Somos Todas Verônica

How travestis are being represented in the online journal Jornal O Globo

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1 In English: we are all Verônica
2 Jørgensen, M & Phillips, L, Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method, 2002:74
Somos Todas Verônica

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Art by: Nando Mola
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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to uncover how travestis are being represented in one of Brazil’s biggest online journals; Jornal O Globo. O Globo’s words reach millions everyday and are therefore a major discursive stakeholder. I have used Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Queer theory to expose the main existing discourses in Jornal O Globo that relates to travestis. The study revealed how O Globo uses an active/passive discourse that limits the performativity of travestis; one expression of this discourse was the modification of the Portuguese language according to other rules than those of grammar. The performativity of travestis that linguistically requests the usage of female pronouns was to a greater extent respected by journalists when the travesti acted passive/feminine as in becoming victim of unprovoked violence, told a story of financial or artistic success, or if LGBT activists participated in the news coverage. In summary the active/passive discourse epitomizes a conventional Brazilian gender binarism that consists of two genders that is man and non-man. From a queer theoretical perspective I argue that O Globo’s representations of travestis continuously hinder the performativity of these individuals through their linguistic and discursive practice, which contributes to societal ostracism toward travestis.

Keywords: Travesti • Brazil • Gender identity • Queer theory • Representation • CDA • Newspapers
1. Introduction

1.1 Dire straits

Norman Fairclough explains that journalists and editorial offices label behaviours and expressions of people in news articles with *meanings*, these are interpreted meanings of expression and behaviour and they occur structurally according to the *order of discourse* or type of discourse (like medical discourses and catholic discourses etc.) and the context of the *discursive practice* (production and consumption of meaning). Orders of discourse include approaches and ideologies that are voiced in text, image and speech, articulating different hegemonic understandings about phenomena through the discursive practice. Moreover, the order of discourse may be understood as the phenomenology of discourse while the discursive practice provides the technology. Judith Butler say about the production and consumption of discourse that individuals with non-conventional identity expressions (like “travesti” or “queer”) are at constant risk of being presented, *subjected* or named by media in erroneous or even harmful ways when discourse follow ideological rules that often reflect heteronormativity. These erroneous presentations of individuals create recurring narratives or representations that carry meaning. Butler further explains that subjects (for example a person in a news article) are expected to act according to the ethoses that are woven into iterated representations, often resulting in misrepresentations when the subject expresses *outside* of the fixed idea about the subject. Stuart Hall explains that the results of the presentations of “the other” or representations evoke emotions and feelings such as fears and anxieties, attitudes and stereotyping in for example consumers of news articles. Moreover, media has an enormous power to create both “heroes and villains” through representations.

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2. Ibid
3. Ibid
5. Ibid 4-5
7. Ibid
Swedish anthropologist Don Kulick explains travesti as a person with “…female physical attributes and male homosexual subjectivity…”\(^8\). The word travesti origins from the Portuguese verb *transvestir* which means “to cross-dress”, the word is quite misleading and does not inform correctly what it means to be travesti when travestis do not cross-dress, they use female names and pronouns, undergo (most often clandestine) surgeries and use hormones in order to obtain a permanent female form, usually travestis do not wish genital reconstruction surgery as some may think\(^9\). Travesti is a masculine noun in the Portuguese language in spite of travestis self-definition as *ela* (her in English) and travesti is confusingly enough, sometimes used as a synonym for cross-dresser\(^10\). Below are two excerpts from articles published at the website of journal O Globo that illustrate representations, pronoun usage and termination of adjectives in relation to travestis.

**Travesti victim**

– Um aspirante a tenente do Exército e um advogado, moradores de Niterói, foram detidos na madrugada desta quinta-feira por policiais do 12º BPM (Niterói) após serem acusados por uma travesti — que fazia ponto em uma das esquinas da Avenida Ernani Amaral Peixoto — de tentarem roubar a sua bolsa quando passavam pelo local.

– An aspiring lieutenant and a lawyer, residents from Niterói, were arrested early this Thursday by police officers from Niterói after being accused by a travesti — that took place in one of the street corners on Avenida Ernani Amaral Peixoto — of trying to steal her bag when passing by. (My translation)

**Travesti perpetrator**

– Na Praça da Bandeira, outro travesti também foi detido. Um facão foi encontrado na bolsa que ele carregava.

– In Praça da Bandeira, also another travesti was arrested. A large knife was found in the bag that he carried.

The first story is about a travesti that became victim of an attempted robbery by a Brazilian lieutenant (*tenente do Exército*) and a male lawyer\(^11\). As the military rank *tenente do Exército* is a masculine noun regardless of subject, one cannot say the gender of the lieutenant but we are told that the lawyer is *advogado* and not *advogada*, the latter is the female form of the noun, the lieutenant and the lawyer were *detidos* (meaning arrested in English) and is the masculine plural form of the adjective *detido*. Adjectives in Portuguese are terminated after the gender of the subject and a group of mixed genders is always described in masculine form. The travesti that was victim of the attempted robbery is *uma travesti*. The second piece is from a story about a travesti who was arrested in the Rio neighbourhood of *Praça da Bandeira*, carrying a large knife in her bag. However, O Globo did not write, “the weapon

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\(^8\) Kulick, Don, “Travesti: Sex, Gender, and Culture Among Brazilian Transgendered Prostitutes” 1998: 6-7
\(^9\) Ibid
\(^11\) See appendices (article nr.7 and nr.45)
was in *her bag*” instead they wrote *na bolsa que ele carregava* (in the bag *he* was carrying). If the use of the word travesti is not merely ruled by grammar, what controls the usage? Perchance we can grasp the Brazilian social matrix that is surrounding the gender identity travesti and identify the common representations of the group by learning the logics behind existing discursive practices. I have attempted to do this through CDA, or a variant of it, the *multiperspectival analysis*, adding Queer theory to the analysis to not only understand the linguistic spectrums but also social practices. What now will follow is a presentation of the background and contextualization with a brief introduction to the historical social- and cultural context, gender and identity notions in Brazil and a brief presentation of one of the biggest national Brazilian newspaper- *O Globo*. Later an introduction to the theoretical framework and the methodology, an overview of previous research about travestis including the only study I found about transgender and means of communication in Latin America; *The collective need to be inside, the individual spectacle of the outer: Critical Discourse Analysis of the construction of discursive representations about transvestites on Argentinian television* (2016) by Matías Soich. And finally I will present my CDA of articles that were published online containing the word “travesti” and I will look at two specific periods; firstly the publications between 10th of April 2014 and 9th of April 2015 (one year before the brutal abuse of travesti Verônica Bolina) and secondly articles and news coverage between 10th of April 2015 (the day Verônica was arrested and abused by the police and/or male cellmates) to 10th of April 2016 (one year after the abuse). The findings culminated into Judith Butler’s Queer theory and the concepts of *Subjection, The Compulsory Order of Sex/Gender/Desire* and *Performativity*. Lastly I will present my conclusions regarding O Globo’s representations of travestis and discuss suggestions for future studies. This paper is dedicated to Verônica. Her story serves as a backcloth and political catalyst behind this thesis, awakening questions about what representations an influential newspaper like Jornal O Globo creates in regard to travestis.

**1.2 Research Objective and Questions**

The main purpose of this thesis is to uncover what representations of travestis that are being presented through one of Brazil’s most influential online journals, Jornal O Globo, and if there has been any change of discourse and intertextuality between two specific periods; firstly publications between 10th of April 2014 and 9th of April 2015 (one year before the
brutal physical abuse of Verônica) and secondly articles and news coverage between 10th of April 2015 (the day Verônica was arrested and abused by the police and/or male cellmates) to 10th of April 2016 (one year after the abuse). Additionally my aim is to contribute to critical language awareness, which is asked of one to do while utilizing Fairclough’s CDA as a method for analysis\textsuperscript{12}. My research questions are the following,

- How did the representations of travestis evolve in the online journal of O Globo between the year before (2014) the severe abuse of Verônica Bolina and one year (2016) after it?

- Which are the present discourses about travestis in the articles published through the online journal of O Globo during previously mentioned interval?

- What are the discourses saying about gender identity in the Brazilian context?

- Is there a correlation between representation and pronoun usage in regard to the word “travesti”?  

2. Background and contextualization

2.1 Before and after Verônica Bolina

What does a representation of a travesti accused of attempted murder look like in Jornal O Globo when she simultaneously is a victim of a brutal hate-crime? Verônica Bolina, a 25-year-old travesti was arrested on the 10th of April 2015 when her 73-year-old female neighbor, accused her of attempted murder. Approximately a week after the arrest shockingly gruesome pictures from inside of the custody of the São Paulo police district Bom Retiro started to spread via online papers and social media\textsuperscript{13}. The pictures showed Verônica constrained by hand cuffs in different positions, only wearing trousers, her breasts exposed, her long hair had been shaved off, her face “pulverized” and severely disfigured\textsuperscript{14}. Verônica had become yet another victim of violence against transpersons and it is often police officers who commit these human right violations\textsuperscript{15}. In all events, there are different versions regarding the violent assault, the police say that Verônica had upset cellmates when she

\textsuperscript{13} http://g1.globo.com/sao-paulo/noticia/2015/04/travesti-fica-desfigurada-apos-prisao-defensoria-diz-haver-indicio-de-tortura.html
\textsuperscript{14} http://stream.aljazeera.com/story/201504171611-0004699
\textsuperscript{15} Kulick, Don, “Travesti : Sex, Gender, and Culture Among Brazilian Transgendered Prostitutes” 1998:142
masturbated in the cell and that this lead to that the other prisoners attacked and tortured her\textsuperscript{16}. Verônica supported the version of the police at one point of the investigation according to Brazil’s R7 news\textsuperscript{17}. Nevertheless, some media like Sveriges Radio and Al Jazeera reported that the public defender of Verônica, Juliana Belloque thought that it was likely that the police had scared Verônica to silence\textsuperscript{18}. The news website of Jornal O Globo does not mention the case of Veronica even once between the 10\textsuperscript{th} of April 2015 and 10\textsuperscript{th} of April 2016, the allegations and the battery was however reported on via the news portal of Rede Globo G1. In those articles Verônica is refered to as \textit{ela} (Portuguese pronoun meaning she)\textsuperscript{19}. In June 2016, Verônica is still awaiting her trial\textsuperscript{20}. Furthermore it is to me unknown what happened with Verônica. Her unrevealed fate evolved into research questions dealing with media representations of travestis. Moreover, Verônica’s circumstances posses a “gender-dilemma” seen from the normative gender-binary (male/female, masculine/feminine), providing an example of two oppositional ethoses articulated at once; “the suspected murderer” and “the victim”, the active and the passive, masculine and feminine, travesti. I have studied what happens in text, the discursive practice and social practice when the agent or protagonist of a news story carry both the active and passive role, which is always the case of travestis according to Kulick when their gender identity consists of “…female physical attributes and male homosexual subjectivity…”\textsuperscript{21}. Moreover, the study aims at fathoming how this collision of ethoses articulates discursively in published articles by jornal O Globo.

