in the virtual world of video games: the inclusion of transgender characters in role-playing games narratives.

Strategy 1 - choice and game concepts

This research is guided by the poststructuralist strand of Cultural Studies, understanding video games as cultural artifacts produced within a historical and cultural context, responsible for (re)producing and sharing meanings, teaching about genders, sexualities and bodies. In this sense, we assume the video games as participants in pedagogical processes, these processes being not only restricted to school spaces, but rather reaching various social levels.

Thus, according to Silva (2009, p. 139), "From the perspective of cultural studies, all knowledge, in that it constitutes a significance system, is cultural." Thus, we believe that video games, being part of the culture, are interwoven in the educational processes and participate in the transformation of the identity and subjectivities of children, adolescents and adults.

For this author (2009, p. 140) the various bodies and cultural institutions, as videogames games here are understood, "Without having the explicit purpose of teaching, however, it is obvious that they teach something that transmits a variety of forms of knowledge that although are not recognized as such are vital in forging identity and subjectivity."

Thus, when we understand video games as cultural artifacts, containing cultural pedagogies, we emphasize the idea that "The construction of gender and sexuality takes place through numerous learnings and practices, insinuates itself in very diverse situations, is undertaken explicitly or concealed by an endless series of social and cultural bodies" (Louro, 2008, p. 18). Also in this sense Louro states that,

Family, school, church, legal and medical institutions remain, of course, as important forums in this constitutive process. For a long time, its guidelines and teachings seemed absolute, almost sovereign. But how can we forget, especially in contemporary times, the seduction and the impact of media, soap operas and advertising, magazines and the internet, the social networking sites and blogs? How can we forget cinema and television, shopping centers or popular music? How can we forget the opinion and consumption polls? And yet, how can we escape the cameras and video monitors and the many machines that watch and meet us in banks, supermarkets and gas stations? We live immersed in their advices and orders, are controlled by their mechanisms, suffer their censorship. The propositions and contours outlined by these multiple instances are not always consistent or equally authorized, but are undeniably scattered everywhere and eventually establish themselves as powerful cultural pedagogies. (Louro, 2008, p. 18)

Recognizing the present cultural pedagogies in videogames and understanding the transience of genres allows us to look for a character that breaks the socially established linearity between biological sex, gender and sexuality, as shown in the case of a transsexual character found in the narrative of a video game, and thus, to consider the multiple learnings that permeate the relations between the story of this character and the players.

In order to understand such relationships, we analyzed speeches and the statements of players in articles posted on websites about videogames and intended to discuss the matter in question. Thus, it was possible to perceive the relationship that has been established between the player and a transsexual character found in the narrative of a role-playing video game in the formation of these individuals' identities.

We chose queer theory as a possible way to analyze the reports selected for this article, understanding that this theory "shows that identities are written through experiences culturally constructed in social relations" (Miskolci, 2009, 175). Thus, we assume queer theory as a fruitful area of discussion. For this theory the question is not to bring to the centrality those who today are marginalized, such as gays, lesbians, transsexuals, transvestites, but the non-assimilation of these identities. It is, first of all, to experience this position of being different and to enjoy it. In this sense, what matters to queer theory is to experience the difference and not seek the position of "normal" (Colling, 2004).

From this perspective, consider the presence of a transsexual character in a video game narrative, in which the game's proposal is to address the issue intentionally, whereby queer theory:

[...] Seeks to break the binary logic that results in the establishment of hierarchies and sub-alternations, but does not appeal to the humanist belief, however well intentioned, nor to the "defense" of stigmatized subjects, as this would freeze enunciatory places as subversive and ignore the contingent character of agency. The criticism on standardization bets on the multiplication of the differences that can subvert the totalizing, hegemonic or authoritarian discourses. (Miskolci, 2009, 175)

Thus, we understand it to be in queer theory's interest to cause a shift in the way we look, producing breaks in what is established as natural, enabling the subjects to show the existence of other ways of seeing and being (Louro, 2013).

This perspective enables us to think about the discussions presented on the transsexual character Cremisius Aclassi in the reports analyzed, not in comparison and/or opposition to the other characters present in the same narrative of the game, but as a movement of extension of the video game space, which has been predominantly occupied by male characters in leading roles since its insertion in domestic spaces at the beginning in the 1980s.

Queer theory proposes subversion by the act of breaking the certainties, not by putting others in place, but by affirming the uncertainty, the not knowing in a possibility. More important than proposing a new form of knowledge, it is to propose a reflection on what can then be thinkable.

Strategy 2 - drawing methods

For the development of this research we used the Internet as an empirical field, carrying out searches with the following keywords: LGBT characters, LGBT games, transgender characters. From an initial survey of sites that discuss videogames games, we found 61 reports on sites and 6 reports on blogs talking about the subject. The material found contains discussions that tell the story of different characters that are remarkable for their uniqueness. The characters are gay, lesbian, transgender, often not identified as such by their creators, but somehow have characteristics and attributes that make them understood as such.

After reading and research in each of these 67 reports, it was identified a recurrence of discussions about a specific character, Cremisius Aclassi, a transsexual present in the narrative of the RPG video game *Dragon Age: Inquisition*. Thus it was considered interesting to analyze the reports that focused on how this character was built and interpreted by some player-authors of these reports. We consider it important to emphasize that the choice of analyzing the reports dealing specifically with this character was exclusively because he is considered the first transsexual character created at the request of players of the LGBTQI community.

The 4 reports selected were: "Dragon Age Inquisition's Trans Character" from the website <http://observationdeck.kinja.com/dragon-age-inquisitions-trans-character-1663500954>, "Building a Character: Cremisius" Krem "Aclassi" from the blog <http://blog.bioware.com/2014/12/04/building-a-character-cremisius-krem-aclassi/>, "A Brief History of Transgender Characters in Video Games" from the website <https://transgamersociologist.wordpress.com/2012/03/26/a-brief-history-of-transgender-characters-in-video-games/> and "How BioWare Created Dragon Age: Inquisition's Trans Character" from the website <http://www.gamespot.com/articles/how-bioware-created-dragon-age-inquisition-s-trans/1100-6424014/>.

Thus, the purpose of this article is to discuss what questions have been posed by the player-authors of these four reports, regarding the Cremisius Aclassi character's presence in the narrative of the game RPG *Dragon Age: Inquisition*.



Image 1: Cremisius Aclassi

It's time to play with the concepts and data - Analysis

The construction of the character Cremisius Aclassi is presented in the reports “Building a Character: Cremisius “Krem” Aclassi” and “How BioWare Created Dragon Age: Inquisition’s Trans Character”. In these reports it was pointed out that the constitution of this character began during an event about Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer (LGBTQ) representation of the video game production company BioWare, in which there were many conversations about the need to present a trans character in the narratives of games. One of the main requests of the players was “for a representation of transgender and/or genderqueer characters in a way that did not make them either a monster or a joke.”

Analyzing the content presented in the two reports above we can see the demand of the LGBT video game player community and the search for visibility of characters that represent gay, lesbian, and transsexual people more realistically, as pointed by the speech indicated earlier, so that these characters do not were monsters or jokes.

Thus, we considered relevant to go back to the statement of Pelúcio (2014, p. 34), as we understand that analyzing the reports that address the discussions on the character Cremisius Aclassi in video games allows us “therefore, to operate from deconstruction as a method capable to give us clues as to how some speeches come to establish truths about behaviors, bodies, people, institutions”. Thus, we believe it is a possible way of questioning this theme to understand what moves the character in question has caused in the players.

In the analyzed report “Dragon Age Inquisition’s Trans Character” we found the following statement from the author of the report: “The game does use some problematic language at times but I feel it is more to illustrate the setting and peoples’ ignorance. The game makes sure, though, in no uncertain terms that he IS a man and if you have a problem with that you can take it up with Iron Bull. It is a representation that is good for cis players who are ignorant or bigoted on the subject and it gives trans people a rare positive game example. “

Such statement allows us to understand the relationship that has been established between the character Cremisius Aclassi and the players once the presence of this character, in accordance with the author of the article, is seen as an opportunity to discuss and learn more about transgender people by the players, and, as indicated by the author, allow transgender individuals to feel represented in the history of this game.

For Bento, as we think of the presence of transgender individuals in different social spaces, a possibility arises to highlight “those discursive and bodily acts considered socially important to give life to the sexed-bodies” (2014, 63). In the author’s words:



Their stories interrupt the line of continuity and consistency of body, sexuality and gender that is supposed natural, while pointing the limits of the effectiveness of gender norms and open spaces to produce cracks that could potentially become counter-discourses and release the gender of the sexed-body. (Benedict, 2014, p. 63)

Through this proposition, understanding the presence of transgender characters in the narratives of video games constitutes a denaturalization space of genres considered socially “normal” in the characters of the games. We can infer that the story of these characters can allow players to problematize genres and their practices, understanding gender identities not as fixed forms, but as social constructions. Recognizing the transsexuality of the character Krem is also a way to break the linearity of the structures of video game characters, often imagined within the sex-gender-sexuality correspondence logic.

At another point, still in the article “Dragon Age Inquisition’s Trans Character” the author shows a small section of the game where the playable character is in a scene conducting a dialogue with other characters, and among them is the character Iron Bull, commander of a team of mercenaries which the character Cremisius Aclassi is part of. In this scene, it can be seen that during the game there are moments of dialogue in which the character’s transsexuality is discussed among the other characters.

The scene presented in Table 1 shows the dialogue of these game characters talking about Cremisius Aclassi (Krem). In the speeches it is presented the discussion of how the character Krem is identified by his boss’ people, indicating that he would be an Aquin Athlok, a subject born in a gender, but who lives as another. It is seen then that the chief Iron Bull does not indicate a problem with this fact, pointing out in his speech that “They [the Aquin Athlok] are real men, like you are (Krem)!”

Table 1: Dialogue about the character Cremisius Aclassi

 <p>“Wait, you are... I hadn’t noticed...”</p>	 <p>“In Qunandar”, Krem would be an Aquin-athlok. That’s what we call someone born one gender but living like another.</p>
 <p>“And Qunari don’t treat those Aquin people any different than a real man?”</p>	 <p>“They are real men, just like you are.”</p>

Source: Production of the authors

From the scene presented above we can see that it is part of the game's narrative to specifically address the issue of transsexuality. In this sense, we consider the discussions brought in the articles analyzed as possible approach spaces between the issue of transsexuality from the Krem character and the subversion of the social processes that standardize and classify genres, allowing to break with "the illusion of stable subjects, social identities and consistent and regular behaviors" (Miskolci, 2007, p. 7).

In the article "A Brief History of Transgender Characters in Video Games" the following statement is made on the character Cremisius Aclassi: "I was not feeling too positive about his portrayal. This was especially true after hearing that he was going to be voiced by a female voice actor, as that reminded me of the many trans women played by men in Hollywood movies. Overall though, from what I've read, he seems to be a fairly positively portrayed character and a definite step up from Bioware's previous attempts".

The statement given above shows us some important points about the relationship that has been established between the transsexual character in the RPG game *Dragon Age: Inquisition* and the players. Understanding that to become "part of the culture means to have passed through the gender differentiating mechanism, this taboo and reached both normative heterosexuality and a distinct gender identity" (Butler, 2003, p. 247), the fact that other social spaces, and here we refer to video games, present a transsexual character that breaks the biological sex - gender linearity, allows us to consider the small ruptures that have happened in the games as part of the defying to the compulsory standardization of gender identities in their quest for intelligibility.

From the above it would be interesting to highlight some aspects regarding the analysis undertaken in selected reports. Initially it is important to realize that the video game world has a fairly new history. Another unique aspect of this discussion, which gained visibility with the construction of the character Creisius Aclassi is the possibility of creating a space for dialogue between the LGBTQI groups and the creators of the games.

The concern to provide narratives that have gay, lesbian, transgender characters enables many players to feel represented. In this perspective we understand that the analysis of these artifacts is a way to understand how video games and their characters have contributed to the establishment of trans identities among players, participating in the subjectivity of these subjects, as well as ways to think of them and represent them in our society.

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GENDER, SOCIAL MEDIA AND PEDAGOGICAL PROCESSES¹

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to reflect upon the exposure of pictures and images in social media, its articulation with gender and sexuality studies, and some of its implications for the educational field. We have argued that it is possible to learn something about education by studying the internet culture. The phenomenon of exposure of young people's intimacy in virtual networks seems to have a privileged locus, which we could qualify as presential. The interfaces between the school curriculum and the social media curriculum have effects on the ways through which students constitute themselves. In this sense, we can say that the social networks are examples of factors outside the school that both educate and mark our bodies; furthermore, it is possible to state that they are cultural products that interfere with and permeate the school curriculum. Our contemporary world has been marked with contingency, instability, mobility and transitoriness (BAUMAN, 2004, 2008), and it is quite likely that not long from now we will see changes in the ways that we relate with our bodies and our intimacy.

KEYWORDS

social media; intimacy; curriculum; gender.

"Sixteen-year-old adolescent commits suicide after her intimate pictures being disclosed on internet"⁴"Adolescent missed after her intimate pictures being disclosed and her father kicking her out"⁵"A girl has her intimate pictures disclosed on internet by her ex-boyfriend"⁶The headlines taken from Brazilian news portals opening this paper have something in common: the undue disclosure of intimate images on the internet. This phenomenon has become increasingly frequent, and a quick search on any search website will confirm that. These contemporary scenes teach us about intimacy violation and non-consensual exposure of images and bodies, often having devastating effects on the lives of those whose images were leaked, disclosed, exposed. Undoubtedly, these situations are contemporary, and we are still looking for legal, institutional, and also educative responses to them. They have been produced in times of internet, in times of reality shows, of "the culture of spectacle" (SIBÍLIA, 2008), the culture of body exposure. What do such situations enable us to learn and teach? Which implications and articulations would they have in the field of gender and sexuality studies?

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⁴ News published on Zero Hora. Available at: <http://zh.clicrbs.com.br/rs/noticias/noticia/2013/11/adolescente-de-16-anos-de-veranopolis-se-suicida-apos-ter-fotos-intimas-divulgadas-na-internet-4338577.html>. Access on November 1st, 2015.

⁵ News published on Portal R7. Available at: <http://noticias.r7.com/sao-paulo/fotos/adolescente-desaparece-apos-ter-fotos-intimas-divulgadas-e-ser-expulsa-de-casa-pelo-pai-17062015#1/foto/1>. Access on November 1st, 2015.

⁶ News published on Portal R7. Available at: <http://noticias.r7.com/record-news/video/carioca-tem-fotos-intimas-divulgadas-na-internet-por-ex-namorado-50d046b8e4b0d26e36d5ee2e/>. Access on November 1st, 2015.

The headlines used to open this text represent extreme cases, with rather difficult implications for the people who had their pictures disclosed: suicide, being expelled from home, humiliation, extortion. However, in the daily lives of many of us, there are certainly experiences with non-consensual disclosure of pictures and images. Participating in parties, meeting friends and family gatherings have often caused our pictures to appear in social media, whether we know (and agree with) it or not. Well, we have wondered: shouldn't we decide whether we want to share our private pictures in social networks? In case we do, shouldn't we choose the images we want to disclose? Are the "owners" of the pictures the people who take them or the ones whose images have been "frozen" by a click? Can we post whatever we want in "our" social networks, even when the images we show involve other people? Which phenomenon is this that makes former affective-sexual partners feel entitled to disclose intimate images that do not belong to them? How can one deal with issues like these? And which implications can these situations have for the field of education? These are some of the questions triggered by this paper, which aims to reflect on the exposure of pictures and images in social media and consider some of its implications for the fields of education and gender studies.

The empirical material we have used in this paper consists of newspaper reports addressing the disclosure of intimate pictures on the internet. Authors such as Illouz (2011) and Fortim (2007) have pointed out two opposed trends regarding the internet: either people romanticize it, considering it as a space that is free from the "real" world falsehoods, or demonize it, regarding it as a place of lies and deceptions. Instead of imagining what could be true or false in virtual social networks, we can think that their productions have certain meanings, thus putting norms and values at stake. The kind of knowledge produced in virtual social networks expresses socially and culturally constructed meanings, which in turn produce a kind of social identity. Social media are spaces that produce meanings of gender and sexuality, among several others that interact with the individuals. We argue that the emergence of certain cultural productions may help us understand the means through which they are spread, i.e. we can learn something about education by studying the internet culture.

The social networks are examples of factors located outside the school that both educate and mark our bodies. It is possible to state that they are cultural products that interfere with and permeate the school curriculum by means of genderized pedagogical processes. Our contemporary world is marked with contingency, instability, mobility and transitoriness (BAUMAN, 2004, 2008), and in this sense, it is rather likely that we will see changes in the way we relate with our bodies and our intimacy.

Intimacy as gender and sexuality pedagogy?

"Intimacy" is a rather common word in our culture. It has been used in films, literary works, songs... and also in our daily lives. Online Michaelis Dictionary (2015) defines intimacy as follows: "Quality of intimate; close friendship, close relationship; familiarity". In the same dictionary, the word "intimate" is defined as: "innermost, deep; from one's soul, from one's heart; homely, familiar (...); the central part; core (...)". Intimacy would be, then, something related to each individual. However, this notion of intimacy as something individual, a kind of dialogue with oneself, does not comprehend the several ways it has been experienced and interpreted.

The headlines shown at the beginning of this paper illustrate that private (but not individual) situations may be exposed on the internet and quickly disclosed and accessed by many other people, usually “strangers”. The electronic diaries and personal blogs in which daily situations and pictures can be published and “anything” can be written, including feelings, desires and affections, are other examples showing that intimacy is no longer something as personal and private as the dictionaries define it. The disclosure of intimate scenes, either of celebrities or unknown people, has become more and more frequent.

The complexity of the notion of intimacy nowadays has been analyzed by Paula Sibília in the book *O show do Eu* (2008). For the author, “the subjective experiences can be studied in terms of three broad, different dimensions or perspectives”: the trajectory of each one of us as a “unique, unrepeatable” subject; “the universal dimension of subjectivity, which comprehends all the characteristics common to the human gender (...), such as the body inscription of every subject and their organization by means of language”; and “a dimension of analysis, which we could qualify as particular or specific, localized between the singular and universal levels of the subjective experience, which aims to detect some elements common to some subjects, but not necessarily inherent to all the human beings” (2008, p. 16). According to the author, this third type of analysis would provide more clues to understand the current ‘ways of being’ developed with the new practices of expression and communication via internet, in order to understand the meanings of this curious phenomenon of intimate exposure that intrigues us today” (p.17). Exposing something of “our” intimacy to an audience, either known or not, is a phenomenon that has intrigued scholars from several areas, as well as educators and families.

A brief look at the pages of the most popular social network among Brazilian youths – Facebook⁷ – provides some clues of the extent to which intimacy has been exposed on the internet: pictures of people at parties, in the bedroom, with a few pieces of clothes on. Paula Sibília “plays” with the word “extimate” to refer to the way that the intimate and intimacy have been exposed on internet pages and social media and how much this phenomenon requires further studies and understanding. From this perspective, intimacy has changed over time. However, we can question whether such discontinuity has also been seen in relation to genders and sexualities. That is, does the relation that men and women have with intimate exposure have the same meanings and importance? Do the media and “ordinary people” deal with the exposure of videos and images of men, women, transgender, homosexuals and heterosexuals in the same way? Is it possible to state that intimacy is a genderized social phenomenon?

Men and women seem to equally share intimate exposure on the internet. This suggests that, in this context, there is more flexibility and equality in gender positions and in their relationships regarding the practices of exposure. However, are the effects of such exposure the same? The suitable gender conduct is closely related to practices and behaviors considered as socially adequate to men and women. The excerpts we have selected show the punishments and control exerted over women (suicide, parents sending them away from home, and postings by the former boyfriend). The discourses about identity have shown to be strongly articulated with gender.

⁷ According to the news portal G1, in 2014, 8 out of 10 Brazilian web surfers had a profile in that social network. Information available at: <http://g1.globo.com/tecnologia/noticia/2014/08/oito-cada-dez-internautas-do-brasil-esta-no-facebook-diz-rede-social.html>. Access on November 2nd, 2015.

The exposures in social networks evidence what has been achieved with the “sexual liberation”: boldness, flexibility and body explicitation. Furthermore, both sexes occupy these places. A less strict and traditional sexual and body morality does not evidence either that gender relations are more equal or that hierarchies have collapsed, but it makes some difference. It is undeniable that women, by means of social struggles, have modified gender relations at the workplace, in home life, sexual relationships and other social settings. If women were once chaste, today they are active. The image of young women was linked to innocence, and their bodies were kept under the imperative of chastity and purity (HOUBRE, 2003). Once reserved, hidden and modest, now the body is to be exposed, shown as a trophy, but this does not mean there is no longer any distinction between chaste and “impure” girls (the ones we characterize as independent, free, and capable to make their own choices). The girls are still judged as to their sexual behavior, as much as boys are assessed as to their ability for sexual conquests. In spite of more traditional gender positions, one cannot deny the changes in the field of gender and sexuality, particularly those involving women, who have undergone more significant changes than men as men’s and women’s sexual trajectories became closer.

It is worth saying that in different social contexts the gender positions are still constructed in accordance with binary divisions such as masculine/feminine, man/woman, and heterosexual/homosexual. Vasconcelos & Seffner (2015) have encouraged us to reflect on the gendering processes occurring in our culture and in a number of different institutions as well. For the authors, “as long as gender functions as a subjectivation vector linked to particular masculine and feminine forms, we will continue to discuss, describe and reify (...) men and women’s roles and functions, thus reducing the field of gender to attributes and behaviors” regarded as masculine and feminine (2015, p. 264). Therefore, it seems to make sense that the exposure of images and bodies of young women and men in social networks as well as the effects of these exposures follow a binary stream in which women (and the feminine) – despite the undeniable changes and achievements in the fields of sexual and reproductive rights, and sexuality – are still the most affected individuals when undue disclosure of sensual images on the internet occurs, as it was seen in the cases mentioned at the beginning of this text.

The intimate exposure in social media seems to express the body passage from a secondary to a central element, and there is a strong appeal to the body and sensuality. From a body that once was seen in opposition to the soul, the spirit, the reason and the mind, and regarded “as the least noble element” (LOURO, 2003, p.1) in these binary pairs, the body has ascended to “valorizations that have converted it into such a radiant entity as the soul once was” (SANT’ANNA, 2000a, p.237).

The overvalorization of the body and the intimate exposure as a space of rules and models may evidence changes in the codes of gender relations and sexuality. And, if all that is happening, what does it mean? It is possible to add the idea of pleasure intensification to the discussion about the configurations of intimacy in contemporaneity. Analyses by some scholars such as Bauman (2004), Rago (1998) and Costa (1998) have pointed out and problematized the “culture of sensations”, especially in terms of changes in the conceptualization of pleasure. Pleasure has spread. It has been sought in several sectors of life: work, leisure time and multiple activities. “Sex deconfinement” is visible in behaviors and ways of living. If being seen is one of the pleasures, the social networks leave nothing to be desired.

The understanding of intimacy and gender involves relations in which there are constant articulations, negotiations, advancements, drawbacks, consents, conflicts and alliances in a myriad of times and spaces. Gender is related to a variety of social experiences, such as intimacy, pleasure, body and sexuality. These topics are not new, but this does not mean either they are easy to discuss or they have been debated enough. On the contrary, they have become increasingly complex along history.

And what does the school have to do with this?

The school seems to be a privileged locus in which the phenomenon of exposure of young people's intimacy takes place in a way we could qualify as presential. The school is certainly an important institution in our society in which these practices are present: situations experienced by young people in the schools are photographed and posted in social networks at an impressive speed. It is also at school that the leaked pictures appear and become object of jokes and discrimination; at the same time, the schools do not seem to know how to deal with this phenomenon. On the other hand, the social networks are accessed by the youths, either at school or somewhere else, from their own mobiles and tablets, being available at a click. This is how Facebook and other social media (such as Twitter and Instagram) are present in the school context, no matter what we think about that.

The curriculum of the social networks is present at school: it teaches, it competes for space and seems to be more attractive than the classes conventionally taught in those settings. One of us participated in a pedagogical workshop with basic education students and teachers in which it was said that due to the students' great interest in accessing the social networks and the time "wasted" (?) with such access, the schools had blocked the navigation on those websites. Most of the students did not agree with that determination. Most of the teachers, in turn, thought this action was indispensable for the schools to "control" the use of the internet in their facilities. We do not intend to polarize a discussion by saying that the youths are for and the teachers are against the access to social networks. As education professionals, we can point out that the interest of the youth in the internet could be used as a powerful tool in the formal teaching and learning processes in which we participate. Which questions do the internet productions bring to the curriculum? How can those productions be regarded in pedagogical processes? How can we pedagogically deal with the social networks? Which productions of the social media do we intend to favor in the school curricula? Such questions should be more deeply analyzed, but they are beyond the scope of this paper. Hence, we will just provide some clues.