\section*{2.2 Historical and cultural context}

The dichotomy of childhood in colonial Brazil was characterized by a dualism of gender roles, that of meninos and meninas and this division existed among the Portuguese as well as within the societies of Tupi and –Gurani people\textsuperscript{22}. Indigenous boys were born as free individuals, neither subordinated marternal nor paternal rules, this difference in birthright continued up to adolescence into adulthood, girls and boys were separated anterior to the obligatory rites of passage that occurred around puberty and meant for the boy child, learning about his right to dominance over women once he became a man\textsuperscript{23}. Portuguese colonial social
practices concerning orphans disclose clear differences based on the hetero-normative gender binary and classist bias. If a boy of the bourgeoises became fatherless, he simply gained the social position of his father regardless of age, while poor female children without fathers turned into property of the king, this policy enabled the crown to send orphan girls of Lisbon to Brazil, where they would make spouses and provide Portuguese wombs to the colonizers24. New discourses on gender roles and family started to appear in Brazil toward the end of the 20th century, more specifically post the military regime of João Baptista de Oliveira Figueiredo (1979-1985), the Stonewall riots of 1969 was an important transnational catalyst for new discourses on gender and sexuality25.

2.3 The present-day social situation

Marcos Garcia, Doctor in social psychology at University of São Paulo and well versed in travesti related social research, identifies two main notions on travestis active in contemporary Brazil; 1. the active/passive notion26 and a contrasting 2. post-70’s, open-minded/urban notion27. Garcia explains that poverty, or the common socio-economical context of travestis is what sanctions the Brazilian society’s ostracism toward the group, leading to a disregard that leaves many travestis dependent on male sex-buyers and jeopardous efforts to stay physically hyper feminine through clandestine medical interventions28. With that said Garcia is not diminishing travestis longing for the actualization of their female physique, he simply argue that this yearning is easily exploited in impoverished segments of the Brazilian society. Unfortunately Garcia does not expand on the variable of race much; surprisingly, neither does anthropologist and queer theorist Don Kulíck in his ethnographical study Travesti: Sex, Gender, and Culture Among Brazilian Transgendered Prostitutes (1998). But that is not because Kulick is insensitive to register disadvantages linked to race, it is rather because “poverty” is used synonomously with “black” and that racism is normalized in Brazil, to conduct ethnographical studies with the aim to transcribe what has been observed; for example racism in Salvador, Brazil, sometimes mean that certain significant social issues will appear between the lines in the transcription, in the same manner as racism articulate in Salvadorian travesti-realities; between the lines. Moreover, unmentioned information is not necessarily non-information, instead it might be

24 Ibid: 305
26 A notion involving a clear division of sexuality and behavior between what is active (male, powerful, rich) and what is passive (female, insignifical, poor). Gutmann, Matthew Changing Men and Masculinities in Latin America, 2003:310
28 Ibid
understood as the transcription of the articulation of *Symbolic violence* or the obscuring of discrimination\(^{29}\). Kulick who was previously mentioned, came to similar conclusions about how the travestis’ performance of identity unfortunately matches the demands of the sex-market and that travesti performance of identity unlike the performance of “man” only receives a sanction to exist within the frame of prostitution where (according to traditionalist notions especially active in poor segments of Brazilian society) “travesti” make sense\(^{30}\). Kulick listened to numerous narratives of adult travestis talking about their early teens, one exceptionally interesting section of Kulick’s work (1998) is where travestis speak of the days when they were still defined by their surrounding as a boy\(^{31}\), this chapter provides clues on why the travesti performance of identity is structurally punished with prostitution, to the travesti herself however, prostitution is not necessarily understood as a forfeiture, after all the travesti performance of identity is very much allowed to be in between prostitution and male desire explains Kulick\(^{32}\). Travestis described to Kulick how their early effeminate expressions of identity had them swirled up into a life within prostitution approximately at the same time as they started to reveal who they are, travesti\(^{33}\). Be this as it may, travestis interviewed by Kulick additionally expressed a unique status and a kind of power-position within the Brazilian gender binarism due to the fact that they actually have lived as boys or men ahead of adding breasts, female hormones and a *bunda*\(^{34}\). The gender binarism previously referred to consists of an active/passive gender and sex, a penetrating/non-penetrating gender and sex, a man/non-man or a man/woman\(^{35}\). Kulick suggest that this binarism is partly resting on top of the active/passive notion, or notion of penetration, a notion that is reaching far beyond Salvador and Brazil\(^{36}\). Kulick mention that there are 200 travestis in Salvador, a city of two million people back in 1997, from this one can estimate there are thousands in Sao Paulo that has 11.4 million citizens. The discrimination, bullying and abuse of travestis are immense, 802 trans murders were committed in Brazil only in 2015 says Transgender Europe’s Trans Murder Monitoring (TMM)\(^{37}\). Since October 17, 2009 it is allowed to change one’s legal name as decided by the Superior Court of Justice of Brazil, in agreement with this decision the court followed through with a law change allowing transsexual individuals who has gone through the process of sex-correction to change name and gender on their birth certificates\(^{38}\).

\(^{29}\) Brady, Ama, and Tony Schirato. *Understanding Judith Butler*, 2011:110

\(^{30}\) Kulick, Don, “Travesti: Sex, Gender, and Culture Among Brazilian Transgendered Prostitutes” 1998:137

\(^{31}\) Bicha is a Brazilian offensive word for homosexual male, equivalents in English would perhaps be “faggot” or “homo”

\(^{32}\) Kulick, Don, “Travesti: Sex, Gender, and Culture Among Brazilian Transgendered Prostitutes” 1998:136

\(^{33}\) Ibid 5-6

\(^{34}\) Ibid 93

\(^{35}\) Ibid 237

\(^{36}\) Ibid


However, there is no option of having “travesti” in one’s birth certificate or ID-documents instead of “man” or “woman” nor are travestis granted any financial support to safely correct their breasts, hips or given adjusted and professionally monitored hormone treatments. One might argue that this limited legislation hinders travestis from fully reciting their gender and very existence, Butler emphasizes that we “become” through such social practice like the announcement of ourselves in official registers as ourselves.

2.4 Discourses on gender and identity in Brazil

2.4.1 The Active/Passive Notion

Sexual orientation was the very first topic that the travestis in Kulick’s study (1998) wanted to reside at, and throughout the whole study this is the focal point together with conversations on identity. Kulick frequently mentions the Cartesian active/passive notion in relation to sexuality (although without using that exact term) to describe the central discourse affecting performativity of travesti subjectivity. Furthermore, the discourse of penetration that refers to this active/passive notion is determinant for the subjectivity of travestis argues Kulick, they actually become travesti in the articulation of desire for penetration, sharing this longing with mulheres and viados. The active/passive notion becomes visible looking at male homosexual subjectivity explains Kulick, social practice among travestis interviewed by Kulick reveals a gender binarism that contains two genders, the synonym is “Man/Woman” but it is actually about a penetrating/non-penetrating gender, in conclusion therefore one can say that the gender performativity articulates in the act of penetration and in the desire for being penetrated, and this desire for being penetrated is effeminate and passive (instead of active/absorbing) according to the homophobic and misogynist notion.

2.4.2 Luso-Tropicalismo and the Racial Democracy

Again drawing on the work of Kulick (1998) one may recognize discourses of Otherness. The intertextuality of the discourse of otherness within Brazilian academia is characterized by the exotification of for example travestis and words like “…exotic, strange, bizarre, and scary” are often used to describe travestis. A sociologist that are sometimes said to embody Brazilian post-colonial nationalism is Gilberto Freyre who coined the term Luso-tropicalismo.
that labels a discourse on Lusophone identities and cultural exceptionalism\(^{46}\). It is in the nature of the Portuguese to marry, enter into sexual relationships and embrace foreigners or “outsiders” according to the Luso-tropicalismo of Freyre, furthermore he suggests the Portuguese imperialist endeavors as the main reason for this supposedly existing approach to the other in Brazil\(^{47}\). Something as unique as a racial-democracy or society where race does not control one’s opportunities was the future awaiting Brazil suggested Freyre in national and international lectures and seminars, Luso-tropicalismo is indeed lopsided and opportunistic in relation to the reality of the former colonies. The social matrix of Rio de Janeiro's favelas is one of many examples that (mildly expressed) challenge the idea of Freyre’s racial-democracy, in between the late 60’s and early 2000’s cultural geographer Janice Perlman carried out a longitudinal study about inhabitants’ perceived basis for discrimination in favelas. The respondents mentioned the favela-ism (or being poor) as the strongest contributing variable that leads to stigmatization or otherness and on second place was skin color\(^{48}\). 47.7 percent of the Brazilian population defined themselves as white in IBGE's measurement from 2010 and 50.7 per cent as mulato and black. The concept of racial democracy becomes nothing more than a myth looking further at statistics from IBGE, 2009, 73.7 percent of students at public and private universities identify as white and only 24.4 as mulato and black. Moreover, skin color indeed controls the individual's social mobility in Brazil.

2.5 O Globo- the online journal

Following now is a brief introduction to the newspaper Jornal O Globo in order to give a historical context to the articles and news coverage that will be presented in the results. The newspaper O Globo was founded by the Rio born journalist Irineu Marinho, in Rio de Janeiro only weeks before his death in 1925. His son Roberto Marinho took the seat as managing editor after his father’s death. Marinho the younger wanted to cover new media channels in line with technological advancement and therefore added to Jornal O Globo a media group that he named Organizações Globo including; Editora Globo a publishing house, Rede Globo the television network that were founded 1965, just the year after the coup d'état, Rádio Globo which was already developed during the first presidential period of Getúlio Vargas 1930-1945\(^{49}\). The Vargas period was characterized by nationalism or rather a catholic integralism, a movement that emphasized the importance of catholic values in economical and political

\(^{46}\) Arenas, Fernando, Lusophone Africa : Beyond Independence, 2010:5
\(^{47}\) Freyre, Gilberto, Casa-Grande & Senzala, 1986:3-4
\(^{48}\) Perlman, Janice 2011: 154
\(^{49}\) http://memoriaglobo.globo.com/historia-grupo-globo/historia-grupo-globo.htm
matters and is summarized by the slogan *Deus, Pátria e Família* (God, the Fatherland and Family)\(^{50}\). Moreover, the political strategies of Vargas were of the populist kind, lobbying for the importance of social welfare and promoted corporatism\(^ {51}\). Jornal O Globo published a paper the 2\(^{nd}\) of April 1964 (one day after the military coup) that had the following headline:

![Jornal O Globo 2\(^{nd}\) of April 1964](http://memoria.oglobo.globo.com/erros-e-acusacoes-falsas/apoio-ao-golpe-de-64-foi-um-erro-12695226)

The headline *Ressurge a Democracia!* That in English means *Return of the Democracy!* Created vivid criticism at the time of the publication and decades later, O Globo commented on the publication in 2013 when they created a memory site of the journal’s history and appologized to the Brazilians for supporting the coup of 64\(^ {52}\).

### 3. Theoretical framework

#### 3.1 Introduction

The researcher depends on theory throughout the whole research process, whether the study takes the inductive grip that means theory generation, or if one chooses to test hypothesis for

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\(^{50}\) Fausto, Boris, História do Brasil. 1995:353  
\(^{51}\) Ibid: 335-336  
the sake of arriving at results. My choice of theoretical infrastructure has been the CDA-approach of Fairclough, Butler’s queer theory and Hall’s concept of representation. The theoretical pedals of Butler were not given or self-righteous in the outset of the research process, only CDA as theoretical infrastructure, queer theory appeared as relevant during my data collection.

3.2 Representation

Stuart Hall, sociologist and cultural theorist argued that culture are communicational processes, whether vocal, written or visual, furthermore that language carries representations of meanings that are continuously negotiated in the production and consumption of expressions of any human practices. Moreover, representation can according to Hall be understood as the results of this negotiation of meaning, for example there is a long tradition of viewing femininity as passive, inferior and Other to masculinity in Latin America (and the world), that meaning or representation of femininity as passive can be traced back to western canonical philosophy that indeed were a part of cultural negotiations in colonial as well as post-colonial Latin America. The problem that arrises in the negotiation of representations is when a hegemon group set out to define and fix the cultural meaning of identities like gender minorities such as travestis, commonly this outside definition by the hegemon fails to understand and respect the self-definition of the minority, Butler call this hegemonic process of negotiation subjection.

3.3 Queer Theory

3.3.1 Introduction

Queer theory was made famous by several names, among them Professor in Literature and Rhetoric, Judith Butler and researcher in Gender studies and Critical theory, Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick. Queer theory is really an umbrella term for theories concerning the relationship between subjectivity and identity, gender, gender identity, identity, sex, power and desire and
a critique toward feminist definition of first of all the definition of biological sex as something presumably fixed. Instead queer theory proposes that the concept of biological sex, identity and gender identity is born out of *performativity* in contrast to feminist theory that suggests that subjects form social practice, subjects or identities like “woman” and “man”. Another way of understanding performativity is in relation to Fairclough’s definition of *ethos*, distinguishing that ethos is the expectation attached to an identity or social group like “travesti” and performativity is the manner in which the identity is made, this manner is what tend to be judged and evaluated by society, based on how the performativity pair with the ethos that is placed in an order of discourse. Both feminist theory and queer theory are post-structuralist and constructionist, although one might argue that queer theory goes beyond constructivism especially in the conceptualization of the body as culturally constructed. Identity, gender identity and body are generated out of performativity and cultural/social practice argues Butler, in addition Butler stress that discursive stakeholders like politicians, journalists and legislators create groupings of phenomena or *representations* out of observed performativies and decides what clusters of phenomena that leads to for example the conceptualization of “woman” or “travesti”. These discursive stakeholders always act within a hegemonic order of discourse that Butler calls *The Compulsory Order of Sex/Gender/Desire* (either as norm-critical defiers or conventional preservers) this order of discourse reflects the tradionalist two-part- or the hetero-normative gender/sex/desire-binarism. Within this Compulsory Order of Sex/Gender/Desire many feminists historically fought for the implementation of a division of the concepts of “sex” and “gender”, this in order to teach that gender is socially constructed and not a biological consequence. Butler question the utility of this feminist discursive strategy by arguing that the gender “woman” still mirrors the *sexed body*, limiting the free definition of gender, furthermore Butler question the grouping of phenomena that make up the gender concepts “man” and “woman”, until this day the body is biologically sexed instead of being performed. Professor in African American, Gender and Women’s Studies, Roderick A. Ferguson interrogates the limits of queer theoretical epistemology and deliver critique toward queer theorists narrow usage of the theory, that in his opinion should be utilized on other research topics than sexuality and gender when the

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58 Kulick, Don, “Travesti: Sex, Gender, and Culture Among Brazilian Transgendered Prostitutes” 1998:230
60 Grosz, E. A. Volatile bodies: Toward a corporeal feminism, 1994:19
61 Butler, Judith, Gender Trouble, 1990:1-2
62 Ibid 6-7
63 Ibid
64 Ibid
3.3.2 Subjection

In the concequence of the symbiosis between habitus or “the culturally bound social status” and ethos that is discourse, lies social vulnerability and social power, and the use of it or abuse of it. Pierre Bordieu who meant that the abuse of one’s social authority or habitus leads to dominating and dominated social groups firstly described this sociologically as Symbolic power. Butler speaks similarly of Subjection or the linguistic process of placement and naming of a group/groups/phenomenas, a process that is articulated and maintained within for example bureaucracies, educational systems, arts and courts through disciplinary techniques like normalisation, foreclosuresure and hailing, if injurious as often is the case, Butler speak of Symbolic violence, which is used to violate the human dignity of social groups and individuals.

3.3.3 Queer theory and performativity

Performativity is perchance the most famous theoretical concept in queer theory, it is a concept that describes behavior, speech and actions and the way in which it reproduces and control phenomena. Moreover, identities become after performance or “the making makes the identity” and identities tend to submit to the hegemony of gender and sexuality that refers to hetero-normativity. One should not attempt at defining Queer to not disturb the performativity of queerness argues Butler. Querness as movement came as an anti-dote to marginalizing and normative identity notions within western gay- and lesbian movements that since the late 60’s erupted into what Butler calls “…promise of a transparent revelation of sexuality”, this citation applies to the notion of Coming out. Butler’s criticism of the coming out-notion lies in her fundamental questioning of this necessity of openness with one’s sexuality, to know “…the doer behind the deed…” furthermore, the disclosure of one’s
sexuality has historically been remitted to non-heterosexuals so that the division of insiders/outsiders may continue undisturbed within the heterosexual society of patriarchy.  

3.3.3 Bodies that matter

Pierre Bourdieu’s *habitus* is related to Butler’s concept of the *sexed body* when the concept of habitus can be described as an architecture of phenomena that articulates in behaviour and body and reflects the consequences of for example “Upper-class”, “Afro-Brazilian” and “Woman”, not to mention habitus leads to the individual’s social position within the social structure or hierarchy explain queer theorists Anita Brady and Tony Schirato. Viewing the concept of “travesti” through the lenses of Butler’s concept of the sexed body, we get a body and performance from the travesti that is non-convincing as a “woman” and non-convincing as a “man”, travesti is neither, *never wanted to be*, never will be. Still, “travesti” has to perform within The Complusory Order of Sex/Gender/Desire and “reach” demanded ethos afflicted with the hetero-normative subjects (man/woman). This compulsory character of that order would from a queer theorist perspective explain persistant trans- and homophobia. Kulick has in his major study (1998) expanded on the performativity of travestis within prostitution, and concludes that the abstraction of travesti actually epitomize Brazilian sexuality when travesti reflects the notion of enjoying penetration which represents the desire carried by one out of two genders, women and *viados* (or faggots in English) shares gender in that sense while men are in their own category explains Kulick. Furthermore, there are men and non-men, those are the two genders within the Brazilian Compulsory Order of Sex/Gender/Desire suggests Kulick.

4. Methodology

4.1 Introduction

What will follow now is an introduction to the methodology used throughout this thesis, secondly the method of usage will be explained; Fairclough’s CDA, but in the variant of *Multiperspectival analysis* or when the study of social practice is extended and not merely.

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72 Butler, Judith, Gender Trouble, 1990:141  
73 Ibid, 1990:129-130  
74 Brady, Anita, and Schirato, Tony. Understanding Judith Butler, 2011: 11  
76 Kulick, Don, “Travesti : Sex, Gender, and Culture Among Brazilian Transgendered Prostitutes” 1998:228-229  
77 Ibid
resides at semiotic systems of knowledge, this version of CDA also belongs to Fairclough. Furthermore it will be displayed how methodology, method and research design has related to the sources of data; the online journal of O Globo.

4.1.1 Qualitative Methodology

Research methodology is often divided into two kinds; the qualitative and the quantitative where the latter involves methods that measure phenomena and quantifies using a positivist epistemology that is rather typical for natural sciences. Researchers who swear on the interpretivist and constructivist epistemology often criticize positivist researchers for believing it is solely possible to obtain knowledge by observation of only that, which can be perceived by the senses. Moreover, the criticism regards the view that there is an objective reality to discover, suggesting that the researcher can find the truth. The positivist epistemology collides with the approach of CDA when the methodology per se demands from the researcher to consider many realities at the same time, CDA asks from the researcher to give the reader a multifaceted presentation of the data, where historical, cultural, economical, political and social factors are made visible when this allow the researcher and the reader to discover, from several perspectives, where and why issues articulate as they do. One might say that interpretivist researchers mean that reality consists of layers, and that for example social structures and phenomena are as real and important as anything observed in a laboratory. As opposed to the quantitative methodology that tend to present social phenomena as existing autonomously and prior to any involvement of social actors, qualitative methodology instead suggests that social phenomena are performed and produced by the social actors. These two ontological stances are called objectivism and constructionism and are often found in quantitative respectively qualitative research methodology. However, both of these ontological perspectives are used within the two mentioned methodologies, for example; a qualitative study may include objectivist ontological features and vice versa. Regardless if a study is of the qualitative or quantitative kind, its quality will be evaluated and questioned. It is in this process of evaluation that reliability and validity are estimated, reliability (or dependability as some suggest as criteria in evaluating qualitative studies) is about judging if the results of the study would be the
same if another researcher attempted at repeating the very same research process, therefore it is crucial to disclose as clear as possible how the data was collected and analyzed. Concerning the reliability of this study, it may be seen as problematic that the articles are from an online paper where a subscription is needed to access more than five articles per week. The internal validity (or credibility) is an evaluation criterion that involves estimating how reasonable the results are, external validity (or transferability) is about evaluating the likelihood that the findings suit more than one context. The medium at focus in this study that is one of Brazil’s biggest online papers support a quality of the internal and external validity because of the relevance. In regards to the relationship between research and theory, the two methodologies tend to part. While researchers using qualitative methodology often work with an inductive approach to the generation of theory, as in scanning and investigating social phenomena and thereafter identify theory, quantitative research tend to rely on the deductive approach that rather tests theory instead of generating it. But one must remember that the researcher arrives at the field with one’s conceptual frames and understanding of environments which means that qualitative research with an inductive relation to theory, in general contains fragments from the deductive approach to theory. I did start my evaluation with prior knowledge about the stigmas attached to the travesti identity, especially from reading Kulíck’s interviews with travestis in Salvador, moreover I awaited travesti-phobia and prejudices to appear and rather expected hetero-normative discourses when I conducted my CDA on the data from the online journal of O Globo. Research design can in summary be explained as the anteriorly suggested disposition of the steps that the researcher preferably should take in order to start and finish one’s research. It is also from the researcher’s choice of research design that conclusions and findings will be scrutinized, challenged and developed. The research design of this study is Fairclough’s three dimensions of discourse.