The schools should cope with the new cultural conditions we have been experiencing. In order to do that, they need to position themselves in relation to the problems they have faced, as well as design pedagogical processes that enable actions including the students and teachers' cultural repertoire. One should ask what has prevented gender, intimacy and sexuality from being discussed in the school context.

The school as a place of knowledge should not produce the "concealment" of gender and sexuality. As Deborah Britzman (1996) has pointed out, ignorance of these topics seems to work as a form of "protection". The idea is that the less the students know about gender and sexuality issues, the more they will be protected against early sexual initiation, for in-

stance. We believe that it is not possible to discuss about the curriculum without problematizing either the changes in the ways of experiencing childhood, adolescence, youth and adult life, or the changes in the teachers' professional identity.

The interfaces between the school curriculum and the curriculum of the social networks have effects on the ways the youths constitute themselves. Identified with the world of new technologies and the prevalence of images, the youths reached by the social media construct and organize their ways of being, and their values express the cultural diversity of our time. Foucault (1991, 1995) conceived the subject as a language artifice, a discursive production, an effect of power-knowledge relations. The subjects are what is said about them. Understanding that the subject is discursively produced is to understand that we are "assembled" through heterogeneous practices; we are produced in quite particular ways; we are constituted by the different texts with which we are in contact, by our different experiences, by the different languages we use to name, describe, typify and by which we are named, described, typified (ROSE, 2001).

The interfaces between those curricula produce different ways of being young in our culture. It seems that the curricula produced in and by social networks have taught us ways of being a woman or a man, ways of being young, ways of living and experiencing sexuality, and ways of being... They have taught that in order to "look good" in a picture one should have a "nice", healthy body, behave in a specific way, like certain kind of music, read certain books, go to certain places, have certain foods... It is a "serial" production of people who need to appear "equal" to be accepted in an increasingly speedy world.

The curricula produced by social networks have become increasingly speedy and interactive; they enable us to "travel" along other people's lives, "peek" into what is going on in the world in "real time". The profiles created in social networks show personal information, interests, likes, kind of affective relationship, and pictures – lots of pictures. As Couto & Richa (2010, p. 24) have said, maybe because "in the digital world, everything or almost everything is possible", it seems to be difficult to find a youth that does not (or did not) have this kind of profile. It seems to be difficult that the use of social media is not reflected on the schools. It seems to be difficult that we have not designed (pedagogical?) interfaces between the school curricula and the social network curricula yet. If, as Couto & Richa (2010, p. 24) have claimed, the "separation between online and offline lives cannot be supported any longer", how can we design a school curriculum to dialogue with what is experienced, taught and learnt by means of the social networks nowadays?

However, it is important to think that several teachers have not followed the transitoriness, fluidity and instability of the social networks as fast as the youths⁸. Here, once more, we are not interested in polarizing teachers against students, but in considering that such difference in the access to social networks (and even to the internet in a broader sense) hinders teachers from using these virtual networks as powerful pedagogical tools. Roughly speaking, we may say that these differences exist because the youths were born in a world with internet and have had access to this world since they were young children, unlikely an expressive number of teachers, who first accessed these technologies as adults.

⁸ For further information, consult the research carried out by Fundação Victor Civita. Available at: <http://www.fvc.org.br/estudos-e-pesquisas/avulsas/estudos1-7-uso-computadores.shtml?page=2>. Accession October 28th, 2015.

In an attempt to overcome some difficulties of the teachers with the use of the technologies in the classroom, some public policies have been implemented in the last years in Brazil, both to educate teachers in the use of information and communication technologies and facilitate the acquisition of computers and laptops by them⁹. In our opinion, in a country with social-economic inequalities such as Brazil, the access of teachers to computers and the internet is the first and important step towards the use of the internet as a pedagogical tool. However, this is not the only point to be considered. The clash at stake here is not only the differentiated access to information and communication technologies, and particularly to social networks, by teachers and students, but the current organization of the school curricula, which is formal and content-oriented, in opposition to the informal curricula produced by the internet.

Furthermore, other issues should be addressed: How can the school deal with the situation of students having intimate pictures disclosed on the internet? How can we design pedagogical practices reflecting on the ethical and even criminal aspects of actions like that? How can this school curriculum consider issues produced by the naturalization of image disclosure, either intimate or not, in social networks? And what can situations like the ones shown at the beginning of this paper teach us about gender and sexuality? How are those situations linked to the construction of contemporary identities? How can we problematize the way in which teachers regard and narrate the way their students experience their identities at school, especially in relation to gender?

We believe that these questions matter. So, we wonder how they can be linked to the school contents. We do not mean that addressing the internet and social networks in every class is absolutely necessary. Nevertheless, we think it is worth reflecting both on the possibilities and potentialities that such tools can have in the field of cultural and pedagogical processes and on the meanings of being a teacher or a student. Moreover, we cannot continue to ignore the influence that the curricula produced in social networks and the internet as a whole have on the students and the effects that the disclosure of pictures, intimate or not, may have.

This is a time of deep social, cultural and esthetical changes. The way to deal with intimacy is one of the risks and changes of this time. The tone of permissiveness and freedom of action, with apparently no or little interdiction (FOUCAULT, 2004), may be indicative of broader body freedom. However, “the liberation of the body involves new kinds of moralism, dozens of rules for a better use of the ‘body capital’” (SANT’ANNA, 2000, p.85). Different discourses spread at school about this topic may produce or even strengthen social inequalities. On the other hand, such discourses, by being de-naturalized, can often become powerful spaces of challenge and construction of other relations. The school and the curriculum are also a territory of experimentations and a field of struggle for signification and identity.

In contemporaneity, we have been constituted as multifaceted, transitory, connected, ever changing subjects. As we stated at the beginning of this text, we have been exposed, whether we like or not. This seems to be a path of no return in the next decades (if there is a return at all!). Hence, we think that our education processes, our curricula, our ways of teaching, our pedagogical practices should approach intimacy as a phenomenon of our time.

Reflecting on the exposure of our intimacy both individually and collectively, and the effects that this phenomenon has produced in the constitution of the subjects we have be-

⁹ Deeper knowledge of the digital inclusion and pedagogical use of computing in Brazilian schools available at: <http://portal.mec.gov.br/component/content/article?id=18730:inclusao-digital>. Access on October 30th, 2015.

come seems to be an interesting path. In this sense, we think we should not worry about “lost intimacy”; rather, we should focus on the new intimacies we have been creating.

There are still questions requiring responses and stronger proposals to overcome unequal treatments as well as excluding logics and cultures—and the school can be a powerful setting for this endeavor. Our efforts should be directed towards more equalitarian and less selective structures.

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FISHERWOMEN AND GENDER ISSUES, A DECADE LONG ANALYSIS OF SCIENTIFIC WORKS FROM BOTH SIDES OF THE SEA¹

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ABSTRACT

This paper is a literature review focused on fisherwomen and gender relations existing in subsistence and artisanal fishing practiced in the Classical Amazon⁵, Brazil and Portugal. We analyzed papers published during the last decade on scientific platforms such as Capes and Scielo, in Brazil, and b-on and Recap, in Portugal. In addition, we conducted specific searches in scientific journals from the Federal Universities of the northern states of Brazil and from Portuguese Universities. We deduced that the Brazilian academy has paid more attention to the problems faced by women in fishery than the Portuguese academy, which seems to have not yet realized the depth of the issue, despite the fisherwomen movement of the European Union.

KEYWORDS

woman; fishing; gender; Brazil; Portugal.

Introduction

During the development of the field work for our doctoral research, carried out in fishery areas of the Brazilian Tocantin and Atlantic Amazon and Portugal, we noticed the preponderance of the male gender. However, we identified the presence of women in all the stages of the production chain of the subsistence and artisanal fishing, and that, within this culture, there are uneven power relations, which ultimately reflect in the greater visibility of fishermen.

The asymmetry observed did not fail to surprise us, and we understood that we could investigate further by immersing in the gender issues that existed in fishery, since the oppression suffered by fishermen in their relationship with the dominant is replicated by them, in their relationship with fisherwomen.

Aiming to understand and reflect on the matter without departing from the research objective of the main study we chose to get an overview of the papers produced about this subject. For this, we chose the last decade (2005-2015) and performed a detailed analysis in free access online platforms and scientific journals.

Why choose to dive in research papers? The format of research papers is characterized by being a synthetic and accessible way of relaying information on scientific research both

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⁵ In the understanding of the Society for Preservation of the Natural and Cultural Resources of the Amazon - SOPREN, Classical Amazon corresponds to the north of Brazil and comprises the states of Acre, Amazonas, Amapá, Pará, Rondonia and Roraima, so it is not related to the questionable concept of Legal Amazon.

in progress or already concluded. Its synthetic format also allows a streamlined analysis of one aspect of the research or of a specific problem.

Since childhood we gash rivers, boreholes and streams in the Tocantin Amazon. In this wild environment we could always see fisherwomen in nearby waters, while men were always involved with fishing in distant waters. In both cases they developed means to provide for their families.

The idea to address this issue and highlight the importance of female work in fishery arose with the perception, acquired during the field work and while dealing with academic literature, of the fact that women have a relevant role in fishery, yet when addressed in research they appear as adjuncts. If we look at this reality through Foucault's lens, we can clearly see there is an asymmetry in power relations between genders in the subsistence and artisanal fishing practiced in diverse regions of Brazil, Portugal and other EU countries. We cannot forget that this disharmony is present in the reality of halieutic communities from all continents.

The survey we present is an abbreviated version of the original. We sought to extract the essence from all the publications that we accessed and hope that this study helps to draw attention to the situations faced by fisherwomen every day and to stress the little attention that academics pay them.

The Fisherwoman from Classical Amazon, Brazil.

In the state of Amapá, the study about the participation of women in social organizations, among them, fishery, seeks to "analyze the particular situation of women participating or not in social organizations and movements located in communities of the Bailique Archipelago, state of Amapá, Brazil" (Almeida *et. al.*, 2013).

The authors do not specifically focus on fishery, but on productive livelihood activities practiced by the women of that part of the Amazon. They point out that the main activities carried out in these communities are traditional fishing and shrimp capturing, which stand out in the local context. In this scenario we concluded that all women participate in some social organization, but they still consider it is a small participation.

According to Almeida (*et. al.*, 2013), a greater participation of women in social movements would be possible if they did not reproduce what was taught to them as a "women attributes", namely that it is up to women to "get married and take care of the home". However, the authors emphasize that, although women have already conquered spaces in the contemporary world, rural societies still show traces of male dominant behavior towards women, such as *machismo* and sexism.

Nevertheless, the authors conclude that the fieldwork revealed evidence of changes in women's daily lives, since female participation in social organizations, although it still is small, is a strong indication of change.

In the study conducted with fishermen and fisherwomen surrounding the Hydroelectric Plant of Coaracy Nunes, in the state of Amapá, Oliveira *et. al.* (2013) concluded that women, despite their significant participation in local fishing, were invisibilized in the collection of field data, as a result of the characteristics of the local community, "of patriarchal type, where the head of the household and the one responsible for the support of the family and for answering the surveys is the man" (Oliveira *et. al.*, 2013, p. 91).

Oliveira's (*et. al.*, 2013) study leads us to conclude that the local cultural pattern diminishes women, reinforces, reproduces and naturalizes, in the present time, oppressing postures that silence and do not recognize the importance of fisherwomen's labor, although they also provide food and income for the family.

From the Amazonian state, we highlight the work of Alencar (2013), which addresses gender issues in fishery management projects that run on the sustainable development reserve of Mamirauá, where fishery is an important mean of family support and supply for the local market.

Alencar (2013) regrets that his project does not include information on neither gender relations, nor women's role in the activity, nor the amount of fish captured by men and women. There is also no quantification of production for family consumption, which is usually performed by women.

The author concludes that the factors mentioned, together with the sexual division of the roles within the local community, which assigns the care of the house and the children to women, end up alienating them and contributing to their invisibility in the society, institutions and even within the fishers' category.

The author understands that the fact that there is no statistical data on fish production by women contributes to the lack of formulation of public policies focused on them and, with that, their invisibility as fisherwomen is strengthened. On the other hand, she highlights with some hope that "as the work of women in fishery management is known, it can contribute to their recognition as fisherwomen and their rights as complete citizens" (Alencar, 2013, p. 6).

The author concludes that even with the non-identification of gender representations on the participation of men and women in the fish management project in Mamirauá, women can point out ways and give visibility to their needs by organizing themselves politically, participating in Colonies, Associations or Unions of fishermen, since "visibility is a condition for women, especially from rural areas, to have greater participation in the economic, social and political lives of their communities, and it is also a way to enhance their role as a historical subject, thus reconciling the interests of human populations and the conservation of biodiversity" (Alencar, 2013, p. 14).

The work of Miranda and Barroso (2013), conducted in the states of Amazonas and Tocantins, focuses on women from rural areas, where fishery, agriculture and extraction make the livelihood of families.

Through a comparative study of public policies for women in the two states, named Policy Organizations for Women - OPMs, the authors sought to understand whether they have incorporated the perspective of gender, and how women's organized action had contributed to regional development.

The authors assure that OPMs, both in the Amazon and in Tocantins, go against the women's movement, given its lack of representativeness before the social movements and of structure to function; in addition, there is the fact that the effects of gender inequality impact women differently, depending on their identity and ethical position, sexual orientation and social class.

Miranda and Barroso (2013) understand that for the OPMs to become effective they must take differences into account. To this end, it is necessary for States to assess and find ways to interconnect gender issues to development, in order to be able meet the peculiarities of the women from the forest.

The study conducted by Machado with women from the mangroves areas of Guarajubal village, municipality of Marapanim, in Para state enabled the "analysis of environmental is-

sues and gender relations from an anthropological approach to a portion of the traditional Amazonian population” (2007, p. 485).

Based on Shiva (1993), the author considers that the gender, work and education issues are arising from the complexity of the problems of societies at global and local levels, which cross environmental issues such as pollution, degradation and poverty.

Machado (2007) states that women’s labor is considered of minor importance and made invisible by their societies. And if a woman is a *cabocla*⁶ this is intensified and it reaches the extreme when the woman is both a *cabocla* and a fisherwoman, because besides the depreciation at the local level, there is also the belittlement of women by the government.

The author realizes that, in countries whose economy depends on biological resources, women’s traditional knowledge of the local natural environment is essential for the preservation of species.

The author concludes that, both in the Amazon and in other areas, the recognition and participation of women is shown as an open field that requires research and specific public policies, since “the issue involving gender and environment is revealed as the most important [...]” in contemporaneity (Machado, 2007, p. 490).

Leitão’s (2013) work, accomplished in the context of the research project “Actions to Consolidate Gender Mainstreaming in Public Policies for Fishery and Aquaculture”, that the author coordinated from 2010 to 2011 in the Ministry of Fishery and Aquaculture was developed in five Brazilian states: Pará, Santa Catarina, Pernambuco, Ceara and Paraíba. It aimed to give visibility to the speech produced by artisanal fisherwomen in their daily work, their struggles and transformational operations in the economic, cultural, social and political spheres. In the state of Pará, the collection of data was carried out with fisherwomen from the village of Baía do Sol in Mosqueiro and the municipality of Curuçá.

According to Leitão (2013), women and men manage their time differently, although both guide themselves by the cycle of water. In the case of women, the adaptation to the “water system”⁷, mentioned by Sarraf-Pacheco (2009), may lead to an advance in the execution of a chore, because when the tide is favorable for fishing in the morning shift, they perform and finish their “domestic duties” on the previous night.

The author understands that, despite the fact that a fisherwoman carries out diverse works every day, she is still perceived as an adjunct and thus professionally invisible when it comes to fishery. And this invisibility helps to increase their marginalization and decrease their participation in social movements of the category, providing, on the other hand, opportunities for men to be a majority

Regarding the fundamental difficulties faced in their everyday, the author highlights some similarities that run through the accounts of fisherwomen of the five states surveyed:

(...) the discrimination or invisibility of women in the production chain of fishing, their lack of knowledge about the access to social artisanal fishery rights, the difficulty to reach positions of power within the Colonial and fishermen/women Associations; the risks and diffi-

⁶ Cabocla is a term used to identify women from the inside of the Amazon rainforest. According to Rodrigues this is “[...] a category assigned by others and not self-assigned, an accusatory category and not one of recognition of rights and privileges [...]” (2006, p. 121).

⁷ The water system consists of an imposition of nature through the tidal cycle that influences the way of life of Amazonian men and women. For further information see Sarraf-Pacheco, A. (2009). *En el Corazón de la Amazonía: identidades, saberes e religiosidades no regime das águas marajoaras*. Thesis (PhD). Post-Graduate Program in History, PUC-SP.

culties of access to Personal Protective Equipment (PPE); the presence of middlemen and the need for fair trade (Leitão, 2013, p. 103).

Besides the difficulties of being a fisherwoman in today's society, the author informs that these women are also economically disadvantaged, since the income from the fish is routinely small and the situation worsens during the winter, because of the lack of fish and buyers.

518 | To conclude, Leitão (2013) states that the report of the fisherwomen indicates that domestic and care activities are understood by men as exclusively female. Working in fishing does not spare them the care of the children or the house; on the contrary, it adds working hours and it is their "natural role" to deal with the demand.

The Fisherwoman from Portugal.

Amorim's (2005) work, carried out in several documentary sources during the turn of the nineteenth-century aimed to "assess and discuss women's space in the organization of work of fishing communities in Portugal in the late 19th century and the beginning of the 20th" (2005, p. 658). Gender issues are not the focus of the author: this survey focuses on the description of women's work in the fishery sector, which virtually involves every step of the fishing chores, from the preparation of the fishing gear to fishing itself (in different ways), from the processing to the marketing of fish. But, before what the research shows, it is possible to have an overview of the role of women in the *métier* and understand the relationship between female fishery and gender issues in Portugal during that time.

Amorim (2005) understands that the visibility of fisherwomen's work has been overshadowed for a long time in scientific literature, which has understood the sea as an exclusively male territory. The author concludes that the transformations occurred in the fishery sector, which changed the production methods, from family based to commercial fishing (in a major scale), turned the masculine figure in the dominant element and, with some variations, it turned the woman into a participant.

From the studies of Poinard (1912) and Descamps (1935), which approach aspects of the work developed in fishing and the canning industry by families from Setubal and Lagos, Amorim (2005, p. 661) understands that "[...] the passage to sectors upstream or downstream of fishing, when it comes to industrialization, created hierarchies of value, praising or degrading female roles". Those antipode positions can be identified in the production chain of codfish and sardines.

Regarding the alienation of fisherwomen from the work market, Amorim (2005) highlights the distant-water fishing of codfish in Terra Nova and Greenland, during the dictatorship (named *Estado Novo*). This type of fishing was completely territorialized by men. Women, in this case, were confined to domestic chores and given brochures with advice about subjects related to child nutrition and child care (these women, when their husbands were fishing codfish, were identified by others as "the women of the codfish fishermen").

When it comes to the convenience of women's labor in the fishery sector, Amorim (2005) highlights the productive chain of coastal sardine. This activity represented an important income for Portugal during the fisheries crisis of the time, which was worsened by the low wages. To elucidate this context, the author analyses the speech given by Salazar (1932)

to women working in the canning industry, in which the dictator encouraged them to work at the “fishing and canning centers”, instead of doing domestic work.

The author expresses that verifying the weight of female participation in Portuguese fishery of that time is an “inglorious task”, because none of the documents produced by the State or by fishing entities did a clear registry of those data. Nonetheless, the author states that those documental sources both make invisible the weight of female work in fishery and reveal that women acted in the diverse modalities of fresh, salty and salt water fishery from the north to the south of the country, and, therefore, “women symbolized the reserve necessary to continue both in the sea and the land [...]” (Amorim, 2005, p. 674).

Finally, the author considers that the data of this survey do not subside quantitative conclusions about female participation in Portuguese fishery at the end of the 19th century, because “the information is misled by the weight of the information produced by the government authorities and by the absence of information produced by fishery communities” (Amorim, 2005, p. 664). But, in the diverse fishery centers of Portugal, “[...] the woman not only represents a clearly observed labor force in the sector, above all she is a determining agent in the family survival [...]” (Amorim, 2005, p. 671).

In order to research this issue in the present time, in Portugal, given the lack of scientific studies and qualitative surveys about this subject, we appealed to field research, aiming to get to know effective actions turned to the valorization and recognition of women’s work in fishery and aquaculture. In this sense, we can verify and highlight the work of AKTEA – European Network of Women in Fisheries and Aquaculture and of the ICSF – International Collective in Support of Fishworkers, which join forces and act together with the groups of fisherwomen from countries within the European Union, aiming to “reinforce the voice of women of fishery communities in Europe” (Quist, Frangoude & O’Riordan, 2010, p. 1).

The report of the actions of this partnership, carried out in 2010, by Quist, Frangoude and O’Riordan (2010) with the title *Reformulation of the Network: The Definition of a Gender Agenda to Sustain Life and Means for Livelihood in Fishery and Aquaculture*, shows an overview of the activities developed with the fisherwomen of Europe, and, particularly, with the groups of fisherwomen of Portugal.

According to Quist, Frangoude and O’Riordan (2010), the ICSF – AKTEA made a survey and taught workshops related to the sexual division of work in fishery, the decision-making of women in fishery, its economic impact, aquaculture and climate changes, with the objective to prepare fisherwomen for the workshop that aimed to discuss and elaborate a gender international agenda to influence the Fishery Global Program managed by the FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations) and to strengthen the networks of fisherwomen.

Regarding the data collected in Portugal and the Azores, the authors link the existence of sexist postures before women’s labor and understand that these positions need to be overcome. In the Azores, the most shocking issues are related to the activity of fish processing where difficulties are the seasonality of the job, which ends up affecting women’s salary; and to the prejudice of the population regarding women who, after a working day, walk down the streets exuding fishy smell and are considered nasty, because they share their work space with men.

Concerning labor in fishery companies, the problems are even greater: even acting in all stages of the production chain, their work is seen as a help to their spouse or an extension of their domestic activities and, for that reason, it is not paid. The authors realized that there are still cases of some fishery companies that restrict the boarding of women, because it is considered that they bring bad luck to the crew. In this case, we see the application of the

Amazonian myth of panama approached by Torres (2007) and Soares and Scherer (2013) in the reaffirmation of fishery as an exclusively masculine territory.

Regarding the sexual division of work, Quist, Frangoude and O’Riordan (2010) assure that some asymmetries still persist. Men predominate in the labor carried out in the sea, while women are more present in assistance activities than in fishing itself. Even in the milling fishing industry, where women predominate, the top positions are occupied by men. In some situations, women have to do special efforts to prove that they are as capable as men to progress in their careers, but they are in clear disadvantage because they have to alternate their professional and domestic activities.

Quist, Frangoude and O’Riordan (2010) conclude that with the creation of AKTEA and the local networks of women in fishery, such as the Portuguese network *Estrela do Mar*, women of all Europe have been able to exchange experiences, organize themselves and become more visible, as a regional and a national social group, and, thus, to participate more actively in the decision-making that affects the fishery sector and the labor of fisherwomen. They also highlight that there has been an evolution regarding women’s independence, especially in the new generations. The image of the fishermen wives is changing and nowadays it is more common for them to get support for their domestic chores, more autonomy in social life and professional qualification as fisherwomen.

Final Considerations

Considering the criteria that we chose to promote this revision of literature, the evaluation of the texts made it possible for us to work with the production of 3 (three) of the 6 (six) states that form the Classical Amazon (in Brazil). We noted that most of the production of scientific research was from Pará state, followed by Amazon and Amapá (we did not identify any works on this subject in the other states). In Portugal, we found 1 (one) paper that fulfilled the criteria of this research and 1 (one) activity report related to this subject. In this abbreviated version we chose to only approach two works of each locus of study.

What do the quantitative data reveal us? Firstly, the academy of the north of Brazil has paid more attention to the role played by women in fishery, when compared to the Portuguese academy. In Portugal, despite the growing mobilization about the issue of the movement of women in local fishery and its articulations with movements of fisherwomen in the European Union, the local academy seems to have not yet understood the importance and study required by this subject.

The cycle of discussions *Quintas da Ria*, promoted by the University of Aveiro and the City Hall of Murtosa, where the subject on *Women in the Economic Activities of the Ria*, was attended by Anabela Valente, member of the Portuguese Network of Women in Fishery, who talked about the work that is being promoted by her group in Portugal by telling the difficulties and delights of being a fisherwoman.

The reaction of the audience revealed the thoughts of the community on fisherwomen’s labor. Positive opinions praised their initiative and courage for persisting in a male territory. On the contrary, more critical opinions revealed that there is still a part of the male community that does not accept the presence of women in fishery. This difficulty to accept and give recognition to their work leads to believe that the educational system needs to strengthen

the treatment that has been given to gender issues at all levels of education, given that the current positioning silence and obscure fisherwomen and is not compatible with reality.

During the development of this research it was possible for us to understand that the invisibility, the silenced presence and the status of “help-labor”, in spite of the efforts carried out in Brazil and Portugal, still are “qualities” that characterize fisherwomen. It is important to highlight that the practical results of gender inequality reach women differently and it is subjected to their identity and ethnic, sexual orientation and social class, as pointed out by Miranda and Barroso (2013).