4.1.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is often mentioned as a method that was developed from the work of Michel Foucault, CDA as a more accomplished method, theoretical infrastructure and approach can be derived to Norman Fairclough, but Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer have likewise developed theoretical tools and methodology to use in linguistic analysis. Marianne Jørgensen university lector in Culture and Media production and Louise Phillips
associate professor in Communication Studies has summarized five features that all approaches to CDA have in common; 1. Cultural and social practices are to a certain extent generated through discursive practise— or produced and consumed text, these contribute to form the hierarchies of social relations and social practices. 2. “Discourse is both constituted and constitutive” which by other words implies that social realities are shaped from discourse but discourse are too caused by social practices of our social worlds. 3. CDA involves analysis of social interaction by the concrete studying of language use. 4. Discourse cause ideological consequences and might for example consolidate power imbalances between social groups such as Boys and Girls, Black and White, Poor and Middle class. 5. CDA demands a non-objective stance from any researcher using it. Moreover, the researcher has to submit to the engendering of social change\textsuperscript{91}.

4.1.3 The ABC of CDA

4.1.3.1 Introduction of methodological tools of CDA

Jørgensen and Phillips (2002) suggest a definition of the term discourse as “…a particular way of talking about and understanding the world (or an aspect of the world)” and they regard this definition as reflecting how “discourse” is most commonly used within the field of CDA\textsuperscript{92}. The aim of Fairclough’s methodological and theoretical infrastructure is to introduce critical language awareness and change or even exchange discourses that excludes and threatens democracy\textsuperscript{93}. Furthermore one may view CDA as a tool for the feminist war on inequality and discrimination, it is likely one of the least positivist approaches as it clearly promotes social change and activist elements in social research. Looking further to the actual process of analysis one should firstly befriend Fairclough’s three dimensions of discourse or the three spheres in which ideology and social practice receives and produces meaning\textsuperscript{94}. The three are Text, Discursive practice and Social practice see figure one. One should also know of the Two dimensions of analysis, the CDA is carried out on The communicative event that refers to the item that carries discourse like a film, a political speech or as in my case study news coverage and articles. The second dimension of analysis is The order of discourse meaning kinds of discourses, genres or types. Moreover, there are a certain language use within the discipline of Medicine and another in Art history\textsuperscript{95}. How does one recognise the order of discourse? By looking at expressed themes in the communicative events and trough

\textsuperscript{91} Ibid: 61-64
\textsuperscript{92} Ibid: 1
\textsuperscript{93} Ibid: 88
\textsuperscript{94} Ibid
\textsuperscript{95} Ibid:66-67
the reviewing of appearing language we can identify the order of discourse. The purpose of making the analysis in this dimension is to identify hegemony and ideology, the hegemony can be distinguished when studying discursive practice and will tell us about dominant ideologies and new discourses of the actual society. Discourse analysis of Fairclough is more specific about what discourse actually is, CDA limits discourse to semiotic systems like images and language which for example Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe does not.

Social identities, Social relations and Systems of knowledge and meaning are the three social levels where discourse is active as a constituter and receiver just as mentioned before, discourse is equally constituted and constitutive. Following now is an introduction to Fairclough’s Three-dimensional model.

**4.1.3.2 Fairclough’s Three-dimensional model**

The first dimension Text refers to writing, speech and visual image each as separate communicative events or in joint articulation. This study look at articles and pictures accompanying them, moreover visual image and writing will be central for my analysis. As far as Discursive practice concerned or dimension two, it refers to the consumption and production of texts and for the analyst it means that one has to study in what way the authors of texts relate to other contemporary discourses, this is to look at the intertextuality. In addition one need to look at interdiscursivity or the manner in which the text eventually consists of a blend of discourses such as using both informal and formal language.

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96 Ibid:74
97 Bryman, Alan, Social research methods, 2012:529
99 Ibid
100 Ibid:68
101 Bryman, Alan, Social research methods, 2012:538
Fairclough explains that there are two different kinds of interdiscursivity, firstly the one which indicates socio-cultural change, it is the *creative discursive practice*, that when appearing in a communicative event will display a significant mixture of different discourses and orders of discourses, the second type of interdiscursivity can be ascertained through looking at to what extent discourse and order of discourse submit to *conventional ways*, this naturally forces the researcher to do the necessary background research in order to be well informed on the conventional ideologies of the local context so that these will be recognised. The last dimension of Fairclough’s Three-dimensional model of discourse; Social practice is the place of articulation of discourse or the economical, socio-cultural, environmental and historical conditions that effect interpreter and producer of discourse. Furthermore, analyzing this dimension of discourse one tries to build a picture of *The social matrix of discourse*. Like I mentioned in the introduction, I will add Butler’s Queer theory and belonging concepts like *Symbolic violence* and *Subjuction* to the theoretical foundation of this thesis making it a *Multiperspectival analysis*, this when CDA fails to analyse and explain non-discursive social phenomena to a sufficient extent. Finally a note on where the actual linguistic analysis begin, chapter five regards *description* of Text, in chapter six the interpretation of Discursive practice begins, finding out about the *meaning of the previous descriptions* presented in chapter five. My conclusion involves the *explanation* of what this meaning does with social practice.

### 4.2 Material

Primary data are included in this study; primary sources are those that were originally collected by the researcher while the secondary variant are those sources that are provided from previous studies. To prepare for the encounter with primary and empirical data, that is articles and news coverage from O Globo’s online journal, I firstly got familiar with travesti life and the specific discourses of Brazilian society that handles sexuality and gender, and CDA as an approach and methodology required the collection of information about social practices, contemporary and historical ones, this to enable the registration of notions that contributes to consolidate inequalities and oppression toward the travesti social group. I used Brazilian sociologist Luzinete Simões Minella’s *Papéis sexuais e hierarquias de gênero na História Social sobre infância no Brasil* (2006) to discover historical notions on gender.

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103 Ibid
104 Ramirez, Claudio, Ethos and Critical Discourse Analysis: From Power to Solidarity, 2013:3
106 Ibid:13
and gender roles. The article *Families, Gender Relations and Social Change in Brazil: Practices, Discourse, Policy* (2012) written by sociologist Miriam Adelman and social scientist Mariana Corrêa de Azevedo was used as an additional source to Brazilian history. As for Brazilian and Latin American contemporary notions on gender, I turned to the comprehensive anthology *Changing Men and Masculinities in Latin America* (2003) of Brown University anthropologist Matthew C. Gutmann. The work edited by Gutmann is cross-disciplinary, including perspectives on notion and social practice from different disciplines such as Gender studies, Anthropology, Sociology, Political science, Spanish and Literature. My main background literature consisted of Don Kulick’s *Travesti: Sex, Gender, and Culture Among Brazilian Transgendered Prostitutes* (1998). Kulick’s study is probably the most known and extensive study on travestis in general, however, this book solely focuses on travestis in prostitution\(^{108}\). The ethnographical study of Kulick includes several unstructured interviews\(^{109}\) with travesties like Keila Simpson, Mabel, Pastinha, Banana and Angelica, Kulick also shares recordings with excerpts from accomplished participant observations\(^{110}\) out of some of the travestis’ lives. I also leaned on the study- *Mema's House, Mexico City- On Transvestites, Queens, and Machos* by Kulick’s colleague, Norwegian Annick Prieur, by adding the contrast of a Mexican case I hoped to crystalize Brazilian discourses on gender yet more.

### 4.3 Previous research on the subject

No CDA is to my knowledge done on Brazilian articles and news coverage in relation to gender identity and travestis, the study most similar to this that I found is the work of Soich, *The collective need to be inside, the individual spectacle of the outer: Critical Discourse Analysis of the construction of discursive representations about transvestites on Argentinean television* (2016). Like the title says, Soich applied CDA on the communicative event; Argentinian television and studying broadcasted programs between 1993 and 2010. Soich results revealed two different orders of discourse that collided on air, one discourse that is partly produced by television presenters and the channel in question were by Soich identified as the hegemonic discourse that silence and attempts at weakening travestis that participate in the program, the other discourse is the one that is partly constructed by travestis’ struggle,


\(^{109}\) Bryman, Alan, social research methods, 2012:471

\(^{110}\) Ibid:273
sadly the discourse of travestis fall short when faced with the agenda of the channel, which Soich describes as keeping “a post-modern status quo”. Socih argues that the meaning of these two discourses likely translated into the hindering of a public discussion on travestis’ life conditions in Argentina that the LGBT movement had hoped for in the wake of the legislation of the Gender identity law in 2012. Lives of travestis have mainly been studied in the Latin American region as well as in Thailand where they are called Kathoeys or Ladyboys. When Kulick entered the neighbourhoods of travestis living in Salvador, a town located in the North east of Brazil, he found that the stigmas attached to the travesti identity were a connotation of prejudices linked to other stigmatized identities (poor, black, gay etc.) to client violence, police violence, murders and discrimination. Furthermore, these stigmas has been consolidated and articulated for decades due to homophobia and the active-passive notion, racism, class hatred, misogyny and colonialism, all overlapping and reinforcing each other. Jotos, or queens as men who display feminine physical, social and sexual features are called in Mexico suffer brutality and discrimination in the same way as travestis in Brazil. Like travestis, jotos are relegated to the illegal outskirts of society, and the term joto is in the same way as travesti used nearly synonymously with the word prostitute, which reflects what actually faces people of “the third gender” in Brazil and Mexico. This thesis will expand on a discussion Kulick presents (1998) about Portuguese grammar and the word travesti. As previously stated, travesti is a masculine noun, and most travestis use female pronouns when talking about themselves and other travestis. Kulick concluded almost ten years ago, that newspapers generally submitted to grammatic standars, saying for example Os travestis (the travestis, masculine definite article) instead of as travestis (feminine definite article). However, travestis rather use feminine pronouns in regards to other travestis and themselves, this is grammatically correct when they use the word bicha (faggot or queen in English) and not the word travesti, due to the fact that bicha is a feminine noun. Further Kulick explains that there are three kinds of male homosexuals according to many travestis 1. Os homosexuais, 2. as bichas, 3. os travestis, and all three “kinds” were by the interviewed Salvadorian travestis understood as of an effeminate gender where os homosexuais are the most masculine type, as bichas are feminine but not as feminine as os travestis.