Thus, it is desirable for the academy of northern Brazil to continue questioning and showing off the situation; as long as fisherwomen are alienated from their rights and their voices are silenced. Regarding the situation in Portugal, it is mandatory for the academy to take over this issue, because identifying, reflecting, spreading and encouraging the creation of public policies to reduce gender inequality in fishery are still ways of playing an important role in society and working for better days for fisherwomen.

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AND WHEN LOVE KILLS? STORIES ABOUT THE CULTURE OF TERROR AND VIOLENCE IN SEVERAL CORNERS OF THE WORLD¹

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ABSTRACT

This study focuses on marital conflicts when they are presented in public spaces for the denunciation of violence against women, since the enactment of Law No. 11340 - Maria da Penha Law, in order to assess the subjective and social impacts produced in these individuals. Based on the study of some contemporary authors such as Sorj and Monteiro (1985), Grossi (1995), Gregori (1987), Rifiotis (2006), Debert (2006), Spivak (2010), Agambe (1998) it analyzes processing and penalization of the perpetrator of crimes related to marital conflicts. For Debert (2006) processing is the main way of coping with interpersonal and conjugal conflicts within the home environment. In this fashion, one can visualize how many women die in Brazil and worldwide; in reference to India, by investigating collective rape and domestic violence.

KEYWORDS

Violence; Woman; Femicide; Social Suffering.

Introduction

This is part of a text of a doctoral research in Sociology from the Federal University of Ceará (UFC), whose approach focuses on conflicts in amorous relationships, when they are presented in public spaces as a denunciation of violence against women, since the enactment of Law No. 11340 - Maria da Penha Law, in order to assess subjective and social impacts produced within these individuals. This new law reflects how interpersonal relationships became the groundwork for modern public institutions⁶ by changing the mechanisms of control exercised over the private, refining behaviors and uses of violence as a result from increased publicity of what was lived as strictly intimate. These new forms of institutional regulation that blame and criminalize practices of domestic violence have already reached limits that deserve the watchful eye of the Social Sciences.

The study's object is centered on the possibility of evaluating women when they are under stress due to their new situation, from the breaking up of the circle of violence to the

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following path of recovery. In this new path, women try to strengthen themselves by denouncing the violence they suffered – what also seems to reveal that the breaking up of an identity, hidden in pain, is capable to weave new social bonds by means of particularizing her feminine self.

The approved law helped women to leave their private world and reveal issues related to the maintenance of violence. It is in this way that women go through a trail from a violated/victimized subject to a defying posture to counter gender-related domestic violence. They leave the area of veiled violence to face the violence that they suffered.

This escape route takes her to an acting role of producing a new historical subject - “the same woman but a more empowered one”. The violent situation does not separate her two case histories, but elaborates and succeeds in reevaluating her extreme posture, letting her to live and reflect on how to overcome her daily predicaments. The act of going to the Police Station is an outrage for some, and awakens wrath in others.

When I leave this place she’s going to pay, the devil is already singing in my head (man speaking at the Women’s Police Station – after being arrest in the act – mar. 11.2013)

Nuts is a dude who trusts in an animal that bleeds for seven days and won’t die (A joke cracked by a man being interviewed at Nuah – May 16.2013)

In the minds of some men, women are perceived as extensions of their proprieties, body or sex, but when one reads Spivak (2006), Das (1997), Foucault (1999), Versiani (2005), Agamben (2004) they show an impaired identity as Goffman (2004) ascertains, or if one considers Spivak (2006) when he says that female subjects cannot be heard or read, we question why this female identity become a subaltern subject including our bodies, our minds or our sex. According to Agamben (2004), in his work *State of Exception*, the author recognizes the existence of people that are not important to the State, and become known as bare lives.

Men and women of today try to culturally and socially build something beyond the basic, but something erected on gender and not on sex. “Sex is constructed as something unshakable.” This notion interferes with the life and dimension of the male and female.

When one reads Virginia Woolf’s *Orlando*, one perceives something beyond the common, for she presents so many epiphanies in each paragraph that we see a reality that, for the author in her time, would be overwhelming. The book marks the transition from the nineteenth to the twentieth century, the civilizing process being constituted under norms and standards to be followed.

As Foucault points out in “We Victorians”, it is said that early in the seventeenth century there still prevailed a certain weakness. Practices sought not the secret, words were said without undue reticence, and things without too disguise, there was a familiar tolerance with the illicit. However, Woolf (1928) fled these archetypes, the experiences that would be taken as values of other times and dimensions. The story takes place about 350 years in the past, and involves processes, stories, experiences that emphasize someone and changes occurring at that day and time, a time that can be today, yesterday or tomorrow.

All of her was darkened and harmonized, as when it is added the stroke necessary to highlight and make solid a surface, and that what is shallow becomes deep and next distant; and

all of it is contained like water by the walls of a well. In such a way so darkened and quiet now, and converted with the addition of this Orlando, so much so, rightly or wrongly, that is called an only me, a real self. And she was silent. For it is possible that, as when people talk loudly, the selves (of which may be more than two thousand) having a division of consciousness and striving to establish communication, become in fact silent. (Woolf, 1978, 176 and 177)

One speaks not only of the construction of the plot, but of the need to be absent from chronological time in order to talk about the coming time of personal transformation, the transformation of subjects and subjectivities. When one starts reading the book one sees the need to work with this construction of gender that goes beyond sex, which recognize men and women as something plastic and malleable, even with so many differences and inequalities, as female beings, male beings, heterosexual, homosexual, trans but under construction (...), soon recognizes *“Orlando as man - him - because there was no doubt as to his sex, though the fashion of the time would strive to hide it”* - but his positions showed a being constituted as male, thoughts, actions and reactions. *On the other hand, part of him led Orlando do to things proper to boys. But as he was only sixteen, and was too young to ride with them to Africa or France, he fled from his mother and the garden peacocks, and went to the attic to attack, cross and slice the air with his sword (. ..)* (Idem, 07). It is recognized here as the author conceived her autobiography, establishing the need to experience the masculine side and take advantage of this position both fictional and interpretive. The dimension of the other’s position, the experience of being the male even if idealized, by giving herself the experience of being someone who is far from her, being the other. We see how it is difficult to think of how the other feels, but in the reality of men driven by the law, that’s where a new dialogue becomes possible.

It is in this position that one seeks to mediate Woolf with the object of study, coordinating positions of each of the interlocutors, being they women or men.

In some cases the request for application of the Law 11340/2006⁷, within our reality, is regarded as an affront to the aggressor who reacts violently and increases his anger. In the empirical case we presented, we had the complaint against and arrest of the perpetrator, and after his release by payment of bail⁸, the woman was beaten badly by him, a count of more than 33 blows, and left almost dead by the aggressor.

Upon arriving at Zamia’s house, I noticed that all were beside themselves, so we interviewed her in her bedroom. As the cuts had been in several and large areas of the body, healing had to occur in the open, so it was possible to see that head, forehead, cheeks, arms, legs, fingers all had knife cuts, the more impressive being the nose that had been carefully stitched in a plastic surgery. (Diary - 28.Mar.2012)

In the book *The Germans*, in the analysis of the Nazi genocide, we find a critical eye on the death of Jews and the validity of the theory of Elias (1990 [1897]) about the civilizing process. Consciousness of people marks the twentieth century, the killing of the other being

⁷ We use here the word request because it is a native category among users of the law, and its operators.

⁸ The Maria da Penha Law does not foresee the payment of bail, only through withdrawal of complaint by the battered woman, payment is possible. We will work this data in Chapter III.

a permanent problem, genocide being divided into several important points in history: Stalin, Uganda, Cambodia, Rwanda, and Bosnia. Some sociologists prefer to call the category modern genocide, others would call it ethnic cleansing. We can demonstrate in numbers those deaths, the Syrian conflict entering negatively to demarcate those statistics when we talk about the deaths of women in Brazil and Latin America.

Each action was overseen by police officers of the northern region, with measurements of the prohibition to stipulate bail to men arrested due to domestic violence. But these considerations do not validate protective actions for women.

For Spivak (2010) in the encounter between patriarchy and imperialism, in the creation of a subject and the formation of the object, the figure of the woman disappears not in a pristine emptiness, but in a violent pitch that is a displaced configuration of the third-world woman, caught between tradition and modernity.

For Butler (2009, in *Las Vidas Lloradas*, we can see an endorsement of death and life of people, especially after the September 11 attacks. But the author determines that the lives of people in certain social groups are less important than others, and cites the HIV patients and deaths in war. Thus, we can evaluate the extent to which the life and death of women are important to us, we being a democratic society that respect their rights as individuals:

Tal vez dicha responsabilidad sólo pueda empezar a realizarse mediante una reflexión crítica sobre esas normas excluyentes por las que están constituidos determinados campos de reconocibilidad, unos campos que son implícitamente invocados cuando, por reflejo cultural, guardamos luto por unas vidas reaccionamos con frialdad ante la pérdida de otras. Antes de sugerir una manera de pensar acerca de La responsabilidad global durante estos tiempos de guerra, quiero distanciarme de algunas maneras equivocadas de abordar el problema. Quienes, por ejemplo, hacen la guerra en nombre del bien común, quienes matan en nombre de la democracia o la seguridad, quienes hacen incursiones en otros países soberanos en nombre de la soberanía, todos ellos creen estar «actuando globalmente» e incluso ejecutando cierta «responsabilidad global». No hace mucho, en Estados Unidos hemos oído hablar de la necesidad de «llevar la democracia» a países donde ésta brilla, aparentemente, por su ausencia. (Butler, 2009, 56)⁹

The author argues that death can and should be mourned in a state of war, terrorism, attacks; death arises from speculation, that events mark the dying, the self, or rather the identity of the person or group may be the engendered point in killing and dying. That some lives or deaths may be socially cried or not depend on the approval of the social group.

Is the Maria da Penha law to be seen as anything beyond our time and actions? In order to express intolerance and tolerance to these facts called Violence against Women, we evaluate some paradigmatic cases in world history.

⁹ Perhaps this liability can only begin to be realized through a critical reflection on these exclusion rules by means which certain recognizing fields are constituted, some fields that are implicitly invoked when, for a cultural reflection, we mourn for some lives and react coolly to the loss of others. Prior to suggest a way of thinking about the overall responsibility during this time of war, I want to distance myself from some wrong ways to approach the problem. Who, for example, make war on behalf of the common good, who are those who kill in the name of democracy or security, making inroads into other sovereigns in the name of sovereignty; they all think they are “globally acting”, and even exerting some “global responsibility”. Not long ago, in the United States, we have heard of the need to “bring democracy” to countries where it apparently shines by absence. (Butler, 2009,56)

The Jyoti Singh Case

526 | The documentary recalls the collective rape of the student of Medicine, Jyoti Singh in 2012, and the popular uprising that followed. As we see, Das (2011) refers to it as a critical event. In India¹⁰, the fact became a commotion as many reported: “Silence was broken”. Still a child, the girl wanted to be a doctor and told her father that if he was saving money for her wedding, she would rather have him pay for her medical studies. When her parents were convinced of Jyoti’s desire, they sold their land and paid for her studies; her father’s brothers, however, were not happy at all with the sale, but had to accept it. Jyoti said that the biggest problem in India is the people’s mindset; distinctions between boy and girl are imposed from birth (...) if we hear these things from both sexes, this view is indeed generated within our own society.

With the documentary running, the interview with the bus driver on the day of violence shows him in his report saying: *“It is impossible to clap with only one hand, you need both to do it”*, claiming that he did not get involved in the rape because he was driving. And goes on defending himself: *“a decent woman would not walk around at night. Women are much more responsible for rape than men, man and woman are not equal, women should do the housework, and not walk around to bars and clubs at night, doing wrong things and using wrong things”* ... The defense lawyer contributes some with his report: *“the woman is a flower, she presents herself in a pleasant and subtle way and the man is like a thorn, raw, and if she falls in the gutter she collapses, she’ll always need protection; if she presents herself in a temple she will be worshiped. In our society, a woman is not allowed to go out with a stranger; we do not allow our girls to leave home by 18:30 or 19:30 or 20:30; they forgot Indian culture and surrendered to the fantasies of movies, where you can do anything”*. In their testimony the accused said that *“it would not be the first group rape, I use to do these things when I drink”*. The second defense lawyer put it: *“If you must go out, have the company of a relative, an uncle, father, mother, grandfather, grandmother, and so on, but not go out at night with a boyfriend”*. And her own mother says: *“No matter what crime it was; she was guilty, should not go out at night, and should not walk around at night. And not wear clothes and such (...). But the men should be accused and answer for what they did, they cannot do that”*. And she goes on: *“We did not know we were so attached to her. We do not know how to return to life and where to start”*.

Jyoti studied, but even so, she worked part-time and had a night shift from 8pm to 4 in the morning at “call centers” making charges for US companies. On asked how she managed she would say, “I need it, then I can”. She had a dream to help poor people like her, and used to say “a girl is capable of many things”. Indeed, considering that she could do anything, she was right she could make a big thing, that is, a revolution...

Das (2011) shows that violence is not any kind of violence, but one that creates a detour in the lives of both those who have suffered it directly and those who imaginarily and historically worked for it.

The placement of the speeches of those involved in the case leads us do think about several points of view on our society; we live in a democratic country like them too, and that people can go to and from any location, our rights are guaranteed by our Constitution as

¹⁰ In India, at each 10,000 abortions, 9,999 are girls.

theirs also. So why did we have a spike in homicides, and domestic violence does not stop? These questions are “*sui generis*”, so much so that the theme for the writing test of Enem, 2015, was “The persistence of violence against the woman in Brazilian society”. We have detected some civilizing advances in relation to other cultures, if one ponders on comments by men in another macho-dominated country, we wonder where the error is, is it in our gender configuration, our educational perspective, is it in accordance with the standards we aim at? It is by this that we see how important Veena Das’ contributions are.

The author analyzes violence as critical events instead of considering violence as a social element whose causes are distant and undefined, interacting with the authority of the subject and its pathology. Das pursues the effects that certain critical events tout in the speeches and the bodies of those who are usually constructed socially. In this case, we can say that the main and the first to be victimized by State and family violence would be women and children.

Working primarily with women, even with those who have not suffered in their own skin the violence of a disruptive social experience, but having knowledge of it anyway makes us aware that they try to circumvent the meaning of their lives and their bodies in everyday life it is a complex expression. To understand the meaning proposed by Das (1997, 1998), one is directed to Wittgenstein and to contributions by the American philosopher Stanley Cavell (1999). This paper presents the experience of women subjected to critical events, with the introduction of new possibilities amid a fragmented social and family-related situation caused by these circumstances; one needs to recover, even briefly, what the author suggests as something to ensure a subjective and social existence.

Violence is often misunderstood by its reasons, it being external to the process of civilization. This violence cannot be recognized as “human” because it invalidates the civilized status of the perpetrator leaving him speechless. What happens to this violence, to the memory of this violence? How is this violence to be retrieved and how it acts on the subject, building or not an identification space with itself?

For Das, the direction of the actions is in everyday life, a knowledge that is present in the environment and which would not express itself through language only. It is seen in images and aesthetic features that are enacted by language and also by the body. The main role in daily life is the expression and recovery of meanings embodied by individuals, emotions and conflict. Violence and exclusion can only be understood if they have been attached to actions that are expressed as social suffering positioned as individual practices, seen on a daily basis, as free and unintentional choices. Everything we choose has other possibilities.

But this focus on the everyday is not meant to indicate that there is *someone* who resists in everyday life, for there is not necessarily this resistance agent: at least one should not speak of a calculated resistance but of a possible existence. This does not mean that there is no subject that interferes with reality, and that this is a mere submission to language games.

For this reason, speech will be understood as the prioritized strategy and will aim at evaluating from inside, (to the extent that defines and clarifies a social space, comprising individuals who play their roles), within an anthropological perspective, the institutional “logic of practice” involving control and accountability of police activity. It should then be emphasized that:

(...) Speeches [what is said, the talking] are made of signs [referring to contents and representations]; but what they do is more than use these to describe things. It is this item that makes them irreducible to the language and to the act of speech. It is that “more” that must appear and needs to be described (Foucault: 1986, p. 56).

528 | So that reports can describe what we live today in Brazil; the law, in a way, was a major breakthrough. Women may resort to the Maria da Penha Law, but do these subjects have learned to be men and women have another aim at life beyond be married, stay at home and serve their husbands? Women’s bodies are tamed into what men want them to be, but things are changing. This woman denounces ill treatment and this man has already perceived that women cannot live in archaic and religious fundamentalism; stories are beginning to be told otherwise. We can demonstrate this in numbers when we talk about deaths of women in Brazil and Latin America.

Femicide / femicide is a concept under construction, in development and, as stated by Gómez (2010), based on Sandoval, “the murder of women must be questioned within the core of those large structures of patriarchy and misogyny” (p. 22).

Several countries are trying to work with the criminal characterization of femicide / femicide, meaning to define it as an autonomous crime, other than homicide, with its own penalties. To Mota (2012) the challenge is to define what kind of murder of women can be named femicide / femicide. In the view of Diana Russell and Jill Radford (1992) who analyze this crime, it is a homicide aggravated by the fact of it being committed against a woman, “in a social and cultural context that places women in subordinate positions, roles, functions, and contexts, therefore, exposes them to multiple forms of violence”, “explains Vásquez (2008, p 203). To Mota (2008) femicide occurs due to:

(...) The gears that shape culture female subordination and violence against women appear to have deeper roots than we thought. It is in the formation of subjectivity of social subjects that one can understand submission and domination as constituting elements of these subjects. The resilience of dominating and violent men must be sought not only in the individual history of each subject, but especially in the state, society, whose discourses and practices validate the male in the dominating and controlling role while the female in a position of subjection and dependence. What factors and feed such interpellation of being male and controller and female and subordinate and dependent? The next step could be to attack with prevention, school matters on human rights and gender relations, from kindergarten to the upper level as positive actions of public policy, to secure recognition of values, diversity, human rights and citizenship. Not only to do a lesson, a lecture or workshop, but create a teaching content to a new way of being a man and being a woman on the basis of an experience modeled by a practice of full citizenship.

These questions reflect that modern, rational societies producing civilizing actions tend to lose permanent performing as a final state dominated by law.

The armor of civilized conduct would be quickly undone if, through a change in society, the degree of uncertainty that existed in the past would overcome us again, and the danger to become as incalculable as it was before. Corresponding fears would soon knock out the limits that today are imposed on them. (Elias, 1993:253)

We are not living in a time of open war, as Elias puts it, on a violent uncivil outbreak as at the time of Hitler, but he warns that attention should be given to avoid the build-up of a State in a long time span as a promoter of a gaping space where we would witness deaths increasingly appalling, and I ask if the problem of domestic violence in a certain way does not characterize a genocide, or rather, femicide, open for all to see.

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BETWEEN LIVING AND DYING: WOMEN AND GENDER-RELATED VIOLENCE IN BRAZIL¹

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ABSTRACT

This study focuses on the living and dying of women in Brazilian Society, more specifically in the city of Fortaleza, State of Ceara, Brazil, where marriage conflicts and gender-related violence are revealed in public institutions that deal with denunciations of violence against women, since the promulgation of Law Nr. 11340 - Maria da Penha Law. Analysis in this study are based on contemporary authors such as Sorj and Monteiro (1985), Grossi (1995), Gregory (1987), Rifiotis (2006), Debert (2006), Spivak (2010), and Agambe (1998) on penalization and judicial processing of suspects of aggression or murder of women. According to Debert (2006), judicial processing is the main tool to deal with interpersonal conjugal conflicts that happen at home. It is in this context that issues and advancements related to the Law are seen in this study which makes it possible to access how women, social movements, police officers and judicial agents are prone to accept change.

KEYWORDS

Violence; Women; Subalternity; Bare Lives

Law, State monopoly and bare lives

When I leave this place she's going to pay, the devil is already singing in my head (man speaking at the Women's Police Station – after being arrested in in the act – Mar. 11.2013)

Nuts is a dude who trusts in an animal that bleeds for seven days and won't die (A joke cracked by a man being interviewed at Nuah – May 16.2013)

This work is part of an analysis of a research for a doctorate degree in Sociology at the Federal University of Ceara, Brazil (UFC) whose focus is the amorous conflicts when they are taken to public institutions that deal with denunciations of violence against women since promulgation of Law Nr. 113440 Maria da Penha Law, in order to evaluate subjective and

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social impacts on subjects involved. This new juridical ordainment reflects how much interpersonal relations start being the work base for modern institutions⁶, changing the control mechanisms exerted on private lives and refining behavior and violence due to a crescent opening to the public of what once was strictly intimate. Those new forms of institutional regulation that place responsibility and criminalize practices of conjugal violence have reached limits that deserve scrutiny by the Social Sciences.

The study's object is centered on the possibility of evaluating women when they are under stress due to their new situation, since the breaking up of the circle of violence and the following path of recovery. In this new path, women try to strengthen themselves by denouncing the violence they suffered – what also seems to reveal that the breaking up of an identity, hidden in pain, is capable to weave new social bonds by means of particularizing her feminine self.

The approved law helped women to leave their private world and reveal issues related to the maintenance of violence. It is in this way that women go through a trail of violated/victimised subject to a defying posture to counter gender-related domestic violence. They leave the area of veiled violence to face the violence that they suffered.

This escaping route takes her to an acting role of producing a new historical subject - “the same woman but a more empowered one”. The violent situation does not separate her two case histories, but elaborates and succeeds in reevaluating her extreme posture, letting her to live and reflecting on how to overcome her daily predicaments. The act of going to the Police Station is an outrage for some, and awakens wrath in others. Oppression directed towards women in the Brazilian society is seen in several of their bodily movements creating an equal number of resisting situations.

We based our study on readings from authors such as Das (1997). Foucault (1999), Versiani (2005). Agamben (2004) and, specially, Spivak (2006), when they affirm that female subjects can be evaluated because they do not talk, not to due to an “impairment”, but due to not being socially heard. Thus, we question why this female identity become a subaltern subject, and, in a certain way, goes beyond this reality to a more resistant reality. According to Agamben (2004), in his work *State of Exception*, the author recognizes the existence of a pattern that demonstrates that people are not important to the State after their death, and are known as bare lives. Is there, then, a contradiction in those lives, that is, are we or are we not important for our society?

Agamben (2004) resorts to a category he calls “*homo sacer*” to designate one who leads a bare life. The author builds up parameters for dying, that is, for some subjects death would be a contingency and for others a fatality. It is possible, in a given fashion, to kill as Agamben (2004) says, for there is a distinction in life within the environment where the *homo sacer* “lives”. Public and private, right and left, nothing makes any sense. Everything is a kind of sociopathy. There is a perception that institutions are not present. It is the nothing, the void that ends up producing chaos. There is an “anthropological machine of biopolitics” (Agamben, 2004) that produces this “new” *homo sacer*. It yields juice, human juice, juice out of those who are disposable.

Let's see what one of the interlocutors says:

⁶ Women Defense Police Station, Special Court for Women Threatened by Violence, Referral Centers for Assistance to Women Threatened by Violence, and Homes and Shelters.

I think that if this law really exists it exists on paper only. It exists on paper only because I have seen my ex, for instance, my children's father, I have filed several complaints against him (Women's Police Station), he was called, once he followed me till I got here, was arrested, but he always returns home. So much so that he says that he takes those writs and use them as toilet paper, do you see it? So the law has no weight. I don't believe it, I know there is Maria da Penha, the Maria da Penha Law, but I don't trust its severity, I don't think it is severe indeed. I don't believe it. (A woman at the Women's Police Station, Fortaleza)

As it is shown by the study taken by author, there is an archetype for the modern that is perceived by means of the state of emergency, called *iustitium*⁷. It called not only for the suspension of justice, but of rights as such. Therefore, it allows for observation of the state of emergency in its paradigmatic shape, serving as a model on an emergency situation since the moment that obligations requested by the law may not be attended to by the judges. The *iustitium* suspends the rights and from that point on all juridical prescriptions are set aside. (Agamben, 2004, 70)

According to a report by the District Attorney (CE/Brazil), policemen usually overlook the situation when they have to apply the Maria da Penha Law, and will not arrest the guy except if he resists, that is, if there is something else beyond the infringement – they always talk, counsel, try to make the man come to his senses. But if there is any kind of contempt or lesion they have to take him in. (Field Journals, May, 2013)

However, we can predict that statistics of women's deaths are always beyond expected. What are the reasons for those deaths to occur? The police officer in charge of the Women's Police Station, when questioned about the deaths, said:

I'm working here for nine years, started even before the Maria da Penha Law became effective, what I've seen is indeed a 42% increase in complaints, since the start up to now, but what we feel is a decline of violence. I say that the law is strong today, it is indeed respected, and protective measures have a strong inhibiting force. Many victims, however, don't go ahead with complaints which is also harmful because they present themselves, fill up a case record, but if there is no bodily injury, they aren't required to do it, what happens, then, they give it up. What I see in some cases is that they use the Law when they come to the Police Station to scare the aggressors, and not fill up a formal complaint, and what we see when a legal procedure isn't forced by the police there is a gradual deterioration leading to a worse situation in which the aggressor becomes more violent. (Police Officer's Interview, May 16, 2013)

Foucault (1987) propounds limits and concepts and advances an analysis about power when identifies the "microphysics" of power that expresses itself beyond State's boundaries. According to the author, to describe power as a phenomenon dependent on the state apparatus is to understand it simply as a repressive force. What does it mean? Foucault hurries to say that power relations happen beyond State's limits because there isn't a specific point from which power issues.