111 1998, (269 pages), Kulick, D, Chicago
112 Memé’s house, Mexico City on travestis, queens, and machos, University of Chicago Press, 1998, (312 pages), Prieur, A, Chicago
113 Kulick, Dion, “Travesti : Sex, Gender, and Culture Among Brazilian Transgendered Prostitutes” 1998:214-215
4.4 Concepts

What will follow now are the definitions of the foundational concepts of this study. As I have chosen both theory and methodology that are exceptionally rich in concepts, I chose to explain most of them one by one in a pending manner throughout the paper, however, here I present the very central concepts.

**Gender identity**

Judith Butler, one of the scholars behind Queer theory, suggests in her groundbreaking work *Gender Trouble* (1990) that the concept ”gender identity” could be understood as “… the relationship between sex, gender, sexual practices, and desire, the effect of a regulatory practice that can be identified as compulsory heterosexuality…” Furthermore Butler tries to display by this reasoning that gender identity is ruled by hetero-normative practices, which further implies that there are only one recognized gender “woman”, according to Butler’s Queer theory “man” is the subject and not a gender. Butler suggests that gender identity is formed by practice and for example carried out through the means of mass communication, in the educational system, families, politically (and judicially like Michel Foucault argued anterior to Butler).

**Ethos in CDA**

The term “Ethos” throws us back to Ancient Greece and the man that said; *We are what we repeatedly do. Excellence, then, is not an act, but a habit – Aristotle* 384-322 B.C. Ethos according to the scientist and philosopher Aristotle was rhetorically obtained if the orator successfully communicated trust to the audience and had little to do with peoples’ prejudices about the social group and/or institutional power of the orator. Few until this day get the opportunity to communicate ethos or trust, making a habit of mastering the rhetorical modes of persuasion *ethos, pathos* (awakened emotions in receiving end) and *logos* (reason). Isocrates (436-338 B.C.) a fellow ancient greek philosopher disagreed with Aristotle while arguing that ethos is prematurely communicated to an extent, leaving the orator with advantages or disadvantages before entering the stage to win over or loose the crowd.

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114 Butler, Judith, Gender Trouble, 1990:24-25
115 Brady, Anita, and Tony Schirato. Understanding Judith Butler, 2011:30
116 Ibid 5
117 Aristotle as referred to by Ramirez, Claudio, Ethos and Critical Discourse Analysis: From Power to Solidarity, 2013
118 Ramirez, Claudio, Ethos and Critical Discourse Analysis: From Power to Solidarity, 2013
moreover Isocrates stressed that ethos always interrelated with the orator’s societal position and power. Fairclough, the forefather of CDA, used the concept of ethos as a linguist analytical tool in his Three-dimensional model to get to the bottom of the sociology of language and the power of discourse. Fairclough meant that ethos is the construction of identities that depends on the discharge of persuasion after the discursive interaction between language and bodies. Furthermore Fairclough meant that, ethos articulates between three discursive levels; in speech, writing and visual images, in the production and consumption of discourse and in societies social structures. This definition of ethos is the one I will refer to when I use the concept. Furthermore, Fairclough’s concept of ethos actually reminds of Butler’s queer theoretical Performativity theory and Bourdieu’s theory of Habitus as mentioned in chapter three.

4.5 Limitations

The focus of this study has exclusively been the analyzation of discourses in articles and news coverage of O Globo the online journal that includes the keyword travesti. There is a printed version of jornal O Globo, afflicted blogs on O Globo’s homepage, a Facebook page, a Youtube channel, and TV-channels within the network of Rede Globo, these means of mass communication will not be covered in my study. Furthermore, the abuse of Verônica Bolina, and the life of Verônica will neither be the focal point of my investigation, her case solely served as a political catalyst behind this thesis.
5. Results

5.1 Introduction

Presented in section 5.2 and 5.3 are summarized descriptions of some of the communicative events found at oglobo.com.br. Articles and columns were selected from the archive of Jornal O Globo based on the search phrase “travesti” and exclusively included articles marked as noticias (in English; news). Furthermore, I have chosen to present the data below as these articles were not merely containing the word “travesti” in a metaphorical sense. The articles in section 5.2 and 5.3 were also published in proximity to one another, in order to visualise a typical level of daily/weekly intertextuality and interdiscursivity (discursive practice). Is there a correlation between representation and pronoun usage in regard to the word “travesti”? This research question concern Text that is one of Fairclough’s Three dimensions of discourse, here the aim was to discover any eventual linguistic patterns within the discursive practice, specifically searching for an understanding of possible grammar-altering triggers and interpret when O Globo leave Portuguese grammar to the benefit of feminine pronouns and terminations of adjectives that corresponds to travestis own preferred way of talking of themselves and other travestis (still being grammatically correct as travestis commonly refer to the noun “bicha” that is feminine and not “travesti”). The stories analized are those published 10th of April 2014 to the 10th of April 2016.

5.2 Results 10th of April 2014 to 9th of April 2015

– Para ser noir, ele tinha que ter ponte e neblina. E uma loura peituda, o que no caso do Rio, é um (masculine) travesti – esquadrinhou. (My translation)

– To be noir, he had to have a bridge and fog. And a busty blonde, that in the case of Rio, is a travesti – if one looked closer. (My translation)

Commentery article nr. 2

Article number two by Silvio Essinger is presented in the culture section of the journal and regards a newly released anthology called Rio Noir. The quote above is by Arthur Dapieve, one of O Globo’s columnists that also appear in the anthology. Dapieve describes in this excerption what it is that brings a story mystery and the “right feeling” so that it fits the discourse of Noir fiction, moreover Dapieve explains that the noir feeling will surface to the reader from the right descriptions of scenery, classical tricks like adding fog and a bridge into “the picture”, however, when applying the Noir genre in the Rio de Janeiro context, the bridge and the fog is replaced with a blonde, busty, travesti says Dapieve. Masculine pronoun um
travesti instead of feminine *uma* is used and as far as visual image concerned, no women are portrayed as actively taking part in the conversation about *Rio Noir* but only the male authors, this albeit Adriana Lisboa and Victoria Saramago are two of the contributing authors in the anthology.

*Commentary article nr. 3*

Three days later appears article number three in the local Rio section, written by Fernanda da Escóssia that concerns the complex and time consuming bureaucracy that travestis and transsexual individuals have to go through in order to get an official name change. Escóssia like her colleague Dapieve uses masculine form when speaking of travestis, writing *o travesti* instead of *a travesti* (the latter version is feminine form). A transgender narrative is presented before Escóssia ignores travesti use of pronouns; we get a quote from Sharlene Rosa, a transsexual woman who fought long and hard for her correct documents;

> – Eu me sinto e me comporto como uma mulher. No meu caso, que sou uma ativista, creio que foi até rápido. Mas tem gente que espera anos – conta Sharlene.

> – I feel and carry myself as a woman. I believe it went faster in my case, because I’m an activist. But there are people who wait years – says Sharlene (My translation)

In December 2014, After Escóssia’s article, three articles containing the word “travesti” are published, also in the Rio section and they all use masculine pronouns to substitute “travesti”122. Article number four, five and six concern the same criminal case, the murder of gay activist and according to O Globo *o ex-travesti* Luiz Antônio Moura or *O Guinha*, which was his nickname. Male pronouns then follow the self-definition of O Guinha if it is correct that “he” was an “ex-travesti”.

*Commentary article nr. 7*

January 15th 2015, a month after the article about Sharlene and her name-change was published appears article number seven produced without by-line, without any visual images, about a travesti that became victim of an attempted robbery by a Brazilian lieutenant (*tenente do Exército*) and a male lawyer. As the military rank tenente do Exército is a masculine noun regardless of subject, one cannot judge the gender of the lieutenant but we are told that the

122 See appendices
lawyer is *advogado* and not *advogada*, the latter is the female form of the noun. The travesti that was victim of the attempted robbery is *uma travesti*. Visible in this story is two parts, the passive, effeminate travesti victim and the active/masculine perpetrators. Below is an excerpt from the publication:

– Um aspirante a tenente do Exército e um advogado, moradores de Niterói, foram detidos na madrugada desta quinta-feira por policiais do 12º BPM (Niterói) após serem acusados por uma travesti — que fazia ponto em uma das esquinas da Avenida Ernani Amaral Peixoto — de tentarem roubar a sua bolsa quando passavam pelo local.

– An aspiring lieutenant and a lawyer, residents from Niterói, were arrested early this Thursday by police officers from Niterói after being accused by a travesti – that took place in one of the street corners on Avenida Ernani Amaral Peixoto – of trying to steal her bag when passing by. (My translation)

Commentary article nr. 8

Article number eight is about a travesti and a woman (*travesti e mulher*) that was arrested for selling drugs in the town district of Lapa, Rio de Janeiro. The piece was published in the Rio section, just like the two previous stories. *Travesti e mulher são presos na Lapa comerciaizando drogas*, the travesti is now *um travesti* as *presos* is masculine plural for the adjective *preso* that in English means arrested or jailed. Masculine form is always used in Portuguese when referring to a group with mixed genders. Unlike the previous article from the 15th of January 2015, this article portrays a travesti together with a woman actively pursuing illegal businesses.

Commentary article nr. 12, 13, 14, 15

Below are four articles between 5th and 6th of February 2015. Article nr. 12 was published in the *Socidade* (society) section and informs about a travesti that has been accepted to the university of Pernambuco and the pronoun “uma” is used throughout the text to describe the hard work of the travesti Maria Clara Araújo who was also interviewed by O Globo. It was nowhere mentioned that she is Afro-Brazilian.