⁷ The word *iustitium* literally means "interruption, suspension of rights", almost an interval and a kind of cessation of rights. (Agambe, 2004, 68)

(...) The study of microphysics presupposes that the power exercised it is not conceived as a property but as a strategy, that its effects of domination are not assigned to an 'ownership', but provisions, maneuvers, tactics, techniques, functioning; that it is unraveled before it a network of relations that is always tense, always in activity, and not a privilege that could be gained; that it should be given it as a model before anything the everlasting battle and not the contract that offers a concession or an achievement that overtakes a domain. We have, in short, to admit that that power is exercised beyond what we have, which is not a 'privilege' acquired or retained by the dominant classes, but the effect as manifested and sometimes renewed by the position of those who are dominated. (Foucault, 1987 p.26)

In Foucault's analysis of power relations, their exercise takes place in a network configuration and diffusely spread within the social body, involving a multiplicity of a correlation of intense forces that clash. Within this relational nature, power is exercised on free subjects, that is, power relations do not get along in social settings where there is no freedom. Thus it opens itself for possibilities of resistance (counter-power), one of the constituent elements of power. If there is no assurance of resistance, there are no power relations, but dominance relations⁸.

In fact, what defines a power relationship is a course of action that does not act directly and immediately on the other [subtle effects], but acts on its own action. It is an action on the action, an action on possible actions, or actions on current, future and present. A relationship of violence acts on the body, about things; it forces, it submits, it breaks, it destroys; it closes all possibilities; it has not, therefore, by itself, another pole but passivity; and if it finds any resistance, its only choice is to try to reduce it. A power relationship, in contrast, consists of two elements that are necessary to be exactly a power relationship: the "other" (the one on which it is exercised) is fully recognized and maintained until the end as the subject of the action; and that a whole field of responses, reactions, effects, possible inventions should open itself before power relations, (Foucault, 1995, p. 243).

It is understood from this perspective that violence becomes an instrument used in power relations, because power is not perceived as violence or consent; and taking into account the author explanations of the structure of practices that put into operation the exercise of power, there are important shifts in the dynamics of power relations and, in order to analyze them, according to Foucault's proposition (1990, p. 241), it is offered two models:

What the law proposes (power as law, prohibition and institution) is the aggressive or strategic model in terms of balance of forces. The first was widely used and proved, I think, to be inappropriate: we know that the law does not describe the power. The other is well known to be widely used too. But it is considered mere words. One uses prefabricated notions or metaphors ("war of all against all", "struggle for life") or formal schemes (the strategies are in vogue among some sociologists and American economists). I think it would be necessary to improve the analysis of power relations.

⁸ Foucault exemplifies by citing slavery in which man is chained and incapable of offering resistance. About the matter see Foucault (1995).

What Foucault emphasizes is an analysis of the effects of power in terms of production from its fields and rituals of truth. From the disciplinary institutions of modern society, the author will discuss that the “power of technology” that was developed in the Western world is aimed at the body. This happens to enter a political arena, whose practices and power relations have immediate reach on actions driven by “new mechanisms of power” (1987, p. 132) on the body, as manipulation gestures and behavioral bans.

Therefore, an “art of the human body” from a “mechanical power” is born, which at the same time, dismantles and recomposes it in political and economic terms, and yields, respectively, docile and useful bodies. What the author called the disciplinary⁹ power. This notion will not be ignored by the author, when he brings the notion of biopower, on the contrary, embodies and articulates new features with other “technology” which goes to target the *body-species* in the body pierced by the mechanics of the living being (Foucault, 1988, p. 131), made possible by the entry in the order of some phenomena proper to human species related to knowledge and power in the field of political techniques. The people and not the individual bodies¹⁰ come to be the main target of power performance from the second half of the eighteenth century.

Disciplines of the body and population regulations are the two poles around which developed the power of organization of life. The installation, during the classical era, of this great two-faced technology - anatomical and biological – tending to individualization and specifically focused on bodily performance and turned to the processes of life - features a power whose highest function is no longer kill, but invest on life, from top to bottom. (ibid, p. 131)

Biopower is above all a way of governing life that has become a political object, where the intention *is not to die and let live*, but *to live and let die*. This, then, issues from strategies / techniques (biopolitics actions) to combat “threats” (or, for example, disease as a population phenomenon), and to preserve and control population by the State. It is evident that there are policies and practices that produce death, even if they are related to forms of control of life.

It’s a new way to look and act not only on individuals, but also and mainly about life. One consequence marked by Foucault (1988, p. 135) on the development of biopower is the importance assumed by norm’s performance, for as *the law always refers to the two-edged sword*, it cannot fail to be armed and this weapon happens to be by excellence death. To this end, the exercise of (bio) power, that has a task to take care of life, requires the need for continuing mechanisms acting as regulators and correctors. The author shows that it is necessary to make the law work more and more as a norm, but points out that they were not

⁹ By discussing arrest Foucault showed the emergence of “power techniques”, having as his target the body of individuals. The individual becomes a product of the discipline. This “anatomical politics” came to define how to gain mastery over the body of individuals to operate according to one’s wishes.

¹⁰ Life as political object for the author, much more than the law, became the object of political disputes, this being Foucault’s background (1988) to understand the importance of sex as a target of political struggle, articulated on two axes: sex as part of body’s discipline and belongs to the control of populations by its inducing effects, that is, an array of disciplines and the principle of regulations, accessible at the same time to the life of the body and the life of the species.

made to prevent a practice or behavior, but to differentiate the ways of circumventing the law itself.

Agamben (2004, p. 13) complements and deepens these analyzes made by Foucault on biopower (power that focuses on life) and biopolitics (strategy / technique used by the state to regulate and control the lives of the population), with emphasis on its effects in the field of the law. He discusses the moment when life becomes an object for politics, and propounds that there should be regulation and control of life by the State, and referring to the relationship between politics and life, he questions: Where is, then, within power's body, the undifferentiated zone (or at least the point of intersection) where individualization techniques and totalizing procedures touch?

Agamben (2004), in the State of Exception, argues that there are people whose deaths will not be important for the State which denominate them as bare lives. However, we can predict that female homicide statistics on femicides are higher than expected. So what happens? Is there really a law that does not protect? The law exists and the incidence of complaints is now much higher than before. Women report more, they are not silent. And is this the reason for more deaths to occur?

The author adds that there is an exceptional situation as soon as the obligations imposed by the Act on the actions of judges are suspended. The *iustitium* suspends the law and, from that, all legal provisions are set aside. Even with the Maria da Penha Law women feel empowered to report, as it is a state of exception in the law procedure. Relational and social processes are preventing the appropriate action.

Agamben (2003) textually refers, in the state of emergency, the concept of need. The author places the Latin adage "need legem non habet", ie, necessity has no law. For him, there is a difference - two opposite directions, necessity knows no law and it creates its own law (*Nécessité fait loi*). In this way, the legal becomes illegal - necessity acts here to justify transgression in a specific case by exception (Agamben, 2003, 40-41).

Men act beyond the law, it intimidates, it reinforces empowerment, but does it protect women? See some issues in which women began to ask for the law. Let's look at this account:

You ask if I get any protection. I have been married for 12 years and my husband has always had these jealous fits, once I tried to hang myself, but my little son who at the time was two years old insisted with him and he stopped, but now he woke me at dawn to know where was the messages from my phone, as I said I had deleted them he got angry and started beating me. I wanted the law to protect me. I could separate from him, but I have three children, to go back to my parents' house with three children is impossible, I do not have a job, this is not my home town, I and my mother live here with him, and she did not really care about what he does. (Interlocutor at Women's Police Station 05/Sept/2013)

For Spivak (2010) in the evaluation of patriarchy and imperialism the creation of a subject and the formation of the object the figure of the woman disappears, not in a pristine emptiness, but in a violent pitch that is the displaced configuration of women in the third world, caught between tradition and modernity.

For a more precise understanding of the social life as shaped by Maria da Penha Law, we will show some statistics from municipalities where they were obtained by the Women's Police Station of various counties of Ceara.

For Butler (2009), in *Las Vidas lloradas*, we can see an endorsement of death and life of people, especially after the incident of September, 11. But the author evaluates that there is a condition as far as the life of certain social groups is considered since it is less special than in others. When we speak of HIV patients' deaths and war casualties we can evaluate the extent to which life and death of women are important to us.

Tal vez dicha responsabilidad sólo pueda empezar a realizarse mediante una reflexión crítica sobre esas normas excluyentes por las que están constituidos determinados campos de reconocibilidad, unos campos que son implícitamente invocados cuando, por reflejo cultural, guardamos luto por unas vidas reaccionamos con frialdad ante la pérdida de otras. Antes de sugerir una manera de pensar acerca de La responsabilidad global durante estos tiempos de guerra, quiero distanciarme de algunas maneras equivocadas de abordar el problema. Quienes, por ejemplo, hacen la guerra en nombre del bien común, quienes matan en nombre de la democracia o la seguridad, quienes hacen incursiones en otros países soberanos en nombre de la soberanía, todos ellos creen estar «actuando globalmente» e incluso ejecutando cierta «responsabilidad global». No hace mucho, en Estados Unidos hemos oído hablar de la necesidad de «llevar la democracia» a países donde ésta brilla, aparentemente, por su ausencia. (Butler, 2009, 56)

The author argues that death can and should be cried in a state of war, terrorism, attacks; the death idea comes from a speculation that events marks the dying, the self, or rather the identity of the person, the group, it may be the engendering point in killing and dying. Some lives or deaths can be cried or not.

The femicide / femicide is a concept under construction, it is under development and, as stated by Gómez (1), based on Sandoval, “el asesinato de mujeres debe ser problematizado en el marco de las grandes estructuras del patriarcado y la misoginia” (p. 22).

Several countries try to work with a criminal characterization of femicide / femicide, which means define it as an autonomous crime, other than murder, subject to its own penalties. To Mota (2012) the challenge is to define what kind of murder of women can be named femicide / femicide. In the view of Diana Russell and Jill Radford (1992) this crime is a homicide since it ensues from the fact that it was committed against a woman, “in a social and cultural context that places them in positions, roles, or a subordinate function, a context, therefore, that favors and exposes them to multiple forms of violence”, as explains Vásquez (2008, p 203). To Mota (2008) femicide occurs because:

(...) The gears that shape female subordination and violence in the culture against women appear to have deeper roots than we thought. It is in the formation of subjectivity in social subjects that one can understand the submission and domination as constituting elements of these subjects. The persistence of dominating and violent men must be sought not only in the individual history of each subject, but especially in the state, society, where discourses and practices are loaded with the idea that male has a dominating and controlling role, while female implies subjection and dependence. What factors, values feed such interpretation that be male is to controller and be a woman is to be subordinate and dependent? To start

prevention, with school subjects on human rights and gender relations, from kindergarten to the upper level can be a positive action of public policy, to secure recognition of values, diversity, human rights and citizenship, can be our next step. Not only do a lesson, a lecture or workshop, but create learning contents related to a new way of being a man and being a woman on the basis of an experience in full citizenship.

538 | These questions reflect that modern, rational, civilized societies tend to lose a permanent performance of a final state of civilization. We are not living in a time of open war, in a violent disrupting outbreak as seen at the time of Hitler, as Elias puts it, but alert to the danger of the build-up in long-term of a State as creator of a gaping space where we could witness an increasingly number of staggering deaths. From this perspective, one is prone to ask if the problem of VD, in a way, does not characterize a genocide, or rather, femicide, open for all to see.

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GENDER NORMS AND NATIONAL IDENTITY REPRESENTATION: AN EXPLORATORY DATA ANALYSIS¹

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ABSTRACT

As the Cultural Studies paradigm has proposed and continuously shown, identities and representations are built at the intersection of multiple identification referents, between the personal and the social. Our histories, our social class, our race, our nationality, all of these factors come into play in our social and personal existence. Gender, in particular, is a pivotal axis of identification processes. When exploring how national identities are represented, considering how different identification nodes play an important role, gender is expected to be one of them. This article aims to explore how a group of strategically selected respondents, Portuguese immigrants in Germany, represent the own and the other's (German) national identity in relation to their gender identification. Exploratory survey data indicates that binary gender norms seem to shape respondents' representations of national identity, whether their own or of their origin country, as well as of the others', their host country.

KEYWORDS

National identity, Gender, Europe, Representation, Cultural Studies.

Representation and Identity

In the current academic, social, political and even economic global context, issues of identity play an unprecedentedly central role. The growth and intensification of connections at a global scale are seen as originating a crisis of identity, part of a general destabilizing of social referents. Theoretically, socially and even personally, identity has moved past its original definition, of something based on essentialist commonness, and is now seen as an unstable and never completed construction (Hall, 1996, Bauman, 2000). In the construction of identity, one draws on resources, such as history, language and culture, "in the process of becoming rather than being" (Hall, 1996, p.4). One constructs a narrative which is constantly in the process of transformation and rearticulating and is thus never stable.

One of the most groundbreaking contributions to the questioning of identity has been made by Judith Butler (2004, 2009), through the concept of "performativity". Butler's concept of performativity, focused on gender identity, is based on the idea that discourse has the power to produce people's identities. It is highly regulated by social norms which constrain the possibilities of identification, as is the case with gender norms. So, one's identity is a process of making oneself, but restricted by social norms. Gender, as a pivotal axis of identity, is not fixed, neither biologically nor socially, it is performed (Butler, 2004).

Power is another key concept regarding issues of identity, as the growing knowledge produced in the context of Cultural Studies has continuously shown. In Cultural Studies, culture, and identity, are seen as operating in many and often overlapping or even contradictory

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levels, from Nations to race, gender or class (Frow & Morris, 2006). In order to understand the dynamics of representation that occur in and between groups and individuals, it is absolutely crucial that there is attentiveness to these issues of power, and these are expected to be present in peoples' discourses about identity, in what Foucault designates as the "discursive regime," (Foucault & Rabinow, 1984, p. 55).

Hence, one of the expectable power dynamics and one of the issues that most stand at the center of identity is that of gender (Butler, 2004, 2009). As Hall (1996, p. 15) put it, it, when it comes to identity, sexual difference has a 'paradigmatic function (...) in relation to other axes of exclusion'. As such, gender is the focus of this article, which aims at contributing to the body of work that tries to explore to what extent, according to which dynamics and in what ways the experiences of auto- and hetero-representations of national identity are generated, i.e. framed, altered, influenced by the respondents' gender identity.

National and European Identities

This study focuses on the point of intersection between two national identities: German and Portuguese – within the context of European identity. As such, it focuses on Portuguese immigrants living in Germany in order to explore representations of one's own and the other's national identity in this specific point of intersection.

The European context is a strategic one in which to explore the concept of national identities. The important role played by the hegemony of the Nation-State in constructing discourses and practices which gave shape to imagined National communities in Europe coexisted with, or was challenged by, an idea of Europeanness. Crisis moments, such as the recent global financial and economic crisis, have a profound impact on this idea of Europeanness. With some (Southern) countries on the side of the defaulters, and other (Northern) countries as the creditors, the potential for the construction of discursive identity division between Northern and Southern European countries, in general, and Portugal and Germany, in particular, is expected (Chalániová, 2014, Macmillan, 2014).

The position of the migrant is the one most fruitful in terms of building, deconstructing and questioning representations about National identity. Identities, especially collective, are increasingly deterritorialized, and migrants live this situation to the fullest (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992). Not only that, but the migrant's relation to National identity is expected to evidence processes of strategic essentialism (Frow & Morris, 2006), when it comes to the context in which identity referents are drawn.

Femininity and Masculinity as Performances

The dichotomy between femininity and masculinity is a binary representation of gender identity, which is, however, the overwhelmingly accepted normative context currently, even though, theorists, most prominently Judith Butler (2004, 2009) have questioned this twofold view of gender. Butler's theorization allows us to move beyond a mere binary and be open to forms of performing one's gender that go beyond it, which presently are often portrayed as transgressive. Acceptance of different gender performances beyond this binary is, according

to Butler (2004, 2009) and to the perspective adopted in this study, the only possible path to creating communities of recognition and allowing for individuals and societies to thrive.

However, even though in academia as well as social movements, and even at the individual level, the gender as binary norm has increasingly been questioned and challenged, it continues to be an extremely solid social reference, rooted in the (opposing) concepts of masculinity and femininity, even if seen merely as social identifications. According to Stets and Burke, as exposed in *Encyclopedia of Sociology* (2000), gender roles (expectations of behavior according to one's gender), gender stereotypes (shared views of personality linked to each gender), and gender attitudes (as views associated to either males or females), all influence gender identity, which, in turn, "involves all the meanings that are applied to oneself on the basis of one's gender identification" (2000, p.2), not biologically but socially. This could be linked to Butler's concept of performativity, however there is one extremely significant difference: the limitation imposed by ideas such as "either male or female" – the gender as binary norm.

Examples given by Stets and Burke (2000) indicate, whether based on roles, stereotypes or attitudes, masculinity as rooted in the worker role, instrumentality and of thinking in terms of justice, whereas femininity is usually presented as domestic, expressive and thinking in terms of care. The findings in this study support this dichotomy. Results indicate that respondents who identified as female had a larger emphasis on concepts related to affective relationships and positivity, whereas male respondents had a higher degree of negativity and emphasis on political-economic, i.e. instrumental, factors. This falls exactly into the description of prevalent social norms regarding binary gender roles, stereotypes and attitudes.

Portuguese Immigrants in Germany

Based on an exploratory data collection, through surveys applied to Portuguese immigrants in Germany, it was possible to identify one main trend that serves as a point of departure for future exploration of this topic: that people who identify as female and male tend to reproduce normative performances of the female gender as affectionate and positive and male as instrumentive and negative. Although these gender performances (Butler, 2004, 2009) have to be seen as exactly that – performances, with the ability to be transgressed and transcended – when exploring issues of national identity, findings point to the importance of taking into consideration how gender norms may influence representation processes of both ourselves and the "other".

In order to explore issues of identification and gender, an online survey was created and applied by strategic selection and snowball method, by contacting a few known respondents who fit the characteristics, and, from them, gain access to other respondents who fit the criteria. Another way of using this method was by sharing the online survey with social media groups with a large number of members that fit the criteria, including the Facebook groups "Portuguese in Germany", "Portuguese in Berlin" and "Portuguese in Köln"⁴.

The survey was also applied to German nationals living in Portugal and people with substantiated contact with both cultures (such as people with both nationalities and/or who

⁴ Original names: "Portugueses na Alemanha", "Portugueses em Berlim" and "Portugueses em Köln"

have studied in German schools, former migrants etc.). For the purpose of this exploratory study, a clipping was made, considering the responses of Portuguese Immigrants in Germany. The intent of this survey is not to produce quantitative statistical data, but to take the collected data and analyze it qualitatively, since this research is made on the basis of the idea, not only that the positivist model is not applicable to the social world, but that it may even destroy the essence of social reality, since it tends to ignore the freedom and individuality of the human (Goldenberg, 1999, p. 18).

All respondents identified as either male (cis) or female (cis), even though other gender identification possibilities were presented (agender, non-binary, trans, other). Because a snowball strategy was used and the survey in question was open to the public, it was not possible to achieve a 1:1 ratio of female and male respondents. After an initial filtering, due to survey responses with missing answers, and a selection of only those immigrants who have been in Germany for at least 10 months (thus avoiding temporary short-term experiences), the ratio of female to male response was that of 1,56:1. 25 female respondents and 16 male respondents. However, although potential gender differences were at the root of this analysis, considering that it is not its purpose to seek statistical significance but to identify and explore themes and categories associated with identification processes, this is not considered impairing to the analysis. As this is an exploratory data analysis, further research would benefit from a case by case exploration of answers, as well as additional data collection which would allow for more in depth data, through focus groups and interviews, for example.

The answers of respondents who identified as male (cis) and female (cis) were analyzed separately, so as to explore potential gender issues when it comes to processes of identification and national identity. It is important to note that there are some social-demographic differences between male and female respondents⁵. The average age of men (34) is slightly superior to that of women respondents (30). When it comes to the average number of months each group has spent in Germany, men's number is larger than women's: 80,6 (almost 7 years) compared to 50,3 (around 4 years). As for level of education, there is a higher percentage of more qualified women than men. Female respondents are comprised of 54% people with superior education (Bachelor's, Master's and PhD) and 46% with secondary education, whereas male respondents have mainly secondary education (53%), 41% have superior education, and one respondent (6%) has basic education.

In the pivotal section of the survey, which was explored for the purpose of this article, each respondent was asked to write down three words they associated with the following concepts: Portugal, Portuguese, Germany, Germans, Europe, Europeans. Unfortunately, as the form did not make any of these questions of mandatory response, there were too many blank answers in the last two categories, so the focus at this point will be on representations of Portugal/Portuguese (origins) and Germany/Germans (hosts). This may be an interesting finding in itself, worth of taking into consideration in further data exploration: is the fact that European concepts are less prone do awaken word associations a reflection of the weakness of European identity (Pieterse, 1993).

⁵ The names "men" and "women" will be used from this point on as synonyms for male and female respondents, respectively, for purposes of language fluidity and linguistic style, but always considering that these are gender identifications.

Even though there were social-demographic differences between female and male respondents, it is still considered that an exploratory comparison between female and male responses as such is possible and fruitful. Nonetheless, further studies of this particular or other similar data sets would benefit from a differentiated analysis based on other possible identity referents, such as education and social-economical status.

After listing all the word associations made by each respondent, based on the collected data, categories were created following the type of answers given. The categories, and examples of words included in each one, are the following:

Emotions: affective relationships, emotions, feelings (Family, Friends, Comfort, Demotivation etc.)

Political-Economic Factors: related to working conditions, Economy and political climate (work, wealth, corruption, opportunities)

Climate (Sun, Rain, Cold, Warm)

Activities: Food, Drinks, Football, etc.

Attributes and features: adjectives, characterizations, features (hospitality, honesty, laziness, language, cities, proud, different)

Aside from these categories, word associations which were susceptible to classification as negative or positive (attributes, emotions, political-economic factors) were marked as either positive (e.g. comfort, richness, hospitality) or negative (demotivation, corruption, laziness).

The Results

Portugal

When it comes to “Portugal”, there are two main differences: female respondents have a much more significant weight when it comes to words associated with “Emotions” than male respondents (65% to 40%), and male respondents’ third most frequent category is “Political-Economic Factors” (15%), which for female respondents is almost non-expressive (2%). On the male side, word associations were grouped in the following manner: Emotions (40%), Activities (28%), Political-Economic Factors (15%), Attributes and Features (13%) and Climate (4%). Whereas on the female side 65% of words were inserted in the “Emotions” category, followed by Activities (17%), Climate (12%), Attributes and Features (4%) and Political-Economic Factors (2%).

Another expressive result is that of negative categories. While women only had two negative word associations, which correspond to 3% of answers, and both under the category “negative political-economic factors”; male respondents had 11 word associations which were negative (23%), including one negative emotion, 6 negative political-economic factors and 4 negative attributes. This is a very significant dissimilarity, pointing to how differently male and female respondents represent their country of origin.

Portuguese

In relation to “Portuguese”, the order of categories is the same in female and male respondents, with a difference in the weight of each category, especially, again, in the case of

“Political-Economic Factors”, which has more than double the frequency in male (11%) than in female (4%) respondents. The order and respective ratios are: Attributes and features (63% in female responses, 55% in male); Emotions (30% for females, 28% for males), Political-Economic Factors (4% for female respondents, 11% for male), Activities (3% for females 6% for males).

As for positivity/negativity, in this section, men gave an identical 30% positive and 30% negative answers (making the majority of 40% non-classifiable), whereas women gave 44% positive and 34% negative answers, again, favoring positive associations with the co-nationals of origin.

Germany

Political-Economic factors are clearly the main representatives of Germany for respondents in general, but with a difference in intensity: 50% for female and 38% for male respondents. The biggest difference occurs in the second most important category for each group, in the case of female respondent’s Emotions (21%), and in the case of male respondents, Attributes and Features (32%), which is the third most frequent category for women, together with Climate (both with 11%), and Activities as the least significant (7%). Whereas, for men, the third category is Emotions (13%), followed by Activities (11%) and Climate (6%).

Another difference may be signaled when it comes to negative and positive word associations. Female respondents gave 67% of positive answers and only 5% negative, while male respondents gave a similar ratio of positive responses (62%), but more than double negative (13%).

Germans

Answers given regarding Germans also vary between male and female respondents. In this case, female responses were overwhelmingly grouped in the category “Attributes and features”, with 85%, which was also the most frequent category in male responses but with a lower, if also somewhat significant, impact (63%). In this case, men had more words association with “Emotions” than women, being the group’s second most frequent category with 18%, while women had 6% of words in that category, and had Political-Economic factors in second place, with 8%, followed by Activities with 1%. Male respondents had a bigger slice of words connected to Political-Economic factors (14%), followed by Activities with 5%.

As for positivity/negativity, again, when it comes to Germans, male respondents seem to have an almost equal distribution, but with a higher degree of negative associations, with 37% negative and 35% positive words. Women, on the other hand, have more than half of positive word associations (51%) and 34% negative ones.

Origins and Residence

Grouping by word associations related to the country of origin (Portugal/Portuguese) female responses are 28% positive and 18% negative (mainly neither 54%), and regarding the country of residence (Germany/Germans) responses are extremely positive (59%) and 20% negative (only 21% neither). On the other hand, men gave slightly more negative (27%) than positive responses (24%) when it comes to the country and nationals of origin, and, like

the female respondents, had much more positive word associations (49%) than negative ones (24%) when it comes to the country of residence.

In total, each category has the following distribution between female and male respondents:

Emotions: 31% Female; 25% Male
 Attributes and features: 40% Female, 40% Male
 Political-Economic Factors: 16% Female, 20% Male
 Climate: 6% Female, 3% Male
 Activities: 7% Female, 12% Male

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Positive Affection / Negative Instrumentality

The main difference between male and female respondents seems to be:

Women give much more positive responses (43%) than negative (19%) ones. While men, although also privileging positive responses, have a less significant difference: 36% positive and 26% negative.

- 1.1 The difference comes mainly in relation to the country of origin, regarding which male respondents had more negative than positive word associations.
2. Men give slightly more importance to Political-Economic factors than women, especially when it comes to their country of origin. While women give more importance to Emotions than men.

Gender and national identity

The exploratory data analysis conducted in this study allows us to draw significant guidelines to the study of representations of identities, specifically, national identities. It is clear that gender norms shape how even national identity is represented and, as such, must be taken as an important contributing factor.

Female respondents appear to put more importance into affective relationships and positive representations than male respondents. However, just as immigrant respondents were strategically selected as being “in-between” identities, and, as such, able to contribute with a richer account of these processes, the same could be done regarding gender. In this particular data set, all respondents identified as cisgender, but it would be of great social and academic significance to explore how respondents who identify as transcending gender norms – non-cisgender or non-binary – would respond to the same issues so as to draw a more accurate image of how different identity referents, in this case in particular, gender, molds, shifts and influences processes of representation of national identity.

Differences identified in this particular group between female and male respondents’ word associations, whether regarding category as theme or positivity/negativity, seem to be in line with theory regarding the adoption of particular gender preferences in accordance with gender roles and norms. Further research should be carried out, in scope as well as depth, so as to explore how and according to which processes these identifications take place. Word association is a good exploratory tool to detect tendencies and themes, but

must be accompanied by subsequent data collection that allows for the richness of identification processes to be revealed.

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GENDER AS A SYSTEM OF POWER AND IDENTITY PERFORMATIVITY IN THE EPISTEMOLOGICAL CONTEXT OF CULTURAL STUDIES

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ABSTRACT

This essay aims to demonstrate the place of Gender Studies within Cultural Studies, reflecting on its epistemological evolution. In addition to recognizing the benefits of Cultural Studies' multidisciplinary context, this paper identifies key concepts - power and identity - closely linked to gender and its study. The concept of power - combined with discursive practices involving deep ideological/hegemonic moments, but also moments of resistance - is fundamental in understanding gender. Accordingly, gender is closely linked with the concept of identity, which involved in power relations, now follows the path of performativity.

KEYWORDS

Cultural Studies; Gender Studies; Power; Identity; Resistance

Cultural Studies is an interdisciplinary field of study surrounding Culture and all elements (directly or indirectly) constituting, valuing, or discussing it. Cultural Studies' strength resides in its ability to find an understanding between different research areas and contrast them in order to understand aspects of social reality, thus finding ways, solutions, and socio-cultural explanations for many aspects of everyday life. Once what seems to be the key event or key fact has been identified and its origin, status and possible evolution are questioned, it can be confronted with the suitable contemporary social and cultural theories. Therefore, Cultural Studies are imbued with action-research and require the appreciation of subjects and of their practices, by providing the necessary tools for the examination, interpretation, and critique of any text, institution, or cultural practice (Kellner, 2003) within the system of social relations where they are consumed and (re)produced.

Based on the previous statements, Cultural Studies provide Gender Studies with a strong theoretical and practical drive, by focusing on the human subject and its experiences, and usually targeting issues of the voiceless. It is possible, then, to include Gender Studies within Cultural Studies' policies, which are increasingly focused on new social movements of gender, racial, and class representation (Bounds 1999; Kellner, 2003). Cultural Studies develop a multidisciplinary program that seeks to analyze how socio-cultural movements can reproduce certain forms of sexism, racism, and subordination, but also how they can intervene in order to make a difference for certain social groups. Thus, Gender Studies can be placed under the broad scope of Cultural Studies, which, in conjunction with other fields, gain the scientific dynamism needed to intervene and solve crises and daily events.

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Cultural Studies identify which subject areas can interrelate in order to find solutions for the issues they pinpoint, providing dialogues within modern and postmodern theories, and political action. For this to happen successfully, the investigator has a key role in determining the study, as they establish the research and all its constituting steps; their scientific integrity, as well as their subjective nature is valued. Hence, it is up to the researcher to identify the problem, interrogate it (which does not necessarily imply a question) and set goals that will direct the study. Subsequently, literature review (which may cover a range of multidisciplinary theories, as long as they are within the scope of research) is necessary in order to foster dialogue between theory and practice. For Cultural Studies, it is only through this process that answers or solutions (both theoretical and practical) can be found and the curtain of new research opportunities can be raised. This scientific process can assist several studies, of various socio-cultural branches, such as History, Philosophy, Anthropology, Sociology, Linguistics, Literature, and Communication Sciences, and is particularly beneficial for Gender Studies.

In the 1980s (during Cultural Studies' "international phase"), Gender Studies became central to Cultural Studies from both the scientific and the epistemological points of view, as well as from the academic point of view (Baptista, 2014). It is at this turning point that cases, events, moments, and transformations encompassing the concept of "gender" start to be identified and articulated with other recurring and determinant concepts in the field of Gender Studies. Amongst these concepts are those of "power" and "identity", which - under the umbrella of Cultural Studies - often lie in the path of the discussion on gender.

It is with the advent of the 1980s that Cultural Studies also begin to interrelate the socio-cultural with power issues, in order to think about the production and organization of meaning in human relations and actions. For Johnson (1999: 51) "Cultural Studies are necessarily and deeply implicated in power relations", particularly those rooted in social microstructures including gender, race, class, and beliefs. It is this interest in micro-power and minority practices that ultimately gives voice to different modes of resistance and ideology. If, on the one hand, it is essential to understand the concept of "ideology" and its practices, which are able to reproduce social relations of domination and subordination (hegemonic power), on the other hand, it is also important to understand that these arouse the resistant forces of the oppressed.

Hegemonic power, which was first theorized by Antonio Gramsci (2006) to designate the ideological domination of one social class over another, gets a new productive articulation within Cultural Studies. Even though in a hegemonic relation there is always a group that leads, this relationship cannot be simply understood as a matter of repression of a dominant group over a dominated one: the interests of both groups must be taken into account for a relationship to form. This requires the dominating group to gather a set of moral, practical, intellectual, symbolic, and propagandistic elements able to lead the dominated group, not the direct application of repressive and prohibitive force. Now, this new understanding of hegemony will help Cultural Studies in another reading of socio-cultural practices, particularly in the case of Gender Studies. It is important to understand how this hegemonic power can be productive, particularly for gender issues.

According to Gramsci (2006), the supremacy of a particular group manifests itself through domination and intellectual/moral leadership. It is not a matter of regarding hege-

mony as an issue of repressive subordination by the hegemonic group, or, in the case of gender, for example, of regarding women as forcefully (in the true sense of the concept of forceful or physical violence) subject to male power. For the author, the interests of both groups over which hegemonic power is exercised must be considered. Regarding intellectual/moral leadership, the group that exercises dominion surrounds itself with a set of elements capable of directing and guiding the dominated group, without thereby applying repressive force.

The way the dominant group finds to maintain the intellectual and moral monopoly over the dominated group has to do with the construction of what Gramsci (1996) called “ideological block”. This is the acknowledgement of the ideological power that institutions such as school, family, church, media, cultural events, political parties, and even simple stereotypes exert in the construction and maintenance of hegemonic power. In fact, it is possible to see that a group can hardly exert power without exerting its hegemony through an ideological apparatus at the same time (Althusser, 2006), and this is true from a gender perspective. Of course hegemony will contribute to the building and maintenance of gender discourse(s) and identity(ies) because, as shown by Bourdieu (1980: 67), we assume that “(...) the whole discourse on identity (...) shows the field of a symbolic struggle, where what is decided is who has the power to define identity and the power to make the defined identity known and recognized”.

Although power traditionally lies in economic and State relations, Cultural Studies have transformed and adapted this tendency, adding socio-cultural awareness and treating power as a matter of language or discourse, which seems to be wiser today. Cultural Studies can be seen “as a discursive formation in a Foucaultian sense” (Costa *et al*, 2003: 41), because they consider cultural (or discursive) practices as fundamental in the construction of the reality we inhabit; a reality which is built and transformed through the discursive and nondiscursive forms that regulate what can be said (and by whom) under certain sociocultural contexts, referring to issues of power (Barker, 2000).

For Foucault (2006) power is distributed by social relations and multiplied in discourses and institutions; it is not just a negative control mechanism of the subjects. Institutions such as State, school, family, church, and the media boost the circulation of discourses of power and society representation, and have proven to be essential in the identity construction of individuals, particularly in terms of structuring their gender identity. In fact, nowadays, issues of power relate to issues of identity, especially when identity is seen as a problematic individually or collectively created under social pressures (Hall & Gay, 1996).

When we speak of power, ideology/hegemony, and the surrounding discursive practice, it is essential to mention not only the established relations of dominance (whether productive or coercive), but also the blooming possibilities of resistance. According to Bourdieu (1999: 5) all individuals are subjected to “historical structures of male order”, so they risk “(...) resorting to ways of thinking that are themselves products of domination in order to think about male domination”. However, this reality also enables escape points from these dominant discursive structures, creating elements of resistance that can include identity transformations.

It is also in the 1980s that Cultural Studies deepen the theories about identity construction, now focusing on the idea that the subject has “multiple identities continuously (trans)formed in relation to the way they are represented or challenged by surrounding cul-

tural systems (...)” (Hennigen & Guareschi, 2002: 49). According to Kellner (1997), it is in Modernity that identity follows self-reflexive paths susceptible to change, multiplication, and innovation, and in Post-Modernity that it becomes increasingly unstable and fragile, as a result of new anthropological and sociological conceptions and interpretations.

In the context of Cultural Studies, identity is involved in the place of cultural sharing, which leads Hartley (2004: 210) to claim that identity is based on “shared characteristics that are more cultural than natural/biological”. This means identity is involved in the relations we establish with the Other and in how we address or represent the Other (Hall, 1992), creating adaptation and resistance dynamics. In other words, identity is constructed within the representation or discursive constructions circulating in society that come from the relations individuals establish among themselves, which may mean, on the one hand, a multiplicity of identities provided by social reality but, on the other, a stereotyped prison of identity models that are cyclic, pre-made, and ready to be applied according to certain subject characteristics. This reality is often applied in relation to gender, where “ready made identities” (Damean, 2006) - existing in social channels, especially in the media - are available to be applied according to the subjects’ (female or male) behaviors, attitudes, and habits.

In fact, until the mid-twentieth century, gender identity was associated with socio-cultural acceptance and imposition, and its complexity was not questioned. However, this outlook undergoes a change when social researchers start to recognize there is no single cultural gender model, but rather a multiplicity of gender discourses (Moore, 2000). It is at this turning point that works such as *The Second Sex*², by the French writer and philosopher Simone de Beauvoir (1977^a, 1977^b) pave the way for the feminist discussion on gender roles and, consequently, on gender identity a social network of power relations (after the acknowledgement that biological sex differences are not fixed). In this sense, questions posed from the perspective of Cultural Studies put Gender Studies on the path of investigating the power systems that produce male and female as they are recognized. In short, the social and symbolic gender “rigidity” begins to blur when the true “nature” of gender is questioned. This is when “ready made identities” give way to “identity profiles” with more diluted borders, able to accept difference, and more susceptible to resistance.

In the twenty-first century, gender issues - associated with power relations and the construction of identity - are more discussed within Cultural Studies, not only as representation, but also as a social, discursive, and even ideological construction. It is in this context that the feminist movement’s work of the previous decades will suffer an epistemological restructuring, giving way to a new understanding of gender and sexuality (conceived from a place other than nature). The author that stands out the most in this line of thought is Judith Butler (1990, 2004), for bringing to the discussion the possibility of thinking about socio-cultural reality as a place where gender and sexuality are no longer defined by nature but interpreted as “performativity”. The notion of gender “performativity” moves away from the rigidity of the discursive structures that keep each gender within certain behavioral and attitudinal limits, and streamlines the process of adaptation of the subjects in “new” gender forms (which are not exactly recent, but as the rules governing reality do not embrace them, it is necessary to consider them as “new” gender forms). For the author, gender should be perceived as

² *Le Deuxième Sexe* (published in 1949 and distributed in two volumes) is known as the philosophical essay that deeply analyzes women’s role in society.

matter of “respect for bodies”, which must be free from the discourses that form them (because bodies/sexes are not natural, but discursive).

Judith Butler’s position in relation to Gender Studies becomes widespread within Cultural Studies (and supported by other great theoreticians, like Allison Weir, Luce Irigaray, and Rosi Braidotti), evolving along the lines of post-structuralism and making way for what is known as Post-Feminism. Currently, despite acknowledging the importance of the early feminist movement (both on the epistemological and ontological fields, as well as in political practice), it is essential to cultivate a place where the subject is classified as a human being before being thought of as male or female. This is the true essence of Post-Feminism. However, it is crucial to understand that, in order to carry out interpretations of the socio-cultural world (at the real, symbolic, and imaginary levels), research must often adapt to the spatial-temporal context, positioning itself (when needed) in-between Feminism, Anti-feminism, and Post-feminism.

To sum up, society’s problem lies precisely in the fact that it is conceived in terms of sexuality (or “war of the sexes”), where sexuality is thought from and for the Other, before being built from and for the Self, the same inevitably going for gender. This means that gender discourses are full of stereotypical constructs (norms) about the sexes, which easily causes hegemonic relations between the dominant-subject and the dominated-subject, creating complex power webs that shape and severely limit subjects’ identity. Gender Studies, articulated with Cultural Studies, identify and denounce this normativity, and announce forms of resistance. Gender “performativity” is a form of resistance to this panorama, opening the door to new forms of reality through incorporating. According to Butler (1993, 2004), we must think of the body as a transformation process that transcends and (re) constructs the norm, and shows the current situation is not permanent. That is, this is the time to reflect on the fact that if the world exists and is conceived in a certain way, it can be created and reconceived in another.

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GENDER, SEXUALITY AND AGING: POETICS FROM THE PAST IN (NEW OLD) TIMES OF AIDS

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ABSTRACT

This paper reflects a cartographic approach to gender and sexuality micro-politics from linguistic elements and figurations, narrated in the documentary *My time Has Not Stopped*, performed and produced in Porto Alegre (southern Brazil), by the non-governmental organization Nuances - which stands for a free sexual expression. In a "trip" queering discourses-flows, dissidents sexualities and genders, I aim at finding a way of experimenting life marked by a performing figure: old age. Dissident trials in Porto Alegre city and its space-times of sociability since the second half of the last century weaves this cartographic composition, which assumes discourses and experience in times of AIDS - defining contemporary bio-politics along the movements, pleasure and citizenship practices. I intend here to question contemporary subjectivity processes in gender, sexuality and aging roles of political memory elements.

KEYWORDS

Gender; Sexuality; Aging; AIDS; Memory.

Initial Problematizations

Since the 1960s, aging has been the concern of systematic investment in studies, research, and interventions in the Brazilian context. Due to the population longevity indexes revealed by global demographics and by the evidence of Brazilian indicators, scholars, civil society and governments have been interested in the impact of the increasing of the 'third age generation' (a term used to refer to old people in Brazil) in different regions of the country. These indicators echoes the countries from the global north, suggesting that this is also a reality for nations considered to be underdeveloped or developing countries.

Given this context, a question is usually asked: "*who pays the bill of the social security*" (as if the elderly had not already paid). In addition, we are also introduced to a broad menu of how to live well into old age or, in other words, to coercive refuse old ways of getting old. New and emerging representations about the older people coexist with old dilemmas of a stage of life considered as a social and family problem. Many public managers still relate old age to possible health costs and a poorly life planning, or to supposed misfortunes that intergenerational crisis would bring.

Facing a new generational and demographic scenario that will present population rates higher than the birth rates (and higher than the rates of young people in Brazilian society as well as in other developing countries), the emergence of elderly not only would exposes the structural effects of a gap in the relationship between productive system and social security (pension) system, but it would also silence the bodies and the lives that are already considered to be abject, positioning them as more undesirable.

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Among the new cultural and political demands of the agonistic of the bodies, and among the social dispute for meanings assigned to places and spaces-times regulated by the dispositif of age, we are constantly interpellated by discourses that prescribes what an old age person might or might not do. Another understanding is the one that puts the body at the center of an unprecedented cultural and political dispute in Brazilian culture.

Thus, in the wake of the games of truth that define new social places for the elderly, a new bio-politics complex is drawn, repositioning and redefining a 'supposed' new population to be managed. Sexuality and health become 'lovers' of a cultural process to be learned in new political and social terms. And, therefore, lives remain in the margins of social, political and cultural recognition.

Given the social and cultural flows involving the new generation of older people, we are called to think about the educational processes and cultural practices involved in the contemporary productions of subjectivities. Likewise, we are questioned by the challenges that arise from regulatory ideals of gender and sexuality. According to Doll and collaborators (2015)

The educational work can deconstruct the stereotype of old age as something necessarily linked to fragility, poverty and vulnerability, producing new images and new knowledge related to old age people. Currently, gender identities, sexuality and ethnicity are central themes in the education field. In a rapid aging society, where up to five generations may live in the same family, the constitution of generational identities are essential problematization that have to be in the agenda of the educational debate. (P. 10-11)

Linked to the above questioning, we realize that sexuality is taking special attention in the the process of managing the life of older people. Often related to the idea of "quality of life", the exercise of sexuality coexists between the tutelage and encouragement of the old bodies. That is to say, if we are invited to live sexuality as an expression and a reflection of a healthy life, this experience is, at the same time, followed by many moral "ghosts" that surround the pleasures and the autonomy of the desire of the elderly. Thus, many unsolvable contradictions are exposed, although experienced on dissidents experiences and new repertoires of intersectional possibilities.

Old age is also a shadow in the experience of the so-called sexual minorities. One example is underlined by Simões (2004), The author points out the political tensions within the "experiences of the borders", especially those ones located within the margins established by such "peripheral" experiences/lifestyles in a heterosexist society. The author states: "if on one hand identities constructed within the 'gay culture' can be seen as a way of learning and developing bodily lifestyles, [...] on the other hand, they also can stress the contrasts between the bright youth and the dark old age "(2004, p. 419).

In front of the efforts to understand and provide better live conditions for new generations of Brazilian living the new forms and ways of aging, the perspective of gender and sexuality is still very shy, or even haunted by religious, political or scientific fundamentalisms. The different life expectancies related to men and women, are somehow discussed, informing the limits of the body as gender's screen, but connected to binary and hetero(cis)normatives representations. We know nothing, or almost nothing, about dissident experiences from heteronormativity. Furthermore, scarcely studies have been produced focusing on the ways

of life of transgender or lesbian communities. The few existing productions in the field of gender and sexuality studies are still focused on the experiences of (cis) gay or bisexual men. Thus, it is necessary to understand the challenges and the forms of social and cultural interpellation that drive contemporary subjectification processes within the Brazilian plural context, taking into account those lives that are silenced by hetero (cis) normativity.

556 | Considering these challenges, I bet on mapping lifestyles circulating in cultural artifacts, in a research admittedly biased by the contribution of Cultural Studies in Education and in Gender and Sexuality Studies in a foucauldian perspective. This essay is a test in which problematizations activated in the field of education, provide a privileged background in understanding ways of producing cultural significance of processes and pedagogical practices, for learning and teaching new and old ways of being an elderly, especially when considering culture as a central element in the experiences and epistemological experimentations that are put in motion:

“It is important to remember that the issue of pedagogy is also related to cultural discussions. Today you can think of a range of learning places, such as the media, popular culture, film, advertising, mass communications and organizations political and religious (Giroux, 1995). These spheres produce images and knowledge about aging operating as educational dispositifs (Fischer, 1997), subjectivating subjects and producing ways of self identification and self understanding. The images guide expectations, values, perceptions and behaviors, producing knowledge and identities through the discourses that they put into circulation “(p. 10)

Far beyond poEtics: Practice of self (re)significance in the era of AIDS

The 1980s can be considered a rupture for the experiences of sexuality and for gender conventions, especially those regarded as marginal and/or minority. The centrality occupied by the emergence of AIDS reallocated the discourses on the body and pleasure, bringing a new dimension to the “identity politics.” In the popular imaginary of those who lived that times as a dark and gloomy political time, locked in a *dark* scene, the 80s could be represented as a “sad euphoria” projected on the video clip language, the vertiginous product of pop music that takes the scene in this period.

In a certain way, that was a time disturbed by echoes from the bustle of the movements for political opening in Brazil, the impact of feminist movements and other “new social movements” whose agenda were presenting fundamental social problems such as social exclusion, citizenship, democratization, culture and autonomy (Scherer-Warren, 1999) - all of them experienced in a frightened body with the dangers that sex pleasure had come to announce.

In the early 80s, cultural changes came dressed in the best unisex fashion style. In Porto Alegre, for example, the Bom Fim neighborhood closed the dark scene of the flock of the damned with a certain passion by the chances, even without the fears of meetings with a outbreak, one could see that:

“at Fernandes Vieira opened the Esperança which also became a bar and had a more casual ‘cushion alternative style’, in a little more liberating way. And so far everybody was so happy, it was a real community that Osvaldo Aranha, you know? People circulated as well as those

on Rua da Praia and very peaceful, everyone loving each other, I always say that in those days everyone wanted someone, loved someone and everyone respected that, because just by the fact you were in Aranha, it meant you were different, right? The fact that you were at Ocidente was already different, you had a more liberal head, right?" (Edna's testimony)". (SHADES, 2008)

However, the rapid spinning caused by AIDS, emerging in this scene - spacetime - not only rearranged the Brazilian homosexual movement agenda newly structured, but also the daily life of many gays, lesbians and transvestites. The epidemic popularly called *aunt* or *damned* becomes a matter of marginal lives and also the record of a social and/or physical pre-announced death. Sex workers, drug users and gay men and transvestites occupy the scene in fear's shadow. The "coming out" slogan echoed as an exposure signal to the risk of violence and an even more perverse social isolation, producing a political turning point in the liberation movement of sexual minorities:

"The advent of AIDS in the early 80s, further complicated these relations and served as the reason for the resurgence of prejudice against homosexuals, and the very male homosexuality has become an AIDS synonym. At the beginning, the association has reached the point that the disease, newly discovered, came to be called GRID (Gay Related Immunodeficiency) in scientific circles and gay cancer, gay plague or pink plague by the press and public opinion [...]" (DANIEL; PARKER (1991) cited Terto Jr., 2002; p.148).

With the epidemic, certainly a setback. Many gay men and transvestites, challenged as causing and propagating the '*plague*' that threatened human life, retreated astonished. Llama apud Sáez (2005) point out that each 'body' with AIDS became a homosexual body, or, in any case, a soulless body (woman's body, the drug addict, poor, black or immigrant bodies). So, the closet came back as part of the repertoire of many, astonished at the gay cancer and its stigmas:

"[...] Me and Crazy Paula, who is a 68 years old friend of mine, we have been stoned, down a street in the Ipê neighborhood, where we lived. We were going to a street market to buy something, because it was cheap, all right, there we go to buy some onions? Let's go. When we were going down the street, we had to go back because a lot of kid thrown some bricks on us and shouted: oh the bastards, kill them, gay plague, these have to be killed, and some more bricks..." (Testimony by Luiz Carlos De Martins Da Veiga, Dheyser Veiga). " (NUANCES, 2008)

LGBT activists were then engaging in the fight against AIDS in a move that amalgamated two fronts. The epidemic and homosexuality come to be seen almost inseparably. It took strength and courage to fight amidst the terrible loss of friends and comrades and still survive the constant threats and interpellations. The testimony of a survivor of this pandemic is hard-hitting and reveals the pain of a community at imminent risk of social, political and physical death:

"Ah Cury died, Leo died, Ney died... the next, me ... Ney died, the next me? There has been ... a thing, like this. Ah one died of cancer, lung cancer, heart failure, or was ran over by a motorcycle, died. No, the person was there, normal, cool with us. Oh there was, had an exam.. oh you are HIV positive. And that in those words 'you are HIV positive', was beginning

to annihilate, that I have no hope of life, is a disease that kills, is the gay plague. "(Testimony of Luiz Carlos De Martins Da Veiga, Dheyser Veiga)." (NUANCES, 2008)

558 | In the wake of this struggle, the feeling of solidarity that was present at LGBT networks in the underground times, had then a magnification of senses: the terror of cuts in many biographies, the loss of friends, companions and lovers. One might think that was part of this solidarity and establishment of friendship as politics, as a way of life (Foucault, 2001) that sustained the clashes of these first terrible years of the AIDS spread, since the state neglected the issue of the epidemic that every day reached or took someone close.