The next day 6th of February 2015, three articles including the word “travesti” went viral, firstly nr. 13 in the culture section, secondly nr. 14 in the Rio pages, and lastly nr. 15 one article appear in the Society section. Article nr. 13 written by Carol Luck concerns a Gay-Lesbian-Bisexual theme night at the Berlin nightclub SO36 in the neighbourhood of Little Istanbul called *Gayhane*. The first thing the reader learns about the nightclub is that megastars
like David Bowie and Iggy Pop used to visit the place while staying in Berlin. A Turkish transsexual woman, Fatma Souad together with her *amiga uma travesti, Sabuha Salaam* (her friend a travesti named Sabuha Salaam) founded Gayhane to celebrate their Turkish roots, gender identities and sexualities. Fatma is presented in the coverage with her name and gender before her gender correction for unknown reason. Sabuha is simply presented as travesti. Four hours later article nr. 14 were published in the Rio section, written by Adalberto Neto featuring actress Nara Parolini and Joel Viera who participated in a musical called *Cabaré Foguete*. The production was about a prostituted woman named Ana Foguetinho and her friends, a group of women and one travesti whom are also making their livelihood in Rio de Janeiro as prostitutes. Neto uses masculine pronouns in relation to the term “travesti” as opposed to actors Parolini and Vieira who plays the travesti; they use “ela” when they speak about their respective characters. One hour and 36 minutes after the article of Neto, story nr. 15 appear concerning travestis and transexual individuals’ right to register with one’s social name at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ) without having to register it officially first. In summary two articles concern entertainment as in the first article about the Berlin nightclub and the second concern a musical in contrast to the third piece, which touches upon the educational system.

5.3 Results 10th of April 2015 to 10th of April 2016

*Commentary article nr. 21*

News coverage nr. 21 present ten Brazilians that have “made it” on Youtube during the ten years that the medium has existed. The life story of Luisa Marilac, a comedian and travesti who gained fame when she posted a humoristic “revenge-video” dedicated to an ex-boyfriend is covered, and describes how Luisa created the video that brought her nationwide fame in the setting of a *piscina luxuosa*, which translates to “a luxurious swimming pool”, also mentioned in the introduction of the coverage is that Luisa works as a General Assistant in a “São Paulo hotel” (São Paulo hotel talked of as its’ own concept to describe a fancy hotel). Further the journalists write about how she still has not reached the artistic career she sought for, but that Luisa soon would be touring with her own comedy show called *Estar na Pior*, in English “Being at The Worst”, Luisa’s aim with the show was to make people able to laugh at themselves. Later Luisa is cited.
– No palco, vou falar de forma desconstruída sobre a minha vida, durante 40 minutos. Vou mostrar para o público que até das coisas ruins a gente consegue tirar lições boas — advanta a artista de 37 anos.

– On stage, I will talk about my life in a spontaneous way, for 40 minutes. I will show the audience that even from bad things one can learn good lessons - the artist of 37 years points out. (My translation)

The next paragraph is narrated by the journalists and they tell the reader about how Luisa a mineira (woman from Minas Gerais) after 18 years returned to Brazil from Europe or Velho Continente, in English “old continent”, where she had gone to seek a better life after a nearly lethal travesti-phobic attack in a São Paulo bar that ended in a two-day coma and a lost lung. Then Luisa is cited again.

— Fiquei um ano presa dentro de casa, traumatizada. Tinha medo de sair na rua e ser agredida por ser travesti. Pouco depois, conheci uma travesti que me levou para a Europa, para fazer programas lá. Pude conhecer Espanha, França, Itália... Só voltei quando o vídeo bombou — recorda Luisa, que não se prostituí desde que voltou ao seu país.

– I stayed one year stuck indoors, traumatized. I was afraid to go outside and be attacked for being a travesti. Shortly thereafter, I met a travesti who took me to Europe, to do programs there (programs refers to the service provided from the prostitute). I got to know Spain, France, Italy ... Only returned when the video went viral- recalls Luisa, who did return to prostitution when she resettled in her homeland. (My translation)

To finalize the news coverage about Luisa, the journalists end with describing the setting of the Youtube-video that initially made Luisa famous, it was recorded in June 2010 as a revenge against a former Italian boyfriend, filmed in a rented luxury house in the village of Roqueta de Mar in southern Spain. The coverage ends with a quote by Luisa from the famous video.

— Neste verão eu decidi fazer algo de diferente. Decidi ficar na minha casa, na minha piscina, com meus bons drink (...) E teve boatos de que eu estava na pior... Se isso é estar na pior, que quer dizer estar bem?”, gaba-se Luisa no vídeo, dando um mergulho na água “geladíssima” para se refrescar.

– This summer I decided to do something different. I decided to stay in my house, in my pool with my good drink (...) And there was a rumor that I was at my worst ... If this is to be at your worst, what is it to be at your best? " Brags Luisa in the video, taking a dip in the cool water to refresh herself. (My translation)

Commentery article nr. 37, 38

Both article nr. 37 and 38 present stories about travestis committing crimes, but the travestis in article nr. 38 are by journalists Elenilde Bottari and Vera Araújo referred to as acusadas (accused feminine termination) and elas, meanwhile the travesti in article nr. 37 is detido and ele. Article 37 concerns um travesti that was encountered by police carrying a facão (a small machete), the second story revolvs around five travestis that were arrested in a taxi, acusadas of trying to rob a male client. An element that separates the two stories is the one of the
female judge in article nr. 38, a powerful woman who in her work decides over peoples’ future life, similar to what a criminal potentially does. Article nr. 37 involves a male client that wanted to buy sexual services from a travesti but instead got overpowered and robbed by the prostitute, um travesti.

(Article nr. 37)

– Na Praça da Bandeira, outro travesti também foi detido. Um facão foi encontrado na bolsa que ele carregava.
– On Praça da Bandeira, another travesti was arrested. A small machete was encountered inside of the bag that he was carrying. (My translation)

(Article nr. 38)

– Um dos casos analisados foi o de cinco travestis acusadas de roubarem o celular de um suposto cliente. Elas foram presas em flagrante dentro de um táxi, por agentes do Lapa Presente, próximo aos Arcos da Lapa. A juíza Daniella Prado decidiu pela prisão preventiva de apenas uma delas que tinha antecedentes criminais.

– One of the analysed cases was the one of the five travestis accused of robbing an alleged customer. They were arrested in flagrante inside of a cab by undercover officers from Lapa Presente, close to Arcos da Lapa. The judge Daniella Prado condemned only one of them who already had a criminal record. (My translation)

– Elas vivem numa situação de vulnerabilidade. Alguns clientes acham que não precisam pagar, pois sabem que nada vai lhes acontecer. Travesti nunca é vítima, é sempre acusado — disse a defensora Renata Tavares, que pediu a juíza que a presa não tivesse os cabelos cortados ao ingressar no sistema penitenciário, argumentando que isso feria a identidade da travesti.

– They live in a vulnerable situation. Some customers think that they don’t have to pay, because they know nothing will happen to them. Travesti is never victim but always accused – said the defender Renata Tavares who asked the judge that the prisoner should not have to cut her hair to enter the prison system, arguing that this would harm the identity of the travesti. (My translation)

6. Multiperspectival analysis

6.1 Introduction

Chapter five consisted of descriptions of text; following in this chapter is the application of Fairclough’s Three-dimensional model on O Globo’s articles between the 10th of April 2014 and the 10th of April 2016. Further along, an analysis of the communicative events and the order of discourse that make up the two dimensions of Fairclough’s CDA will be presented. In the analysis of the three dimensions of discourse, the aim is to find the meaning of descriptions in the communicative events presented in chapter five and the appendices to this thesis, further my interpretation of the discursive practice will be discussed within the theoretical framework of CDA and Queer theory. Besides discussing the meaning of text and
visual images, chapter six provides an *explanation* of how this meaning relates to social practice seen from a queer theoretical perspective.

### 6.2 The Two Dimensions of Analysis

#### 6.2.1 Communicative events

Starting with reviewing the communicative events focusing on the linguistic level and interpreting information from the discursive dimension that is text, it is possible to extract one outstanding and constant type of grammatic consideration that is made by the journalists of O Globo; their use of pronouns. Writing *um travesti* is perfectly correct according to Portuguese grammar, yet it does not reflect the subjectivity of travestis says Kulick. If journalists want to depart from the travesti self-definition, they would have to use feminine pronouns like *uma* and *ela*, and they would likewise have to adjust the termination of adjectives according to the gender of the subject, writing for example; *a travesti alta* instead of using proper grammar; *o travesti alto* (meaning the tall travesti). After studying 48 articles published between 2014 and 2016, it was possible to conclude that grammar is not the single determinant affecting the linguistic considerations. This is proven by the very existence of another linguistic practice than the one following grammar.

![Figure 4. Discrepancy in pronoun usage](image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Mixed</th>
<th>None</th>
<th>Subtotal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: see appendices.

Figure four illustrates what is taking place on the text-level, five out of nineteen or 26 percent of the articles contained feminine pronouns and terminations in period one, during period two the numbers exceeded up to 31 percent, an increase of five percent. If one summarizes feminine and mixed pronoun usage for period two, one gets 45 percent of the articles, which is four percent more than the amount of communicative events with correct grammar or masculine pronouns in the same period, further supporting my hypothesis; that grammatic considerations in relation to the word travesti is not merely ruled by grammar.

I could not identify any consequent patterns of pronoun usage in period one that could be interpreted as part of an even editorial strategy at O Globo, period two however indicated a

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123 Kulick, Don, *Travesti: Sex, Gender, and Culture Among Brazilian Transgendered Prostitutes*, 1998:218
124 See figure 4
somewhat predictable standard of pronoun usage; after an article had contained feminine pronouns and terminations, four to five articles followed containing grammatically correct usage, no pronouns or a mix of feminine and masculine linguistic adjustments until the next article with “uma” and “ela” (feminine pronouns) appaired. The linguistic adjustments previously described visualized a discursive practice at O Globo that includes an increasing awareness about travesti lives, perspectives and experience, which was also detectable in the intertextuality 125. The intertextuality or communication between published texts is for example visible between article number ten and eleven, article number ten was published without by-line 26th January 2015 in the Rio section;

– Piu morreu na última quinta-feira depois de ser torturada por criminosos do Morro da Mina, em Nilópolis, na Baixada Fluminense. A ação foi filmada e exposta nas redes sociais.

– Piu died the last Thursday after being tortured by criminals from Morro da Mina in Nilópolis, in Baixada Fluminense. The action was filmed and exposed through social media (My translation).