In one of the letters written by Caio Fernando Abreu (an openly gay character in the literary scene, hit by the disease) to a writer and friend, Mario Prata, we read the hardship of a still open wound: "I've been good, but at little leaps. As I say, one day on high heels, some others on flip flop sandal. It takes a lot of patience with this virus from hell. And faith in God. And a phalanx of guardian angels on the overtime schedule. And especially friends like you and many others, thank God, who are better than AZT." (2006, p. 271)

Possibly one of the meanings of solidarity that emerged from the fight against AIDS was the possibility of (re)inventing networks of new subjectivities, pointing out new sexuality representations, since many LGBT subjects produced, constrained and contingent by constant questioning rules and their injury acts, an even stronger alliance around the communities and 'alternative' lifestyles.

As collective re-signification strategy, becoming, living and standing out as a *mona* was a political act - an effect of friendship as politics, as a way of life. In the company of other members of the community, what mattered was to re-signify their lives, that was facing the isolation requirements and/ or of a certain social death, announced in a diagnosis (yours or of a close friend):

"Curi, who I loved from the bottom of my heart when he learned he had HIV, he would not eat, he did not think more interesting in life, he thought nothing was worth, and he was handsome, he was strong. And he was wasting away, wasting away, and we saw him finish very little, on the bed. Leo too ... (thinks and his eyes fill with tears.)" (Testimony of Luiz Carlos De Martins Da Veiga, Dheyser Veiga)." (NUANCES, 2008)

The Dheyser's narrative (op. Cit.) may find echoes in Eribon's proposition (1999) that lesbians, trans and gays sociabilities could/can, first and foremost, be shaken by a practice and a policy of friendship. However, we see a turnaround in relation to experimentations of sexualities constituted as such.

What the history of AIDS may have taught us and how the current political actions have achieved these "survivors" of the struggle for life? How these actions affected their way of life? Caio Fernando Abreu in dealing with gay characters in *The Legend of the Four Sisters*, did not fail to represent the existential drifts of each one when facing the epidemic, which was then being a brand in many ways of life:

"Sisters are always negative. Or appear to be. Surprises happen because to be a Sister it doesn't necessarily mean to be chaste. Irene usually cope well with a positive test: spiritualize themselves, become vegetarian, Zen Buddhist, do yoga, seek the Holy Daime or

Thomas Green Morton. Read much Louise Hay, and even refuse to take AZT. Jaciras often deny decidedly to do The Exam: have an irrational certainty that would give positive. What it is not always true, since there is nothing stronger than Jacira's saint. "(ABREU, 2006, p.144)

Memories-knowledge-bodies that matter? (In) conclusions

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Marks of time that nowadays seems so misplaced. Small and slow gestures also, some say. Knowledge and memories from other times that seem to hold no power anymore. Calls increasingly agonizing by the mark of a youthful lifestyle and brutal interpellations from fundamentalisms of all orders (political, religious, epistemological) left perhaps too many LGBT displaced, detached from their networks of meaning and affection, their existential poEtics. The tired and melancholic narrative of Rubina, transvestite from Porto Alegre who lived the glorious sexuality enjoyment of those times, but also the terrible noise that silenced the strength of that generation, warns us about this agonistic of sexuality and gender that takes or topples down the body as a place of value and fight impeachment:

"Oh Rubina now is crestfallen... No more friends (go on pointing out the photographs..Dinorah is gone, the Lágrima already died, Eliseu already died, Zequinha died already, murdered in Rio ... Almost all caught by AIDS! '), has no desire anymore to go out at night, ended its function. Those who are alive, as Bizantina (the famous Angela Maria, who is now in Italy, so we know), Paulinho Japonês, Veruska, are not there anymore ... Until 1992 she would go to Discretus, Claudius, Doce Vício... from 93 on after some failed attempts of socialization that felt like an ET an "old fag 'in the middle of so many youngsters, the veteran changed his routine to collect to privacy. But if does not give the air of his grace at night, on the other hand is hardly found at home during the day ... 'I'm always on the street, I walk miles' "(NUANCES, 2004, p.7)

Until here, I tried to (re)compose events with these (old) fellows, collecting memories (traces and remains of *bodies-events*) that allowed some narrated subjects in the political and cultural experience of the so called dissident sexualities, to leave transformed from the apprehension of abjection positions. In this paper, we have a lot in common - a collective memory of struggles, our present struggles, *narrative-lives* that relate to a break with the anonymous murmur of life and disqualified experimentations by normalcy discourses... we all are bodies in transit, generational, political, emotional and technological transit ... poEtics.

In this sense, thinking on education for diversity includes thinking on what has historically been considered unthinkable for us, who were constituted within gender and sexuality dissidence: old age would be a possibility in our lives, whether we like or not to grow old.

Here closes a search scene - perhaps a kind of cartographic break- with plenty of many comrades now older, perhaps as many *others-in-me* as lives that I care for, suffering from far reaches, I continue to wonder where they will walk. We know they are around, but maybe kept so far away:

(...) Does not have the recognition, it is very sad. It's painful. [...] Every time I remember that I and not only , but all gay artists of my time are switched in the closet, I have wanted to die. Dionysius, 69, interlocutor in research

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ARTIFICIAL WOMBS AND THE FUTURE OF REPRODUCTION¹

Aline Ferreira²

ABSTRACT

This paper argues that the advent of artificial wombs will be a welcome addition to reproductive technologies, not only in therapeutic terms but also as a contribution to achieving greater gender egalitarianism both at work and at home, with enhanced reproductive parity. The repercussions of ectogenesis for surrogacy, abortion and gay parenting are also addressed.

KEYWORDS

Artificial womb; ectogenesis; reproductive parity; surrogacy; abortion.

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The main argument of this paper is that artificial wombs can be regarded as a fundamental reproductive technique that will crucially contribute to the achievement of women's full potential.³ Indeed, after the introduction of the pill and *in vitro* fertilization, ectogenesis, the development of a fetus wholly outside the womb, from conception to birth, or through the transference of the embryo from a woman's uterus to an artificial womb, will probably be the next most significant factor to play a major part in the attainment of social and personal parity between the sexes.⁴

The growing interest in new reproductive technologies and in particular the case of the artificial womb, as borne out by the ever-increasing number of publications engaging with it, some of which are reviewed here, is indicative of the rising awareness of developments in medical technologies and of the desire on the part of many women to be offered more choices.

The indisputable fact that until now everybody is born of woman (even Macduff in Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, although "from his mother's womb/ Untimely ripped" [Act V, Scene 8] through a cesarean section, was from woman born) would cease to be true after the implementation of artificial uteruses. It is often observed that with ectogenesis woman's prerogative as the sole childbearer might diminish her importance as the exclusive purveyor of gestation and, especially in extreme patriarchal societies, change her already subordinate position for the worse. Woman's role as mother, however, would remain unchanged, more on a par with the father's, so that the repercussions of ectogenetic technology, framed in terms of the woman's decision to avail herself of it, would predictably be beneficial and conducive to greater parity in the workplace and as a direct outcome also at home. The body that gives birth might in the long run, in a scenario where ectogenesis is safe, widespread

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³ The technology necessary for the development of an artificial womb is lagging behind, so that estimates for its implementation vary between 50 and 100 years. See Atlan (2005) and Bulletti (2011). Needless to say much would need to be worked out practically and legally, matters that however do not fall within the purview of this essay.

⁴ The perspective of the non-gestating partner, who usually also has a strong personal and emotional stake in how the child is conceived, gestated and born is not addressed here due to lack of space.

and affordable, with momentous consequences not only for women's lives but the whole fabric of society, turn out to be the exception, without being disadvantaged in social terms, since pregnancy becomes a matter of choice on the woman's part.

Christine Battersby proposes that the "dominant metaphysics of the West have been developed from the point of view of an identity that cannot give birth" (1998, p. 4) and it is therefore crucial to develop a "feminist metaphysics that includes an emphasis on birth" (4); bioethicist Anna Smadjor, in turn, considers that there is nothing less than a "moral imperative" for ectogenesis (2007, p. 336). These two apparently antagonistic feminist philosophies of birth can, in my view, coexist productively, with the medical benefits for both women and fetuses in cases of disease and prematurity weighing heavily in favor of the development of ectogenesis. In addition, as will be seen, there are also pertinent social implications that would substantially benefit women. In what follows I will attempt to provide an overview of and a reflection on the main arguments for and against this technology.

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The therapeutic argument

There is a panoply of medical conditions that prevent women from carrying a pregnancy to term, the most radical being the absence of a uterus. An artificial womb would provide a technological, safe matrix to allow a fetus to develop, after having been transferred from her/his mother's compromised womb, unable to sustain its life. With fetus viability now lying at around 24 weeks, it is likely that medical advances will increasingly enable this threshold to be lowered,⁵ despite the substantial technical hurdles still to be taken.⁶ In addition, pregnancy always carries a number of potential risks that can sometimes be fatal, threats that only apply to women's health,⁷ thus creating an unavoidable asymmetry with men, and birth, too, usually brings its own challenges.⁸

Another scientific development that is still in its earliest stages but seems very promising is the bioengineered womb, although perfection of this technology is probably decades

⁵ According to Carlo Bulletti an artificial uterus "could serve as an incubator for preterm babies, specifically those who are delivered before approximately 24 weeks of gestation—the minimum for viability with current incubators. The development of such an incubator could provide a breakthrough for reducing fetal mortality and morbidity that stems from prematurity" (2011, p. 124).

⁶ As Vernellia Randall & Tshaka Randall observe: "There are many potential uses for an artificial womb including providing a drug/alcohol free environment during gestation; turning multiple pregnancies from fertility treatment to a single pregnancy; as an alternative to human surrogacy and, of course, as an alternative to fetal termination" (2008, p. 5).

⁷ Frida Simonstein & Michal Masciach-Eizenberg observe that despite the risks linked with pregnancy, it is not described as a disease, probably due to the fact that "reproductive hazards have traditionally been viewed as women's fate and, therefore, taken for granted" (2009, p. 88).

⁸ According to the World Health Organisation about 15% of all pregnant women will experience a "potentially life-threatening complication" directly associated with their pregnancy See (Kendal, 2015, Int., n. 6). For a further list of limitations imposed on women during pregnancy see Kendal (2015, Int.). Kendal also argues that if the pregnant woman has cancer the possibility of transferring the fetus to an artificial womb would greatly benefit the mother, who would be able to receive treatment for her condition without limitations imposed by the presence of the fetus.

away.⁹ Womb transplants¹⁰ also offer a window of hope, with around 15 babies having already been born, at the time of writing, through this technique.¹¹

Neither the bioengineered womb nor womb transplants, however, would replace the artificial uterus in terms of the radical change it would mean, from women having to be the sole generators to being able to choose the ectogenetic solution. It is indeed this possibility of choice between these alternatives that will be the main push factor to achieving long-lasting societal change.

One of the most compelling arguments against the development of an artificial womb is that it would be unable to mimic the entire maternal uterine environment, with the resulting harmful consequences for the baby's overall health. As developmental psychologist Janet DiPietro states, "The fetal environment is more than just hormones".¹² As she further notes: "You can't simply add titrates of this or that hormone or protein and re-create the womb". For DiPietro, an embryo gestated outside its mother's womb "will wind up being different than that same embryo [would be] had it developed the natural way".¹³ The question then is: would the babies "born" from artificial wombs be psychologically damaged in some way? Will they have different psychological and emotional characteristics as a result of not having the intrauterine experience? Could such a child not feel resentment or other negative feelings, fearing that s/he will not be loved as much as the child of a mother who went through pregnancy on her/his behalf?¹⁴ It is of course impossible to know, with only educated guesses being offered.

Reproductive parity

The incontrovertible fact that only women can be gestational mothers has been a decisive factor shaping their lives. Their role as the only sex that can carry the fetus inside their womb has often been viewed as a source of "power" but also as the basis for discrimination at home and in the work place, as well as the foundation for patriarchal subjugation, frequently with recourse to fallacious arguments invoking protection and honour to keep the woman at home and under wraps.¹⁵ As Anna Smadjor, an advocate of ectogenesis, puts it: "Pregnancy is a condition that causes pain and suffering, and that affects only women. The fact that men do not have to go through pregnancy to have a genetically related child, whereas women do, is a natural inequality" (2012, p. 90).

⁹ See Don (2015).

¹⁰ As Woessner, Bale & Arora (2015) argue, uterus transplantation can provide a treatment for uterine factor infertility.

¹¹ See Johannesson & Jarvhölm (2016).

¹² Quoted in Gretchen Reynolds (2005, p. 78).

¹³ Quoted in Gretchen Reynolds (2005, p. 78).

¹⁴ In related vein, the importance of the intrauterine bond between mother and baby and its relevance for the mother is also stressed by Helen Watt who states: "for women to make use of artificial wombs electively throughout gestation, simply in preference to gestating their own children . . . would be for them to deprive themselves and the child of a bond of non-trivial importance to their later relationship and to the child's self-esteem and social identity" (2016, p. 129).

¹⁵ According to Evie Kendal: "This is not to say there are no concomitant social benefits that may be specific to gestational mothers, but rather that where there is social disadvantage accompanying the birth of a child this disproportionately affects the mother" (2015, p. 14).

The pronatalist view prevalent in most cultures, which recurrently romanticizes and glamorizes motherhood, often puts undue pressure on women to become mothers, pressure that can be detrimental on many levels. As Evie Kendal asserts, “pronatalistic social coercion” (2015, p. 10) leaves women “vulnerable to exploitation, by promoting the idea that women’s fulfilment is inextricably bound to their childbearing capacity” (p. 10).¹⁶

Bioethicist Anna Smajdor cogently argues for the development of artificial wombs since “only by thus remedying the natural or physical injustices involved in the unequal gender roles of reproduction can we alleviate the social injustices that arise from them” (2007, p. 337). Evie Kendal, in related vein, also defends that gestation and childbirth may be seen as constituting an unfair burden for women in physical, social and financial terms (2015, p. 2), an injustice deriving from an “unequal distribution of the risks and benefits”, concluding that ectogenesis is an essential prerequisite to achieve sexual equality in reproductive terms and supporting state sponsored ectogenesis. Much like Smajdor, Evie Kendal also believes that the “option of ectogenesis is a necessary requirement for sexual equality in reproductive endeavours” (p. 1).

For Tuija Takala gender role expectations are still very powerful and operative even in the more enlightened circles where women’s “role and place is, if not determined, definitely informed by the fact that they could be, or could become, mothers” (2009, p. 187). Takala nevertheless argues that women “collectively and individually, should welcome the possibility of nurturing the embryo and foetus outside the womb for the length of the entire gestation period” (p. 187) as a “road to true equality” (p. 194). Dien Ho (2006), who appeals to the principle of allowing people to choose when “no just reasons are given to limit their autonomy” (p. 146), argues that ectogenesis should be permitted, and believes that it “might permit the traditionally non-gestating partner to share the responsibility of fetal development in a more equitable fashion” (p. 145), thus usefully extending current Western thinking about shared parenting.

Abortion

With artificial wombs many of the fetuses not brought to term in abortions would be allowed to survive there. Many women, however, would be very uncomfortable and unhappy knowing their embryos developed in incubators and given for adoption without their consent. The crucial question here, then, has to do with the choice of the individual woman, who would have to give specific indications about the fate of her embryo.

This is of course a highly contentious issue. Sarah Langford claims that the “philosophic position that ectogenesis provides a viable alternative to pregnancy termination is flawed, and premised upon a misconception about the concept and purpose of abortion” (2008, p. 263). According to Langford “an ‘ectogenetic solution’ to abortion is non-feminist because it prioritises the life of the foetus at the expense of women’s right to refuse to become a mother” (p. 263) and “merely serves to perpetuate patriarchal society”. For Langford, women who “make the challenging decision to have an abortion do not choose to undergo the pro-

¹⁶ As Evie Kendal observes: “In the long term, ectogenesis has the potential to challenge the very foundation of pronatalism, by providing an image of the future in which population growth is not solely dependent on enticing, manipulating, or coercing women to be pregnant “ (2015, p. 13).

cedure simply because they do not want to be pregnant, but also because they do not want to be mothers". I believe Langford fails to consider the scenario where women indeed choose to have an abortion in order not to become mothers but do not object to the possibility of having their fetus transplanted to an artificial womb to be subsequently adopted and be gestated to viability.

This is precisely what Christine Overall defends in her closely argued essay (2015). Overall supports the pregnant woman's autonomy to decide what to do with her fetus should she choose to have an abortion, given the possibility of having the embryo transferred to an artificial uterus. Indeed, while some women might be relieved to know that they are saving a life, even though they do not wish to have further responsibility over it, others may prefer to have a clean break, as they would with traditional abortion, in the knowledge that their future child will not be born and given to other parents.

For Vernellia Randall & Tshaka Randall "developing neonatal technology including artificial wombs makes it inevitable that the fetal termination decision will be separated from the fetal extraction decision" (2008, p. 302). Thus, in the future, "the law will be able to allow a woman to choose early in the pregnancy not to carry to term while making it illegal to terminate the life of a fetus. A change that will have significant consequences for all parties involved: women, men and the state" (p. 291).¹⁷

Surrogacy

Significantly, artificial wombs would eliminate the need for surrogacy, a source of numerous ethical problems and the exploitation of women, both financially and in terms of their legal status. Indeed, as Evie Kendal observes, surrogacy is not a viable or desirable alternative since it just "shifts the burdens to other women rather than eliminating them" (2015, p. 2). Meaningfully, it is mostly women in developing countries whose bodies are exploited to carry the babies from wealthier individuals or couples. Recently, in Sweden, Justice Eva Wendel Rosberg authored a report to the government about surrogacy where she argues that both commercial and altruistic surrogacy should not be allowed due to the "risk of women facing pressure to become surrogate mothers. It is a big commitment and it involves the risks of becoming pregnant and giving birth."¹⁸

Gay parenting

With the advent of artificial wombs homosexual couples could use *in vitro* fertilization with a donor's egg and their sperm thus eliminating the use of a surrogate womb, a situation fraught with potential legal, psychological and ethical problems. While this would be a welcome solution to many gay couples, a potential objection and ramification of ectogenesis

¹⁷ Vernellia Randall & Tshaka Randall observe: "While the development of the artificial womb has focused on the health of mother and child, there is no reason an artificial womb could not be used to bring a child to term in cases where a woman wants to terminate her pregnancy and the father (or the state) wants the infant born alive" (2008, p. 303). This is highly ambiguous: are the authors suggesting that the woman might not have a voice here in terms of the fate of her aborted but alive fetus?

¹⁸ See Cook (2016).

would be its application in the pursuit of a masculinist agenda, with a view to creating a mostly male society. Indeed, the yearning for complete independence from woman on the part of some men who believe manhood and masculinity should not be “stained” by birth from woman could potentially come about through recourse to artificial wombs and laboratory development of ovarian tissue that could be grown into eggs.¹⁹ Now men would dominate the whole process of reproduction, creating in the process a world of, predictably, mostly men, where women, in this dystopian vision, might become even more subordinated to men’s wishes.

A representative fictional example of this vision is Lois McMaster Bujold’s *Ethan of Athos* (1986), which portrays a planet inhabited by only men, indoctrinated to shun the allegedly corrupting influence of women, where fetuses are gestated in artificial wombs, called uterine replicators.²⁰

Uterine Replicators, Pods and Amnio Tanks

Fiction and film, in particular the latter, have played a fundamental role in molding popular perceptions about ectogenesis, with Aldous Huxley’s negative portrayal of “babies in bottles”²¹ in *Brave New World* (1932) one of the earliest and more popular depictions. Negative representations and misconceptions about artificial wombs abound in film, where the beings gestated in pod-like incubators are usually grotesque, with some deformity or judged to be lesser humans, created to be exploited for their organs as in Michael Bay’s *The Island* (2005), starring Scarlett Johansson and Ewan McGregor. In *Invasion of the Body Snatchers* (Philip Kaufman, 1978) the pods, located in a big warehouse by the docks and also on board a cargo ship, are used to create pod people, aliens who are exact duplicates of people, passing for human. *The Matrix* (The Wachowski Brothers, 1999) also utilizes pod-like technology to breed and keep human beings. Yet another example is *Avatar* (James Cameron, 2009) where the Avatars are gestated in amnio tanks during the long space expedition to Pandora.

Contemporary (science) fiction, in turn, mostly takes for granted the predominance of the ectogenetic technology in the future, although often with a negative undertone as in Jeanette Winterson’s *The Stone Gods* (2005) and Joanna Kavenna’s *The Birth of Love* (2010). On the other hand, a highly positive portrayal of ectogenesis occurs in Marge Piercy’s *Woman on the Edge of Time* (1976). As scientist and novelist David Brin, the author of *Glory Season* (1993), a feminist utopia premised on cloning technology, argues: “With uterus/womb transplants in the works, the “ectogenesis’ dilemmas long gestated in science fiction will pour forth into the real world”.²²

¹⁹ As Beauvoir writes: “Horrified by needlessness and death, man feels horror at having been engendered” (1977, p. 246).

²⁰ The scenario of a masculine take-over of reproduction, although highly dystopian and improbable, is a recurring argument against investing in the development of artificial wombs.

²¹ Huxley (2000, p. 283).

²² <http://davidbrin.blogspot.pt/2015/10/back-to-future-and-back-to-moon.html>. Accessed 11/5/2016.

Conclusion

As this brief survey seems to indicate, there is a wide range of opinions regarding the artificial womb, often dependent on sex, ethnic background and religion. I believe there are many good arguments for the development and future use of ectogenesis, with therapeutic reasons probably providing the initial impetus for its implementation, while the value of ectogenesis in creating greater gender equality across the institutions of society should be emphasized. This does not mean that, when that technology is implemented, every woman has to choose it, which would amount to reproductive totalitarianism. Each woman will ideally have the choice of whether and how to become a mother, without undue pressure from partner or state policies, effectively a form of biopower over the female population.

Indeed, a key question centers on the paradoxical notion of the freedom of reproductive choice women are said to have when in reality their only choice is whether to have children or not. The possibility of choosing not only whether to have children²³ but also if they want to gestate them inside their bodies would provide women with a greater range of options, without for that reason becoming less maternal after their babies are removed from the incubators. Until the implementation of the artificial womb women's so-called reproductive freedom of choice is effectively only partial and illusory, with women having to accept their fate as childbearers. I thus agree with Evie Kendal when she argues that ectogenesis "represents a much-needed *option* for those women who wish to have children without submitting to the physical burdens of gestation and childbirth" (2015, 7; emphasis in the original)²⁴ and also with Anna Smadjor's insistence on "prioritizing research into ectogenesis as an alternative to pregnancy" (2012, p. 90).

Many technical hurdles, however, will have to be taken.²⁵ Even after they are built, it will have to be established whether artificial wombs can achieve similar results in terms of the babies' health and psychological well-being as gestation inside the maternal body, a task which will be very difficult to assess. In the meantime, for those women who were born without a womb or have a diseased uterus, womb transplants and the bioengineered uterus hold some promise, although the latter is still a long way off.

I would like to finish with a probing question articulated by Smadjor: "if you did not know whether you would be a man or a woman, would you prefer to be born into Society A, in which women bear all the burdens and risks of pregnancy, or Society B, in which ectogenesis has been perfected?" (2012, p. 90). Smadjor's query goes to the heart of the issues at stake in this essay.

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²³ For a thorough discussion of this question see Overall (2012).

²⁴ This burden was extensively described in Beauvoir (1977).

²⁵ Hung-Ching Liu at Cornell University allowed embryos to develop up to ten days in a proto artificial womb made of endometrial tissue grown around a uterus-like scaffolding while Yoshinori Kuwabara of Juntendo University developed goats within a type of artificial uterus. In the wake of these and other medical experiments Carlo Bulletti foresees that "partial ectogenesis—the growth and development of fetuses between 14 and 35 weeks of pregnancy—is within reach given our current knowledge and existing technical tools" (2011, p. 127).

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FEMINISM IN THE TIME OF LEISURE¹

“FEMINISM AND EDUCATION IN THE WISDOM OF LEISURE FRUITION VERSUS MODERN SOCIETY AND THE COMMAND FOR ALIENATION”

Maria Joana Alves Pereira²

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ABSTRACT

In this paper we present some considerations on gender issues that still exist in modern society and how they can affect the fruition and the choice of leisure activities. In the first part, we make a short introduction to Cultural Studies, which provide the framework for this reflection. Then we make an assessment of Gender studies from the perspective of Cultural Studies. Next, we make some considerations about the quality of leisure and about how leisure activities may or may not be considered as such, depending on context and gender. In the final part of the text, we present and analyze the current lines of study on gender and leisure, trying to identify what can still be reformed through education and other means, in order to enable equal access to the leisure experience, ensuring it as a universal right.

KEYWORDS

Feminism; Leisure; Cultural Studies; leisure fruition; consumerism.

1. Introduction

a) Short introduction to Cultural Studies

The definition of Cultural Studies on the 21st century is still scattered. As a study field, Cultural Studies fall under both the Humanities and Social Sciences, and must encompass and study various disciplines, especially intersecting themes, political, cultural, and social issues. This area of knowledge is guided primarily by its great interdisciplinarity, aiming for the promotion of an exchange of themes that allow a better understanding of cultural processes in society. Stuart Hall defines Cultural Studies as “(...) a new interdisciplinary study field organized around culture as a central concept (1997: 11).”

Although Cultural Studies are a very broad research field, they possess a set of inescapable themes, including power relations and gender issues. Or, as Baptista (2009) puts it, the study of the modes of social and political construction of ‘identities’, addressing issues of nation, race, ethnicity, diaspora, colonialism and post-colonialism, sex and gender, etc. These have been the most investigated topics in recent years, giving rise to an important mass of great quality results important in and outside Academia.

This interdisciplinarity provides the standing for our reflections on gender issues, on how they can influence leisure-time fruition and vice versa.

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2. Gender issues

a) Gender from the perspective of Cultural Studies

Ordinarily gender issues are addressed as an issue solely concerning women. However, there is now a greater concern in observing and treating these issues as something that concerns all humans.

“For us, in Cultural Studies, Gender issues do not concern only women. Gender issues matter to women, matter to men, matter to all human beings” (Baptista, 2013)

In the context of Cultural Studies, from a sociocultural perspective, it is undoubtedly important to address gender issues from a critical point of view to see how this issue influences contemporary society. It is also important to note the theoretical openness in Cultural Studies for reflection and their predisposition to rethink concepts towards the demystification of culturally constructed and pre-established ideas.

Cultural and sociologically, gender is primarily seen as a matter of nature, as a biological factor. This is determined at birth, and contains an enormous psychological weight with expectations arising from a patriarchal society that imposes precise social roles to women and men.

“The models of roles for each gender and the relations between them are very entrenched in social structures and are part of the self-image and identity of individuals” (Townen, 1996).

However, Jackson & Henderson came to the conclusion that the cultural interpretation of gender and the role of gender rules were more limiting than the actual biological sex. Gender is a complex aspect of personal and social identities, which also affects the way people live and enjoy their leisure time. The feminist movement has broadened the epistemological and methodological possibilities of leisure studies.

It is thus clear that, when talking about gender, we should also talk about feminism. We cannot forget that feminism was and is important in the evolution of society and in cultural studies. According to Sapiro (1994) Feminism is not just a way of thinking about the world, but a way of acting. The feminist movement has shown how women were exploited and offered the prospect of a new approach to thinking about the world.

Most likely we can today speak of various genders because of the ongoing action of feminist movements that did and do reduce the gap between the social roles of men and women, thus providing an evolution that allows the creation of other gender types, including “agender”, which means having no gender.

“in this weeks’s “Visão” magazine we can read the following title: ‘Facebook without identity limits?’ And the text begins as follows: ‘today, in the United States, if you’re a Facebook user you have over 50 options to customize your own gender’. That is, in addition to Facebook allowing each user to say whether they are male or female, there are already 50 possibilities between being male or female.” (Baptista, 2014)

3. Leisure Times

“Time in people’s lives is organized according to the culturally assimilated standards that guide how to dispose of that time for the various productive and positive activities. From this subject develop their sense of ‘time for myself’”. (Martins, 2012)

“...this time, which could be a time for the truest leisure, is ultimately spoiled by consumerism, which commercializes it, makes it a thing and impoverishes its meaning.” (Martins, 2012)

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By analyzing these statements by Martins, we can clearly see how the notion of time and what to do with it depend on social trends that influence the individual. Hence, it is increasingly necessary to emphasize the role of education and training in this demand for the usage of time towards a pursuit of leisure fruition. In fact, we cannot forget that through leisure, human beings can find their sense of self, thus elevating their personal capacities, and finding some peace, then contributing to the evolution of social identity.

“The whole process of education/training/gearing of modern society generated the values of today’s consumer society, and does not include the gearing to being/existing in a time of ‘doing nothing’.” (Aquino e Martins, 2007)

In view of this statement, which extols education and training as the foundation for a lifestyle contrary to consumerism, Aquino and Martins state that education/training of modern society alienates its role of teaching the individual to “do nothing”, which in this context could simply mean that “doing nothing” refers to something that has no mandatory time, place and, above all, is not a routine.

In turn, Russel, in 2002, declared and categorically criticized the strictly utilitarian conception of education, by affirming that it also ignores the real needs of individuals, that the cultural components in the formation of knowledge are geared towards training individuals with purposes of mere professional qualification, thus forgetting the thoughts and desires of individuals, making them occupy much of their free time with broad, impersonal and meaningless themes.

These inductions point towards the possibility of there being a certain inability for individuals to achieve a balance between the obligations imposed by society and its rules and their most intimate and personal desires. Consequently, the failure to deal with time and manage it under the Self’s internal point of view, makes it impossible to practice and foster Leisure, which may lead to alienation.

Literature points out the need to educate individuals, not only for the perception of work intricacies but also to the most diverse and possible types of leisure, which means teaching how to avoid the alienation that can be caused by spare time and is as dangerous as the alienation caused by work. (De Masi, 2000)

“NOW is the only time when something can effectively be done.” (Tolle, 2002)

As an example, we refer to Shaw (1994), who identified three possible approaches for the analysis of women’s leisure: leisure as limited aspect, leisure as limiting element and

leisure as resistance. The author suggests that leisure is not only a limiting force and a limited space of action, but can also become a kind of resistance, an active fight against the powers that be. Shaw (1994) also states that the phenomenon of leisure as resistance can be observed in women who practice sports related to physical endurance.

572 | Despite progress in the conceptualization of the phenomenon of Leisure, this is undoubtedly a concept that varies according to gender. The problem is that although there is increasingly more research on Leisure, with respect to women there has not been a significant social change that allows a large practical advance. The lives of many women are not much different or better than in the past.

There is currently the perception that women tend to have a voice in decision-making regarding daily routine, which does not mean that they are freer, as it can solely mean having less time to enjoy leisure.

4. Gender Issues in the Time of Leisure

The appearance of social movements, such as feminism, and also new social values such as leisure are the basis of a new social structure.

Feminism is not only a way of thinking about the world but also a way to act, so the disagreements about its meaning are disagreements about how people think and act.

The interaction of free time with other dimensions of personal, social and economic life almost always show inequality. This inequality manifests itself not only on the quantity but also on the quality of people's leisure, as well as on the opportunities and strategies of personal and human development.

We believe that one of the manifestations of this inequality is based on the differences between men and women. The vast majority of women in the world actively contribute to the welfare of others around them. These women have less free time than men and dedicate most of their time to the free moments of others. Society, family, and patriarchy strongly contribute to hinder women's access to leisure.

In women's lives, the distinction between what is obligation, work and leisure is not clear; the same activity, such as cooking, can be leisure or work depending on the context.

Thus, when faced with this reality, we realize the complexity that is to study and evaluate women's leisure fruition time.

Society gives women their space as a domestic space. Those that, little by little, are already extending their performance space to the public sphere are, however, required to claim their right to having their own space, to having their own time and to being able to devote it to leisure.

“The gender issues we are now confronted with, from the perspective of Gender studies, require us to not only study power but also the systems of power, which somehow produce men and women, such as we know them, wherein the man, obviously, is recognized as a dominant figure and the woman as the man's Other” (Baptista, 2014)

There is no doubt that feminist movements contributed to the process of criticism, correction, and integration and gradual transformation of leisure studies. Gender and other vari-

ables such as politics, culture and social class shape, within research, different interpretations, including the importance of having freedom as the undisputed basis of the assessment of a leisure moment.

5. Conclusions

The assumptions in researching and conceptualizing women's leisure cannot forget the external influence of the guidelines and political options of a particular culture.

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Sociological principles bind leisure to culture and social organizations, while the researchers who come from psychology and social psychology bind leisure to individual perceptions and attitudes (Ingham, 1986).

We are therefore talking about a concept that cannot be exclusively tied to a single field of study, that is, it seems evident that the perception of leisure time and of its fruition depends on a number of factors, both internal and external to the individual, and that it is a permeable concept.

It takes multiple perspectives to develop some inclusive theories that do not neglect any dimension of leisure experiences according to gender.

However, the leisure experience, which is but a universal right, cannot be enjoyed if it is not put into practice, given the still existing tendency to focus solely on productivity. There is no doubt that women have to claim this right. It has often been unnoticed, because managing a family necessarily involves taking on a number of requirements, including everyday tasks and, frequently, being caregivers of children, parents and other family members who need special care.

The patriarchal society has consolidated the difference of social roles since, according to Murillo (1996), the capabilities that were considered necessary to perform domestic activities were, for example, emotionality, affection, sensitivity, tenderness, intuition, committal, etc. These capabilities are considered inherent in women. Both leisure and freedom are elements that develop from an optional form of control and self-determination (Shaw, 1994), allowing individuals to improve their health, well-being and quality of life (Mannell and Kleiber, 1997).

In short, speaking of leisure from a feminist perspective implies reformulating positions that allow access to equal experience, i.e., first being aware of the imbalances that exist in this area to then be able to create spaces where alternatives that bring in more egalitarian models may emerge. For that reason, we should not forget that awareness is a fundamental first step on the construction of a path, but it is also a first step in its implementation, and is in itself an act of power (Jiménez, 1995).

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NORMATIVE PERFORMATIVITY AND PRODUCTION OF INTELLIGIBILITIES: AN ANALYSIS OF THE INTERSECTION OF GENDER AND CLASS IN THE WEEKLY NEWSPAPERS 'O BRADO' AND 'O ILHAVENSE'¹

Larisa Latif²

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ABSTRACT

This paper presents partial results of an ongoing investigation on the discourse about intimate and private subjects in two regional weekly newspapers published during the twentieth century in the city of Ílhavo, Portugal. The research points to a deep gender normativity alongside a strong social cleavage. Therefore, in this work we present a reading of the intersections between class and gender normativity as they are set out in the two analyzed weekly newspapers.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

Gender; performativity; technologies of the body; local press; Estado Novo

Introduction

This paper presents partial results of an ongoing investigation on the discourse about intimate and private subjects in two regional weekly newspapers published during the twentieth century in the city of Ílhavo, Portugal. The noticeable presence of subjects from the private sphere in the pages of these newspapers indicates that they act as organs of normative power, not only watching behaviors but performatively enunciating acceptable intelligibilities within a given regime of truth. The research findings point to a deep gender normativity alongside a strong social cleavage. Therefore, in this work we present a reading of the intersections between class and gender normativities as they are set out in the two analyzed weekly newspapers.

In Ílhavo's community the identity process is strongly anchored in a symbolic dimension which foundations are the sense of belonging to a territory, the belief in a mythical origin of that population and the sense of continuity of the social world (Baptista, et al., 2014). Furthermore, the city presents a very strong social cleavage built around the historical presence of an elite linked to the ceramic industry or fishing (with a progressive decay of the first, and a remarkable increasing of the latter, especially for the sectors related to cod fishing during the dictatorship regime of Estado Novo and, finally, the waning of both after the Revolução dos Cravos, in 1974) (Baptista, et al., 2014).

The primacy of the symbolic in the dimension of the past that is expressed in current discourses of the people of Ílhavo led us to query what normative - and eventually non-normative - performativities could have been reenacted throughout the twentieth century - in

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which the urban bourgeoisie of the captains of the cod fishing industry flourishes to its heyday and founds its subsequent decline – recreating in the social imaginary these identities so strongly anchored in the mythical past.

In order to answer these questions we proceed with a content analysis (Bardin, 2009) of the collections of the weekly newspapers 'O Brado' and 'O Ilhavense' which were chosen because of their continuity throughout the twentieth century, seeking to find the regulatory regimes and the categories of intelligibility which operate in the cultural process of Ílhavo.

The poststructuralist critique of the imaginary that demonstrates how they are performatively produced and therefore can be actively transformed (as precarious and unintelligible subjects may be transformed, due to their precarious nature) and from there, the rules are reversed and performativities of resistance and transformation are created. Thus, underlying this work are Judith Butler's theories of performativity and normativity (2006 [1990]) (2004) (1997) (2009) and Foucault's thinking on regimes of truth and on the production of intelligibilities by body technologies. (Foucault, 1996), (Foucault, 1996a), (Foucault, 1999 [1975]). The notion of performativity (Butler, 2011 [1993]), (Butler, 1997), (Butler, 2006 [1990]) is articulated with precariousness (Butler & Spivak, 2007), (Butler, 2009) since if the performative rules produce and reproduce the normal and therefore intelligible, at the same time they also produce and reproduce precarious or unintelligible people who are beyond the limits of norm.

For a historical background of the dictatorial regime of Estado Novo which coincides with almost the entire period analyzed here (excepting the first decades of the twentieth century) and for a better understanding of the Portuguese imaginary, we turn to authors such as Lourenço (2000), (Rosas, 2001) and Martins (1986); (1990); (2011). Some works on history of the Portuguese press have also been useful, such as the studies of Sousa (2008), Ferin (2004) e Barros (2005).

1. From the concept of public sphere to the normative performativity

Hannah Arendt (2012), and later Jurgen Habermas (1993) consider that in modern societies the clear distinction private and public collapses in the social sphere, characterized by a hybridism in which the National State shall legislate on the world of work and technological reproduction, previously subject only to the will of the lord and confined to the domestic sphere. With this border dilution, the power relations within the family become regulated by state law. On the other hand, when private interests begin to be discussed in the public sphere they begin also to interfere in it.

The social sphere is not public nor private, but politically conforms to a national state form of government that not only ensures public order, but also regulates the power relations in the domestic world. The guarantee of public order is in exchange for the establishment of rules and norms that not only must be followed by the subjects, but much more than that, these regulations establish who will and who will not be subjects and hence at the same time creates subjects and precarious people, those who will never be recognized by the nation state as subjects, in other words, those whose rights are not protected nor guaranteed by it.

Both Arendt (2012) and Habermas (2007) underscore the bureaucratization of the state and the replacement of the freeman's political action in the polis by a technocratic rationality. Science and technology (Habermas, 2007) produce the justifications to legitimize state actions in the social sphere. So they become ideology or technocratic reason, deforming communication in the world of life and weakening free debate.

In nation states with totalitarian tendencies, such as Portuguese Estado Novo, technocratic reason is often associated with a mythical idea of nation and homeland, build around the idea of a deeply creased identity unit as opposed to an *other* who is not only strange but is symbolically produced as an antagonist or enemy of national reason.

At the same time, national reasons become sacred reasons and the bureaucratic apparatus of the technocratic system joins an ideological apparatus, which would include institutional arrangements such as schools but also non-state bodies such as social clubs and other associations, press and other media. In the Portuguese case, the ideology advertising apparatus was composed by state agencies created specifically for this purpose, as pointed out by Fernando Rosas (2001). On the other hand, the ubiquity of power noted by Martins (Martins, 1986) reveals that the mechanisms of ideological indoctrination and of reality building spreads up throughout all the social tissue sociality by means of a technology of obedience perceived as a system of rules capable of ensuring the common good.

In reflecting on the forms of power in modern societies, Michel Foucault places between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the establishment of an economy of the body operating according to a set of disciplines (1998 [1979]) in the context of a disciplinary society in which control is no longer exercised over meaning or language, but over the body itself. These disciplines carefully limit the activities of the body, rule the uses of time and space according to classes, and submit work to rational rules. In the eighteenth century the army, the school, the prison, the hospital and the factory became the main institutions for the exercise of this mechanics of power which seeks to make bodies docile and useful (1998 [1979]) (1999 [1975]), (2001)

To this first seizure of power over the body in the field of individualization a second would follow in the late eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth century which Foucault called biopolitics (Foucault, 1999 [1975]) (Foucault, 2001) (Foucault, 2005). This time the technologies of the body are no longer addressed to the human individual but to the human species, to the population. Sciences are their strong allies providing the basis for the control of bodies through health, safety and birth control policies. The notion of population emerges at this moment as a problem at the same time both scientific and political, a problem of biology, but also a problem of power (Foucault, 2005).

Since biopolitics deals with collective and random phenomena, it endeavors to control this randomness, find social balance, establish standard from average. No more directed towards disciplining the individual body, but rather to regulate biological processes, the mechanisms of biopolitics bring the inversion of the old principle of sovereignty, the power to make die or let live. The power of regulation does not care about death, but rather life. Therefore its attribute is to make live or let die (Foucault, 2005).

The philosopher Judith Butler retrieves and develops this idea in her reflection on precarious subjects, the dispossessed and stateless, a recurring issue in her work. In a book written in partnership with Gayatri Spivak (Spivak & Butler, 2007), these authors critically discuss

the thesis of Hannah Arendt in *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (Arendt, 2012) and *The Human Condition* (Arendt, 2012).

According to Arendt, when the national states regulate citizenship by the law it produces the corollary phenomenon of precariousness or statelessness, for in creating the laws that determine who is in compliance with it, it creates consequently the outlaw, or, more than that, those who are not recognized as subjects by the state. In this sense, we can consider that the national state is based on a policy of production of intelligibilities and unintelligibilities, in other words, a policy of recognition and non-recognition.

Gayatri Spivak (Spivak, 2010), (Butler & Spivak, 2007), argues that national states produce unrecognizable or precarious subjects not as a corollary phenomenon to the production of recognizable subject, but as a necessary condition of its existence, as for every system recognition is based on the exclusion of what is not recognizable.

Still developing from Arendt's thoughts, a reflection on possible forms of unsubordinated belonging or forms of belonging not directly conforming to the nationalist state, Butler highlights in Arendt's theory an idea of collective agency, an action that can only be effective collectively and in conditions of equality (Butler & Spivak, 2007, pp. 56-57). Butler finds there an ontological claim and a political aspiration. At this point, it becomes possible to link the concepts of precariousness and performativity, which is at the same time what ensures the illusion of naturalness of the norm by means of repetition, and the possibility of resistance and subversion of the norm, for the repetition may fail and produce new, unexpected, deviant performances and, thus, change the framework of intelligibilities, forcing the recognition of non-normative subjects.

2. Regulatory Regimes and production of intelligibilities in the weekly newspapers 'O Brado' e 'O Ilhavense'

2.1. Social and historical context, definition of the corpus and operational domains of analysis

Despite global tendencies of massification and industrialization that characterized the twentieth century, and although slowly, eventually reached the Portuguese press (let us not forget that in the years of *Estado Novo*, Portugal remained closed to modernization and industrialization) (Sousa J. P., 2008) (Sousa J. P., 2010), we can describe the journalism practiced by the two weekly newspapers analyzed in this study as a mixture of news, literature and opinion texts that doesn't follows the tendency of national press of the twentieth century, being to a certain extent not so far from nineteenth century and even eighteenth century models of journalism.

We have analyzed a decade of 'O Brado', from 1910, and five decades of 'O Ilhavense', which replaced it in the 1920s, while maintaining the same editorial line as well as the editorial board and journalists. For sample selection, we applied the technique of constructed week (Riffe, Aust, & Lacy, 1993), (Hester, 2007).

Despite taking into account the dilution of the public and private theorized by Arendt and Habermas, we kept for - methodological and practical reasons - a division of the texts analyzed in two operational fields: the public and private. We believe this procedure will help us to understand the ways in which private matters are regulated by performative rules

through which power is exercised introducing regulatory and precarious subjects. We know from Habermas that when the public and the private are diluted the power over the bodies is transferred from the domestic sphere to the sphere of society and that this acts normatively for the production and reproduction of the technocracy of the national states.

Thus, we grouped in the public operational field the texts dealing with internal or foreign policy issues and in the private operational field the texts dealing with issues related to business, social column topics such as weddings, deaths, baptisms, travels, leisure, festivals and religious celebrations. We verified that the private operational field is remarkable in our *corpus*, covering about 30% of the sample analyzed. The remaining 70% is occupied by the contents of the public operational field. This quantification excludes advertising content, which occupies as a rule the last page of the tabloids.

2.2 The performative dimensions of the private and the intelligible subjects

This study focuses on the analysis of the texts referring to the operational field of the private, and more specifically to journalistic texts, excluding the literary texts, which are the subject of a separate study. Nevertheless, is worth to note that a preliminary analysis of the operational field of the public reveals that references to women are numerically irrelevant, being restricted to the operational field of the private in which they appears less than men.

In the analysis of the operational field of the private, four major performative dimensions merged, which are based primarily on the intersection between gender normativity and class normativity: the world of work; the family world; the world of the street and the world of religion. Deepening the analysis of these dimensions reached a set of intelligible subjects distributed by them. These intelligible subjects are produced according to gender and class normativity and class and have been grouped according to the performative dimensions in which they appear.

2.2.1 The performative dimension of the world of work

In this dimension men prevail and between them the Men of the Sea (captains and sailors), followed by the Lords of Commerce, the Industry Lords, the Public Workers and the Professors, the latter are referred mainly in announces of job appointments or transfers. Work people without qualification, as small employees, workers or unemployed do not have a significant presence in this dimension. The few times in that they are referred they are not the subjects of any action, their names or addresses are not mentioned as it is the case of the lords of the upper classes.

The presence of women in this performative dimension is weak and in most cases they are related to commerce activities and public education, so we can find the rare Trader Ladies which as a rule are widows who took over the stores of their dead husbands and the Teachers, which are solely cited in the context of their job appointments or transfers from one school to another. Unlike Trader Ladies, Teachers appear unrelated to any male or female subject, or are not described within the family structure, which therefore excludes them from the performative dimension of the family world, but at the same time gives them an autonomous existence in the world of work.

The Impoverished Women are washerwomen, fishmongers or maids. Although they are described by their occupation, they appear less in the dimension of the world of work than in the family world or the world of the street, for the stories about them do not address their work activities, but their diseases, accidents or extreme poverty. They are never protagonists of this stories, rather they deserve pity or blame from wealthy classes. Also they mostly appear unrelated to a family environment. In one of the rare cases where these women appear, the article condemns the “noisy” conduct of washerwomen in public laundry tubs, treating them collectively, nameless, faceless, with no individual traits, reducing their identities to their labor activity.

Ao longo de todo o período estudado, esta dimensão pode ser caracterizada como predominantemente masculina e vinculada a uma divisão social do trabalho na qual os capitães e marinheiros da pesca do bacalhau detêm a centralidade simbólica, seguidos de longe pelos industriais da Vista Alegre.

Throughout the studied period, this dimension can be characterized as predominantly masculine and tied to class differences based on the social division of labor. The captains and cod fishing sailors hold the symbolic centrality, followed by far by the industrialists of ceramics of Vista Alegre.

2.2.2. The performative dimension of the family world

In this dimension the stories are about the stages of family life with marriages, births, baptisms, birthdays and deaths. The narrative is organized around the couple and their offspring. We can see a parade of lavishly reported events in brief notes of three lines, a kind of time carousel where at every turn passengers are at different stages of their lives all guided by the same goals, all recognized and valued by the same things.

In these carousel turns we see the Ladies and the Daughters of the Captains and, more rarely, the Ladies and Daughters of Vista Alegre. They are always accompanied by their parents, their husbands, their children, while boys and gentlemen, although they appear to accompany them, are designated not only for the place in the family hierarchy, but also for their profession or for the bonds of friendship and camaraderie that unite them to the editors of the newspapers. So if women are always daughters, wives, mothers or someone’s grandparents, men are the “dear friend of the editor”, “our much admired Dr., or “ the captain of the vessel X “.

2.2.3. The performative dimension of the world of the street

This dimension brings together the stories about arts and shows, leisure and entertainment, tourism, non-religious parties, sports, civic or charitable societies, urban violence (fights, murders, traffic accidents). The issues are recurrent and can be grouped into a few subjects: local and national theater production, books and newspapers, local and national sport (basketball, football, athletics), Carnival, with the balls in the halls and the gradual decline of the street carnival. In the first decades there are invitations and comments about youth groups’ walks that became rare from 1950s.

It is also in this dimension that technological changes in everyday life can be perceived although they are not reported prominently. We can keep track of automobile uses and accidents in the first decades by speeding on roads which were still narrow and poorly marked, as well as the inauguration of cinematography in the 1930s.