Article number eleven published 30th of January 2015 in the Society section also concerns violence and hate crimes, but article eleven presented and discussed policy changes that will help prevent hate crimes in the long run;

– O Ministério da Saúde decidiu incluir no seu protocolo de notificação de vítimas de violência a orientação sexual — se heterossexual, homossexual, bissexual — e a identidade de gênero — se travesti, mulher transexual e homem transexual — da pessoa.

– The Ministry of Health decided to include in their protocol over victims of hate crimes — if they are heterosexual, homosexual, bisexual — and the gender identity — if they are travesti, transsexual woman or transsexual man. (My translation).

Thus, topics and discussions move between news sections, creating an intertextual chain where the articles build on top of one another126. How is the usage of a grammatically correct Portuguese an obstacle to travesti populations? Butler’s concept of *subjection* can explain this, or the naming and defining of a group which leads to the limitation or liberation of *performativity* through certain speech, images and ethoses in relation to an identity, or in this case a gender identity. The subjection of travestis or gendering of the group carried out by O Globo is outright harmful looking at it from Butler’s queer theoretical perspective, this when what might look like innocent texts and images, actually contains the power of discourse and therefore influence over public and private understanding of travesti identity127. Hall’s concept of representation circle specifically around the gravity of language, explaining that

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125 See appendices
127 Brady, A, and Schirato, T. Understanding Judith Butler, 2011:94-95
language carries representations of meanings\textsuperscript{128}. Furthermore, the linguistic practice of Jornal O Globo’s editorial office contribute greatly in the reproduction and/or transformation of the understanding of travesti identity. The journalist behind article nr. two for example, created a representation of travestis as “the other”, bizarre, prostitute, uncanny and strange enough to amplify the “Rio Noir-feeling”. Article nr. three about official name changes and transgenders include the narrative of Sharlene Rosa, a transsexual woman who fought for her right to officially change her name and ID-documents. Rosa’s correct pronoun is ela, and O Globo does not use any other pronoun in relation to her, however, when journalist da Escóssia use the word “travesti” she uses masculine pronouns. Da Escóssia’s pronoun usage come trough as ignorant and rather embarrassing as the article concern correct naming of individuals. The representation of transgender in the article is withal progressive and respectful. And the photo of Rosa contribute to a positive representation of Afro-Brazilian transgender individuals, picturing Rosa with a wide confident smile holding up her new correct birth-certificate and ID-card, stating her female name and female gender. However, in the majority of the articles journalists used male pronouns and terminations and it is indeed problematic when it consolidates a discourse that places “travesti” in the same category as “man”, which is a violation of the will of the subject, the travesti herself, who defines herself and other travestis as “ela” (linguistically speaking), “bicha”, “viado” and “homosexual” but never as “him”. Butler calls this type of linguistic practice symbolic violence or subjection gone aggressive and arrogant\textsuperscript{129}. Subjection or the naming and framing of travestis is produced out of societal notions and expectations, furthermore the ethos of the travesti that has been decided inside of the Compulsory Order of Sex/Gender/Desire include expectations of fictionality, prostitution, criminality and poverty. I recognized that eighteen out of 48 articles mentions and discusses travesti lives within the newspaper section “Culture” in comparison with fourteen articles published in the general Rio-section. Rather symbolically, least travesti-related articles, merely eleven out of 48 texts appeared in the Society-section. Through Butler’s concept of subjection this proliferation of articles between sections could indicate notions that places travestis mostly within the fictional/theatrical or strange and surreal sphere, similar to what Kulick noticed as being articulated within Brazilian academic discourse, that kind of subjection is indeed worrisome as it risks to stamp travestis as animated and unimportant in societal debates and conversations\textsuperscript{130}. Can journalists be blamed for using male pronouns, as it actually is correct grammar? Butler would argue yes, and figure four indicate that it is a

\textsuperscript{128} Hall, S. Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices, 1997:5

\textsuperscript{129} Ibid

\textsuperscript{130} Butler, J. Gender Trouble, 1990:31
significantly widespread knowledge in the editorial office of O Globo that travestis are *elas* and not *eles*. Why this grammatic discrepancy? To further answer this, one has to leave the mere analysis of the linguistics in the communicative events and proceed to Fairclough’s next dimension of analysis that is the order of discourse.

6.2.2 The Order of Discourse

Moving on to the dimension of analysis that concerns the order of discourse, one want to recognize what discourses that are active, and this is initially (as explained in chapter four) done through studying the background of social practice in the local, cultural and historical context. Moreover, a review of local circumstances like a country’s gender roles in a historical context, the socio-economical status of concerned parts of a population and other areas that affects the production and consumption of text.\(^{131}\)

In two years only 48 articles out of all the published material of the online journal Jornal O Globo (noticias) contained the term travesti, which is merely a little more than 24 articles per year, and far from all of these publications touched upon Brazilian society’s discrimination and ostracism toward the group.\(^{132}\) In fact only five out of 48 articles mentioned transmurders or violence toward travestis, this despite these severe crimes officially strikes hundreds of times per year, in 2015 the horrendous number of 802 transmurders was registered.\(^{133}\) Thus, O Globo are indeed minimizing the deadly violence that affects an enormous amount of Brazilians year in, year out, per chance because transmurders and hate crimes are not affecting the majority or *bodies that matters*. Bodies that matter is a concept that Butler uses to explain how for example governments, juridical instances and media create representations and priorities out of existing representative identities and discourses within the policy making and discourse constituting bodies of society.\(^{134}\) The lack of accurate reporting on the life conditions of Brazilian travestis is due to hegemonic discourses and ideologies at work inside of the agenda setting institution Jornal O Globo, and these has stirred conversations and societal debates for the benefit of hetero-normative and white interests. Brazilian historical notions about gender and the context in which production of text took place –the editorial office of O Globo that promotes Christian and “integralist” values that engender the importance of strengthening the heterosexual architecture of the core family, have lead to this

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132. See appendices
discriminatory editorial agenda that complies to The Compulsory Order of Sex/Gender/Desire that Butler designate as the main obstacle to performativity of non-conventional identity expressions\textsuperscript{135}. The case of Veronica, a black travesti who on the 10\textsuperscript{th} of April 2015 stood accused of attempted murder and who were severely beaten and maltreated in a São Paulo custody that very same day or the days nearby, confused the active/passive discourse. How does this active/passive discourse manifest in a publication? Looking at Veronica again, she was described by Brazilian media as an active perpetrator and potential murderer as well as a passive victim of a nearly lethal battery, her case simply does not match the discourse that speak of one gender identity that is operative, penetrating and active and the other gender motionless, penetrated and passive. Furthermore, Veronica epitomizes a dual ethos, out of sync with the traditional dual binarism. In addition, Veronica by merely being herself embodied the male active homosexual subjectivity and passive femininity as described by Kulick (1998), relating to the ethos of feminity, which she already according to travesti-phobia failed at fulfilling just by being travesti and not woman\textsuperscript{136}. Were the gender identity and the nature of Veronica’s case the reason behind why Jornal O Globo skipped reporting on the sequents of events concerning her case? I suggest that it participated to the silence together with the fact that the battery took place in São Paulo and not in Rio de Janeiro where Jornal O Globo has their head office.

The active/passive discourse can be found in almost every second article, two examples of the articulation of the active/passive discourse from my study are; firstly article number two by Silvio Essinger (12\textsuperscript{th} of December 2014, culture section) about the publication of the anthology Rio Noir, the visual image shows male contributing authors, actively discussing the genre they have worked with, female authors like Adriana Lisboa and Victoria Saramago are either not photographed or not present at the event at all, furthermore Lisboa and Saramago goes unmentioned in the article by Essinger. “Travesti” in Essinger’s article is only mentioned by one of the authors, Arthur Dapieve, and he uses “travesti” as a metaphor to add a local (for Rio de Janeiro) uncanny feeling to his novel that can be understood as a way to obey the The Compulsory Order of Sex/Gender/Desire\textsuperscript{137}. Furthermore, Dapieve means that what is not heterosexual and cisgender is abnormal and suitable to fulfil the “Noir feeling”. Article number seven, published the 15\textsuperscript{th} of January 2015 in the Rio section is also manifesting the active/passive discourse, this particular story informs about how a Brazilian lieutenant

\textsuperscript{135} Butler, Judith, Gender Trouble, 1990:6-7
\textsuperscript{136} Jørgensen, Marianne & Phillips, Louise, J, Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method, 2002:83
\textsuperscript{137} Butler, Judith, Gender Trouble, 1990:33
(tenente do Exército) and a male lawyer robbed a travesti in a Rio neighbourhood. The active part in this story is played by two perpetrators with typically masculine professions, the passive side is represented by the travesti victim, I suggest that the travesti in this story is described as uma travesti due to the fact that the travesti live up to the ethos of femininity (passivity). Rather unmentioned is the variable of race in relation to travestis, Kulick (1998) confirm that many travestis (maybe even a majority) comes from northern and northeast Brazil, which per se connotes the fact that a great part of the travesti population define themselves as black. If this silence regarding race indicates a discourse, I suggest that it is the historically influential Luso-tropicalismo by Freyre, Freyre actually declared that the lack of discussion about race had to do with the unique social practices and culture in Brazil that allowed Racial democracy; a cultural mode where race does not matter. Article number four, five and six tell us of circumstances around the murder of o Guinha, a black ex-prostitute, “ex-travesti” and LGBT activist, all three articles manifest this failure to address the implications of the variable that is race by not mentioning race. The life story of Luisa Marilac, the travesti that got famous through a Youtube-video is portrayed in article nr. 21. Marilac’s fate is described as a “Cinderella-story”, she was a victim of a gruesome hate crime, used to work within prostitution in Europe, failing to build a better life abroad, until she created her humouristic revenge-video directed at the ex-boyfriend. The representation of travestis in article nr. 21 depict travestis dependence on a powerful “other”, either a paying client or a satisfied Youtube audience, though not as clear as in article number seven, one may still recognize the active/passive discourse or the paying client/prostitute, audience/comedian.