This dimension is dominated by young men, the Graduate Students and the Young Poets, although young women, Daughters of the Captains also appear. The latter are explicitly referred to in stories about sport, such as athletes, but implicitly in regard to parties and balls where their presence is only presumed. An analysis of texts reveals a moralizing content of speech that deals with youth behavior that focuses more often on women throughout the studied period but increasing in the 1940s.

In this dimension we can perceive the changes in behavior and customs, although often we have to unveil them from moralizing texts that speak normatively about undesirable behaviors and no recommended places, especially with regard to young ladies. This may mean that it is the younger generation that is more willing to break the rules and therefore brings a greater risk to the performative normativity and that concerns mainly focuses on single women.

2.2.4 The performative dimension of the world of religion

This dimension features the texts that deal with religious festivals and personal devotions that are expressed in the newspapers by the printing of prayers and gratefulness notices for a grace or a miracle. The Captains may appear but the dimension is largely dominated by the Pious Ladies, a category of intelligibility which includes the Ladies and Daughters of the Captains, the Ladies and Daughters of Vista Alegre and Trade Ladies.

The dimension of the world of religion plays an intermediary role between the family's world and the world of the street, both associated with parties that take place in outer spaces and with personal devotions. The advertisement of the devotion to the saints in the newspaper reveals a need for social recognition of the faith of particular individuals, most often women from privileged classes.

3. Final Considerations

The analysis of these three performative dimensions reveals a set of categories which we call intelligible subjects, defined according to the expected performativity for each group. The gender normativity appears as fundamental, determining who may exercise what function in the social division of labor and what behaviors are acceptable thenceforth. The class normativity also features a lot of density, and its intersection with gender normativity is the key to understanding the regime of intelligibilities produced and reproduced in the pages of the studied newspapers.

The research findings point to a strong tendency to control the behavior of each segment, articulating the family as the basis of social cohesion, which is expressed in the endless repetition of the rites that make the intersection between the family world with the world of the street under the world of religion, such as baptisms, weddings, funerals. The upper classes are always described within a familiar framework, in which men stand out, for whom

a life beyond the family but not without the family is allowed, for one is expected to maintain the sense of family belonging across generations.

Regarding women, the higher the social status, less space outside the family sphere is assigned to them. Rare Trader Ladies are an exception forced by widowhood. In any case, the possibility of including these women in the labor market indicates a relative openness in the family hierarchy, when compared to the case of the Ladies of the Captains and of Industrials, which never appear in the working world.

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In contrast, working women, as well as the Teachers, are not mentioned within a family framework. However, the former are more often collectively treated or described by their profession and not by name, which brings them into closer proximity with the uneducated male workers but distinguishes them from the Female Teachers, who are called by their names. Nevertheless, although the individuality of Female Teachers is guaranteed by the use of their full names, they no longer have any predicate. They are reduced to their labor activity, as are the valets and maids. Their absence in any other dimension erases their individuality as much as the absence of names of domestic employees.

But also the identities of the Ladies of the Captains and their daughters, as well as the Ladies and Daughters of Vista Alegre and even the Traders Ladies are erased. The latter only having a place in the working world due to widowhood, the need to occupy a normatively masculine place. All these women occupy subordinated places in the family hierarchy in which the men are central. What they can do, what is expected from them to do is no more than accomplish the rites of the familiar world, passing from their original family into their husband's family with the resulting maternity duties, all this completed with religious devotion.

For boys, youth can be a time of relative indolence and freedom, poetic impulses and leisure travels, whereas the girls are closely monitored and, if it is expected of them to be the objects of male desire, they are not allowed to perform their own desire. Thus, they must be attractive to wooers, but nothing more. Once married, their fates will be led by men, they will be wives and mothers, as their mothers have been. This is their horizon of intelligibility, their possibility of recognition as subjects. However, one can hardly call subjects those who have no voice, no choices, and no autonomy.

This study demonstrates that the intelligibility regime performatively produced and reproduced in Ílhavo during the analyzed period and according to the analyzed corpus produces, on the one hand, men as subjects and women as their others, and, on the other hand, produces the captains and sailors as central subjects and other male workers as peripheral subjects and between them, the uneducated workers as the most peripheral.

Thus, this system can be understood as producer of men as central and wealthy subjects at the expense of peripheral female subjects in all classes and peripheral male subjects in the working classes. The intersection of gender and class finds the uneducated female workers as the most vulnerable subjects, living in extreme poverty, followed by male uneducated workers.

Some possibilities of resistance and changing the category of Traders Ladies for the family hierarchy in these cases seems to be forced to yield to the need to keep the business activity in family and moving. The independent labor and relatively well paid activity is therefore a possible way, though slow, for women's emancipation in that society. Also the young seem to bring some potential to break, if we understand the excessive regulation of their behavior in the newspapers speech as a measure to prevent possible non-normative performativities.

Thus, we can conclude that by taking the private affairs to the public sphere, the analysis of newspapers contributes to the production and reproduction of a normativity and a system of exclusive intelligibilities based on gender normativity firstly and secondly on class normativity in which the intersections between gender and class highlights the process of production of intelligibility and unintelligibility.

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WANTED, LINDONÉIA: ON PILLAGE AS CREATIVE PRINCIPLE AND POLITICAL PERFORMATIVITY¹

Larissa Latif²

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ABSTRACT

In this article I present the concept of *pillage* as a scenic creative principle and its procedures and dispositifs in the context of the artistic work in progress *Wanted Lindonéia*. Focusing on the crossroads between theater and drag queen performativity and in a dialogue with contemporary theories of gender, queer and feminist, this text examines the potentials the crossroads between theater and drag performativity can release while approaching the answers to some leading questions about procedures and dispositifs/devices³ as inductors of scenic action and creation.

KEYWORDS

Pillage; Drag Performativity; Gender Theory; Theatre; Politics.

In 1966, the Brazilian artist Rubens Gerschman presented the work 'Beauty Lindonéia or Gioconda of Suburbia', a silkscreen work inspired by a newspaper article that reported the death of a young woman from the outskirts of Rio de Janeiro, murdered in a crime with femicide characteristics. The silkscreen was cast on a mirror frame of a very popular style among the working classes at the time, measuring 60 square cm. It depicts a young woman against an orange background. The shadowing effects of the figure's face suggest marks of physical violence and her enigmatic gaze seems to indicate surprise or disgust. Elements of kitsch and also of pop art can be found in this work, as such as in the flowered frame, the orange background and the presence of a kind of tabloid text that comments and complements the image referring to the pages of newspapers in which the artist found inspiration for this and other works. The words say 'The 18 year old beautiful Lindonéia died instantaneously'.

In the second half of the 1960s, portraits of political activists sought by the dictatorship as criminals began to be common in Brazil. The pictures were printed in poster format and pasted on poles and public places, using the same technique as old American western movies. This obsolete technique was also employed for the printing and dissemination of pop art works as a complaint against industrial capitalism, but as for the military dictatorship, the art critic Antônio do Amaral Rocha considers that it was perhaps a way to demean and humiliate those whom the state persecuted (Rocha, 2008). As is known, all the work of Gerschman at that time can be read in the context of both aesthetic renewal and political criticism that permeated Brazil in the 1960s.

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³ The word *dispositivo* in Portuguese translates also device, in the sense of an instrument, and dispositive, in the Foucauldian sense.

In 1968, Nara Leão participated in the album 'Tropicalia ou Panis et Circenses', a fundamental collective work and the first album of the Tropicalia movement. The singer recorded the song 'Lindonéia', written at her request by Caetano Veloso, inspired by the work of Gerschman. The song - which became very popular among many generations since then - is a reading of Lindonéia's disappearance in which the intersection between gender violence and vulnerability and state violence is symbolized by the deletion of the female body.

In 2015, the 'Collective Lindonéia of Performing Arts' was created in Portugal by four artists; two of whom are Brazilian (this author and Iara Souza) and the other two are Portuguese (Marta Leitão and Vanessa Lamego). The aim of the collective is to create works that discuss and denounce gender violence. We began a staging process from a feminist reinterpretation of the work by Federico Garcia Lorca 'Mariana Pineda'. Very soon in the context of the discussions and readings in the collective – inspired also by discussions and lectures held in the 'Gender Studies Research Group' of the Doctoral Program in Cultural Studies, of which three of the collective members are members – revealed the extent and depth of gender issues and theories and the need to tear deeper in the debate and to appeal to a performativity able to question gender normativity as a matter of policy, of body disciplines and body technologies.

The creative process within the collective is quite autonomous. The collective rehearsals or meetings are completed by individual experimental work with greater or lesser proximity to partners according to the needs and time availability of each. In this article, I will address my own process of creating the mask-drag queen- cyborg Wanted Lindonéia describing its principles, procedures and dispositifs, pursuing the issue of aesthetic and political potential of resistance and subversion that it may release.

So, I threw myself into an experimental work seeking to weave a network on three levels: art, science and philosophy, which are the layers described by Deleuze and Guattari as three ways to face chaos (Deleuze & Guattari, 1992, p. 253). Thus, concepts, affects and perceptions are interwoven without hierarchy in a creative process that goes from one to another of these layers bumping into their routes and creating unexpected connection points. The connection, as we will see in more detail below, is fundamental to understanding how this process can move aesthetic and political potential into the body crossroads producing an encounter that challenges the norm and flirts with chaos, taking all risks.

Interrogating theater and drag performativity at the crossroads between these two languages in a dialogue with contemporary gender, queer and feminist theories and the Deleuze and Guattari's thought, this text seeks to step forward with some questions: what potentials can the intersection between theater and drag performativity release? What happens to the theatrical mask when crossed by the parodic performativity of drag? What happens to drag, parody of the female gender performativity, when it is performed in the theater and by a female body? These questions are at the same time a starting point for reflection in the field of concepts and inducers of the scenic action in my experimental artistic process.

But what do I mean when I say mask? The history of masks in the theater is as old as the history of theater and the theoretical construction and criticism about it, as well as experimental works in the performing arts field that are also abundant and fruitful. Nevertheless, it is difficult to definitively characterize the mask, because it is slippery by nature. It has many theatrical and ritual uses and possibilities, but all who use it in creative processes seem

to agree on its catalytic role. In that sense, it is “a collective condenser of images and identities. It is a place of belonging as subjects of a community to their audiences and creators and therefore a place of recognizing themselves in a given cultural context” (Trigo & Latif, 2014, p. 697). But at the same time, it also dispossesses or deterritorializes the performer’s body, opening the way for the creation of another body over it. In other words, the mask opens the way for the body without organs, a body that is a crossroads or a crossing point, a meeting and a collision, it opens ways, it allows the passage, it *lets it come* as they say in the rituals of incorporation of Umbanda, for example, but also in the training of theatrical masks. A mask is therefore a body made of crossroads and belonging. Crossroads because it catalyzes and condenses images from many fields in a presence, belonging because it makes intelligible the unintelligible, it makes belong what does not belong by deterritorializing the normal body. And for all that process, deterritorializing and becoming are fundamental.

In the scenic experimental work presented here, the work of deterritorializing that the mask operates on the body of the performer begins with a set of issues raised in the field of Gender Studies, one of the key areas for Cultural Studies. These questions are inspired both by Deleuze and Guattari’s theory of assemblage, their cartography procedures and by the few but powerful reflections of Deleuze on minority becoming in theater, which reveals the revolutionary power of theater.

To expose the performative nature of gender, Butler (2006) analyzes the cultural phenomenon of the drag queen. Drag raises, according to Butler, a set of questions about gender identity: Is the man who appears dressed as a woman essentially a disguised man who only outwardly looks like a woman? Or is the femininity that he openly displays proof that its essence is, after all, feminine, despite his male body? For Butler, these questions reveal through the example of the drag queen the instability of the relationship between sex and gender and attest to the performative nature of male or female identity.

By its hyper feminine performance (Butler, 2006), the drag queen exposes gender as a cultural code based solely on imitation and repetition without any sort of initial or essential truth. As she says, the parodic grounds of drag performance leads the norms of gender performativity to the edge and thus allows the recognition of imitation as the roots of every structure or identity and the absence of any authentic or primary truth. Thus, the drag performance exposes social coercion on the very basis of the performative nature of identity and opens the way for the break of the illusion of an essential gender identity.

The author also notes that both the notion of a stable identity as an extension of an inner essence and the illusion of sexual body are repressive and dangerous, but at the same time, they can be exposed in their weaknesses and threatened by their very need for repetition of normative action, because each repetition may fail and create new and unexpected ways, an recurring idea among many postmodern theorists such as Foucault, Derrida, Deleuze, Guattari, among others.

The dialogue between Butler and Spivak (2007) approximates gender performativity and the issues of postcolonial studies regarding the possible forms of resistance for people in vulnerable and precarious situations in contemporary societies marked by globalization – or postcolonial contexts marked by the technological revolutions that compress space and time which allows capitalism to speed up and volatilize the capital/ labor relations.

For the global capital there are no borders, but the same is not true for immigrants and other populations living in precarious conditions, invisibility, and even illegibility, as women, homosexuals, poor people, and transgender people.

The post-structuralism or postmodern thought criticizes the modern presuppositions of identity. Not only the national identity, but all forms of fixed identities which are based on the foundation of a modern subject established by dialectical separation of an 'other' and resulting in an optimal uniformity, a universal essence from which all difference is excluded. Thus, gender theories critique women's institutions as the other of men and of the binary opposition based on the assumption of the naturalness of the heterosexual norm that disqualifies as aberrant and incomprehensible, thus not recognizable, every other form of subjectivity, desire and behavior. The postcolonial critique of the state and of globalized capitalism insists, and rightly so, in their active production of poor people, 'stateless' and in the modes of connection and belonging that can be triggered by these people around the world to create resistance networks able to act concretely to make them recognizable and guarantee their rights, which would never be possible through more standardization, but only by the statement of their differences in relation to the normative subject. Indeed, the origin of the exclusion, precariousness and illegibility of these people lies precisely in the formation of this normative subject.

That is the transforming power of the performative theory of gender. It exposes the performative and not essential nature of the norm and implodes the essence of the modern subject by shaking off the first binary opposition: sex as nature and gender as culture, in other words, gendering as the first machinic assemblage or, in the words of Spivak, "the first semiosis of culture", its first regulation.

The consequences of this binary and heteronormative gendering can be better understood if we think, for example, of the phenomenon of 'feminization of labor', analyzed by Donna Haraway (2009) as one of the characteristics of economic globalization. The feminized work is nothing but precarious work made on conditions historically associated with women's work: the fusion between the home environment and the working environment, the fragility of contractual relations and labor rights, low requirement of qualifications, low wages, and the invasion of rest time by labor time.

Haraway (2009) notes that in the post-technological revolution context of the last quarter of the twentieth century, these working conditions are no longer confined to the work of women. They now also reach men and occur increasingly among historically vulnerable populations. Thus, the exploitation of labor in a girl's slavery situation in India is reflected in the rising unemployment among the white American male population, for example. This is globalization. Not sharing between equals, but a global system of reduced quality of life and suppression of rights, an informatics of domination. To fight it, Haraway proposes a common language for women in the 'integrated circuit' (Haraway, 2009). This common language, however, is not a unified language. It is a heteroglossia, a multiplicity that allows us to speak not a universal feminine essence, this would be only the other to the universal male subject and can do nothing for women in terms of liberating or revolutionary power (Haraway, 2009). Like Spivak, Haraway also highlights the potential of the approximation of the difference.

Haraway's cyborg connects not what is similar, but precisely what differs. For Spivak (2005) cultural translation is impossible, a culture cannot be learned, but we can use the lin-

guistic semiosis like a surface that allows us to act on the production of culture as a political agency, not by similarity, but through the difference, a usage that we can call subversive language code. Haraway (2009), in her turn, states that the information circulating in the global network can be used to connect the ‘new world working class’ that is anything but homogeneous, which is scattered and on which precariousness and vulnerability acts in many ways, but always producing more and more precariousness and vulnerability. Thus, the search for possible strategies to give unrecognized people a place to speak is a common feature of the three theoreticians whose works underlies this reflection.

Similarly, both Butler, Spivak and Haraway, destabilize the modern subject and refuse to its mere replacement by its other, as well as the simple extension of normativity to assimilate a part of the difference, reconvertng it into uniformity, for every stable and uniform subject will produce others that will be precarious, vulnerable and, ultimately, invisible, illegible, subalterns. The three theoreticians rather support the restless denunciation of the coercivity of naturalized myths of origin and the turning their own weakness against them: the fact that they have no essential foundation but, in fact, depend on the performativity to persist. Thus, parodic, ironic and paradoxical performativity can at the same time reveal the farce of naturalized norm and open new possibilities of subjectivity, belonging and guarantee of rights.

The irreverence of the drag queen as parodic performativity and of the cyborg, this ironic myth that blasphemes against the founding myths of the West and among them the founding myth of feminism as a stable and uniform female identity, seem to me to be useful in destabilizing the power elements as a procedure of the creation of a theatrical mask that aims to challenge the limits of experimental theater as a form of political agency. The failed performativity (parody), the impossible but insistently attempted translation as well as irony and blasphemy are resources that I use in seeking to force a minority becoming on the artistic scene and to release a potential of transformation.

The concept of gender is itself a trigger of lines of flight. Since the 80s, in feminist theory or queer studies, the discussions on gender are more like a theoretical field in which dispossession continues to happen rather than an effort to establish definitive concepts. Dispossessing gender has been precisely the theoretical and practical exercise undertaken by gender theory - this apostate and pirate theory. Therefore, the meeting between gender as a line of flight and the presence of the mask as a crossroad knot seems to be fruitful in this work.

Mask and gender affect me in different ways, but at the encounter of these affects a rhizome knot is created. It is not clear, it takes a long time to find it, and I need to listen to my body, my voice and the images, percepts or concepts that emerge now in the scientific writing process, now in the process of stage creating. I must follow a multi-lane road, sometimes tangled, sometimes superimposed, sometimes zigzagging, and launch lines made of ‘concepts for images’ ranging from writing to stage, and other lines, made of ‘images to concepts’ that goes from stage for scientific text.

This exercise with the mask follows a main creative principle, *the pillage*, which is divided into two principles of flight: infidelity and interruption in order to try out the three steps of Deleuze’s critical operation: “1) remove the stable elements; 2) put them all in continuous variation; 3) from there also transpose everything to lower (...)” (Deleuze G. , 2010, p. 44). Therefore, I will be unfaithful to the mask by interrupting the body on which it is created, the concepts with which it debates, the images that trigger the becoming of it.

The first step of the critical operation activates the potential of interruption: to block the stable elements of power. What stable elements should be blocked? What are the stable elements of power in a mask? But there is no universal mask to betray, only this mask that is to be betrayed by me here and now. Where is the mask a territory? What is the territory of the mask? The body. The body of a woman. My own body and its subjects: gender, age, training, political affiliation, etc. It is my body which should be destabilized, forced to vary and transposed into minor in order to inquire into my flesh and bones the gender normativity. Through the inscription of the question and the critical operation in my own body, I hope to expropriate it from the norm, come the lines of flight come, as they will guide the return of subjectivity to art and politics as a form of resistance and subversion. The search for Lindonéia begins.

To create such interruptions and infidelities over my own body I play with devices/dispositifs (objects) and procedures (where these are ways of doing), ways of stealing and de-territorializing concepts, functions and sensations - the very use of these terms here, with a specific sense, is stolen from Foucault and also from Deleuze and Guattari.

How am I to interrupt the body in the field of sensations? To whom should the question be addressed? The answer must come from the body itself. It comes from my bones. It is necessary to block the spine. This will shift the balance, change the body, and trigger the becoming and the body without organs. I wonder about my dispositifs and they come to me under the form of prostheses: extensions and couplings opening the body, eviscerating it, turning it inside out, putting the tail in the place of the head, extinguishing the opposition inside / outside, changing the body in pure extension crossed by intensities.

First of all I think of a sort of burka, but it turns into an umbrella because the women from the desert crossed the ocean many years ago and have become my Amazonian ancestors. Then I choose to create a corselet inspired by Frida Kahlo, who, on her mutilated body, built her body without organs - that is the first image. The corselet has a rod, a metal tube that passes through its center, coupled to an umbrella. The stem structure of the corselet extends from my neck to the base of my spine and limits my movements at the level of the trunk, modifies the balance of my body and awakes the point where my coccyx turns into a tail. The corselet tightens my breasts, but does not hide them. The umbrella is erected high above the head; it is heavy and unstable and triggers a ripple, like water and wind.

When all that is ready, I have completed the first phase of the masked drag queen built over the body of the performer, crossed by the affects and percepts of this peripheral woman, this resistance woman, this woman artist, intensities triggered by my procedures and devices. Lindonéia starts to go missing.

The second image, but it may in fact be the first, the oldest, is the serpent. It comes from deep water and imagined deserts. It is born in my back and talks with the voices of all my ancestors. But we need to clarify, I call them ancestors but they are not just my close or distant grandmothers, they are singularities speaking in the interruptions of my narrative of origin, they are voices that interrupt me and let the mask talk. I call them ancestors, but I could call them multiplicity. They are voices and bodies that the mask incorporates, that is, the mask let them pass, let them come, let them talk.

I choose to create the serpent with a knot of twisted and tied rags at the height of my knees, stretching in a very long tail and ending with pieces of twisted metal, also extracted from old umbrellas. The tail of the serpent modifies walking, limits the movement of the

knees and hinders the steps, which are caught in rags lying on the ground. The machine walks, balance, entangles its steps, stumbles, hesitates. No more feet, only a swaying walk; the only way to contain a serpent is to hold it below the head. No more spine, only sway and stumble without feet. Walking machine without feet. Lindonéia disappears a little more. She is becoming wanted.

The second step of the critical operation is to put everything under constant variation. The procedures are the crossing and the misapplication. To cross the space with the help of a blindfold. Walking with the corselet-umbrella, the tail of the serpent becomes stability as the body rebalances and resets the support points. The blindfold makes the steps vary again and on the striated space it creates a plan of composition. Walking become a variation of intensities. Machine from sliding stumbles. Lindonéia moves more and more towards a minority becoming.

The third step of the critical operation is “make it smaller”, create a minority becoming, not allow itself to be stabilized as the dominant language, making its own language strange, betray it, make it become precarious, be foreign in its own language.

The game now is to stop the voice of the performer. Lindonéia - like every drag queen - sings with a borrowed voice, the play back. This procedure is powerful because deterritorializing the voice of the performer implies first of all to remove it, to block it, and then to provide her with another voice that is no longer her own, allowing the flow of the multiplicity of voices. Lindonéia cannot have a single voice, she can only speak as a collective. Singing machine. Making voice machine.

Stumble machine without feet, sliding stumbles machine, making voice machine. Can Lindonéia speak? How can one who does not appear speak? Become Lindonéia? But Lindonéia is becoming a woman? Is it a mask? Where she can be intercepted? Is it a ‘she’? From whence is Lindonéia? She comes from the daily statistics of gender violence: misogyny, femicide, homophobia, transphobia. Violence is the great articulator of gender resistance. Far from being an aberration, an unexpected tragedy, it is part of gender performativity, of the discipline of bodies, of the machinic assemblage. It is a question of power. A political issue.

The machine drag queen cyborg deterritorializes the theatrical mask, crosses it, interrupts it, to put into action a transformation potential, a minority becoming which crosses the theatrical creation with a potential of desiring for an aesthetics and a politics of freedom. The minority becoming flees uniformity, seeks for the precarious performativity, refuses totalizing languages, choose the margins, puts into question the rules of gender, but, mainly, questions normativity as cultural production of meaning.

The parody of hyper femininity ironizes the assumed feminine nature, but drag even more so. She destabilizes the myth of theater as a great art. Indeed, even experimental theater has its unconfessed naturalized rules both in its more aesthetic and more political fields of experimentation. The irony of the cyborg gathers and keeps incompatible things together in a dramaturgy of interruptions that proceeds by coupling, creating over the performative body an acting body, a performing art machine that by choosing a minority becoming opens itself to the political becoming and acts by impossible translations and unexpected connections.

Once interrupted the body no longer remains the same. It becomes. And also the dispositifs, the prostheses that intercept it, become other things. The plan of composition is open for the flow of the body without organs, which has no head, trunk, tail, umbrella, but

which is a percept in which all this becomes a serpent, a ship, a machine that weaves, sings and crosses.

The machine drag queen cyborg Missing Lindonéia, Wanted Lindonéia, the Lady of the Roads, walks without feet, stumbles to slip, shuts up when talking. Many times interrupted, but unfaithful to all these interruptions, she resists and creates her subversive body in the collision between two artistic languages and a political statement of being beyond the norm, a pirate existence that proceeds by pillage to create impossible bodies and worlds, forcing them against cultural intelligibilities and limiting and mutilating policies.

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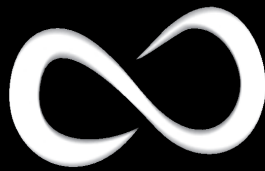
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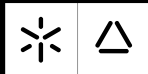
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