6.2.3 Explaining Social practice

Brazil was albeit being restricted by the military regime for almost 20 years, participating in the global movement for gay and lesbian rights, receiving fuel from the Stonewall riots which permanently opened new allowing discourses on sexuality, this change of discourse is still modestly displayed in Jornal O Globo, yet LGBT friendly discourses are notable in the online journal, increasing somewhat from 2014 up to 2016. I found in my study that the interdiscursivity and proliferation of articles concerning LGBT rights was most commonly affected to the advantage of travestis and the LGBT community after activists and individuals representing these social movements went out defending them in media. In many of the articles I recognized that travestis tend to be refered to as elas if; 1. They have accomplished

139 Freyre, Gilberto, Casa-Grande & Senzala, 1986:3-4
140 See appendices
fame/success via their professions, 2. If she was victim of a crime, 3. If LGBT activists participate in the paper the same day or days in proximity. Recent evolutions of Brazilian social practices, like the law change in 2009 that allowed transsexual individuals to change their legal name and gender for ID-cards and birth certificates, likewise sent signals to media and society in large and contributed to the increased emergence of more including discourses. As discourse converse with different social dimensions, political, judicial and economical advancements help constitute new challenging discourses and contribute to reshape representations and societal norms. Furthermore, understanding this insertion of new discourse into the public debate from Butler’s theoretical framework, one can conclude that what has occurred to a modest extent in 21th century in Brazil (and globally) is the questioning of the Compulsory Order of Sex/Gender/Desire and the hegemonic active/passive discourse. Discourse analytically one may say that interdiscursivity has occurred between public social practice (for example Brazilian court of Justice), LGBT activism and media when the discourses of these three social dimensions appear together in the communicative events, forcing the admittance of new discussions in Jornal O Globo. Articles number three and 41; an article about transgender students, displays an interaction between different orders of discourses; those of education, LGBT activism and media, indicating that a particular kind of interdiscursivity has transpired, namely the creative interdiscursivity, a type of interdiscursivity that Fairclough says indicate socio-cultural change. Sadly I have to end with saying that most articles indicated the opposite, that the Compulsory Order of Sex/Gender/Desire is being preserved, pointing at further consolidation of Conventional ways. Furthermore, Jornal O Globo disclosure their position in relation to travestis by using male pronouns, excluding reports on travesti-phobia, hate crimes and transmurders. I argue that O Globo’s discursive practice, which submits to the conventional ways of The Compulsory Order of Sex/Gender/Desire, leads to the continuous marginalization of travestis, limiting their personal and professional choices in life as discourse and representations exists in our cultures, social dimensions, affecting social identities, knowledge of one another, society and relationships. Kulick (1998) explained how the travesti becomes in the penetration, being the receiveing part within the active/passive notion is as mentioned passive. Furthermore, the active/passive discourse contributes to the limitation of travestis when they according to the discourse “make sense” as “the other”, the

142 Butler, Judith, Gender Trouble, 1990:6-7
144 Ibid
145 Ibid
freak or passive prostitute and victim. However, one should rather understand the performativity of travesti as active Kulíck alike concludes, namely because the performativity of travesti also rests on top of the desire, of homosexuality. A passive object cannot feel desire.

7. Conclusion

My first research question concerned the eventual changes that the case of Veronica had on Jornal O Globo’s representations of travestis; I focused on publications between the interval of 10th of April 2014 to 10th of April 2016. Discrepancies between the period before and after the gruesome battery were distinguishable, but I could not derive the interdiscursivity and modification of linguistic practice to medial debate about Veronica’s trauma. In fact, she was not even mentioned in the online journal (noticias), her litigation was however discussed in G1, a news portal owned by Rede Globo. After period one (post 9th of April 2015) I noticed advancements in the linguistic praxis when journalists have started to use feminine pronouns and terminations five percent more often in period two. This change of linguistic praxis indicates according to Fairclough that intertextuality has taken place, moreover that there is an ongoing communication between published texts that may affect language usage. In addition it was possible to recognize a certain kind of interdiscursivity, namely the creative interdiscursivity, which indicates changed discursive practices that in this case weakened the active/passive discourse and leftovers of the integralist ideology that submits to The Compulsory Order of Sex/Gender/Desire. I derive this creative interdiscursivity and modification of linguistic practice to firstly a general increase of articles that mentions and discusses travestis, but also to an augmentation of published texts that allows variations in the performativity of travestis. Moreover, period two showed texts and visual images that challenges stereotypes and prejudices to a somewhat higher extent than period one, displaying the axiomatic – that travestis aspire to participate in the advancements of society as in for example attending universities and public debate. The main discourses in motion at the editorial office of Jornal O Globo was revealed after answering my second research question, the active/passive discourse is present in nearly all the articles through text and visual image and is likely the preferred discourse due to the historical context of Brazil and the particular culture and ideology at the editorial office that earlier supported the military regime as well as its’ raving for integralist values that epitomizes subjection that limits the performativity of
non-conventional identities. In summary this active/passive discourse hinder the performativity of the gender identity travesti when O Globo as one of the biggest editorial offices in Brazil act as a discursive hegemon, performing subjection mainly to the disadvantage of travestis. Progressive journalists and the LGBT community stands for an enlightened discourse that leaves grammar and conventional ways, placing the subjectivity of the individual as first priority that challenges the active/passive discourse. What is this discourse saying about gender identity in the Brazilian context? My interpretation of the active passive discourse in relation to gender identity from a queer theoretical perspective brings me to the conclusion that the Brazilian gender binary includes an obsession with subject/object relations, and in order to sustain it, patriarchy need a passive gender, the penetrated gender (women, viados, travestis), non-men that can carry the ethos of the weak and passive. The word “travesti” is not merely ruled by grammar as figure four shows, seemingly interdiscursivity and intertextuality participate significantly in the gendering of Portuguese, also one may extract that choice of pronouns very much relate to ethos stemming from the Brazilian social matrix. Moreover, the representations of travestis as active or passive according to the Brazilian gender binary contribute to gendered linguistic choices. In the consequence of the symbiosis between performativity and ethos that is discourse, lie social vulnerability and social power, and the abuse or use of it. Hence, discursive stakeholders like O Globo journalists has to be aware of this symbiosis in order to discursively defeat symbolic violence on the medial battlefield. To culminate into an even greater awareness of the meaning of linguistic choices and discourse of O Globo, it is necessary to map the social practices and the production/consumption more in depth. The main catalyst for socio-cultural change via the platform of O Globo is the social practice that is activism of the LGBT community; their visability is crucial for the entrance of new including discourses.

8. Future research

To proceed with this research, one would want to be physically present at the editorial office of Jornal O Globo in Rio de Janeiro. I suggest this, as it would significantly expand the awareness of the discursive and social practices in motion at spot. Using surveys in combination with unstructured interviews and ethnographical observations, one could map the context where discourse is produced and thereafter properly fathom the knowledge of
transgender struggle at the editorial office of Jornal O Globo. As discursive practice is performed and spread throughout and between means of mass communication daily, this is an arena that demands more attention from researchers involved with the contemporary transgender and human rights discussions. It would be relevant to continue with a method of audience research in order to chart the context of consumption, or how readers react and understand published text. Furthermore, a research project of this kind has the potential to provide restitution for travestis by catalysing new including societal discourses that broadens Brazilian and Latin American perspectives, stimulating new collective notions about travestis, recognising that “Todas somos Verônica Bolina”.

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Books


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Articles


Soich, Matías, 2016, ‘The collective need to be inside, the individual spectacle of the outer: Critical Discourse Analysis of the construction of discursive representations about transvestites on Argentinean television’, Discourse & Society, 27, 2, p. 215, Publisher Provided Full Text Searching File, EBSCOhost, viewed 30 May 2016.

Webpages


10. Appendices

**Period 1**

1) Date and time of publication: 14/06/2014, 12h56
   Category of news: Ela (Her in English)
   Author (journalist): Jacqueline Costa
   Headline: A cabeleireira transgênero Ruddy Pinho completa 70 anos
   Pronouns used in regards to travestis: Feminine, however, they talk about that she was born as ele (him in English)
   Visual image: Ruddy looking out a window from a suit in copacabana, smiling, wearing jeweleries and an elegant dress in yellow with black dots.
   http://oglobo.globo.com/ela/gente/a-cabeleireira-transgenero-ruddy-pinho-completa-70-anos-16950683

2) Date and time of publication: 12/12/2014, 10h41
   Category of news: Culture
   Author (journalist): Silvio Essinger
   Headline: Autores de ‘Rio noir’ falam de sua literatura no Prosa nas Livrarias
   Pronouns used in regards to travesties: Masculine.
   Visual image: Five white named male authors actively discussing their literature, blurred in the background are two un-named women
   http://oglobo.globo.com/cultura/autores-de-rio-noir-falam-de-sua-literatura-no-prosa-nas-livrarias-14812193

3) Date and time of publication: 15/12/2014 12:46
   Category of news: Rio
   Author (journalist): Fernanda da Escóssia
   Headline: População LGBT enfrenta preconceito para mudar nome na identidade
   Pronouns used in regards to travestis: O Globo use masculine form O travesti when Sharlene Rosa speak of herself she naturally uses feminine form.
   Visual image: Photo of Sharlene Rosa with a big smile holding up her new correct birth-certificate and ID-card, stating her female name and female gender.

4) Date and time of publication: 21/12/2014, 16h16
   Category of news: Rio
   Author (journalist): Not written (EXTRA-publication)
   Headline: Irmão de líder comunitário desabafa: ‘Quero sair do Complexo do Alemão’
   Pronouns used in regards to travesties: Masculine.
   Visual image: None.
5) Date and time of publication: 21/12/2014, 18h52
Category of news: Rio
Author (journalist): Stéfano Stalles
Headline: Cláudio Nascimento atribui assassinato de Guinha à homofobia de traficantes
Pronouns used in regards to travestis: Masculine.
Visual image: Picture of o Guinha, wearing a black t-shirt and jeans, the hair is short and he is holding a football.

6) Date and time of publication: 21/12/2014
Category of news: Rio
Author (journalist): Not written (EXTRA-publication)
Headline: Segundo as primeiras informações, Guinha era ex-garoto de programa, ex-travesti e fundador do Grupo Diversidade LGBT do Alemão.
Pronouns used in regards to travestis: Masculine.
Visual image: None.

7) Date and time of publication: 15/01/2015, 6h00
Category of news: Rio
Author (journalist): Not written (EXTRA-publication)
Headline: Militar do Exército e advogado são detidos após tentarem roubar bolsa de travesti
Pronouns used in regards to travestis: Feminine.
Visual image: None.

8) Date and time of publication: 18/01/2015, 7h31
Category of news: Rio
Author (journalist): Not written (EXTRA-publication)
Headline: Travesti e mulher são presos na Lapa comerciaizando drogas
Pronouns used in regards to travestis: Masculine.
Visual image: None.

9) Date and time of publication: 21/01/2015, 12h00
Category of news: Society
Author (journalist): Not written (O Globo-publication)
Headline: Camisinha: 45% dos brasileiros não a usam
Pronouns used in regards to travestis: None.
Visual image: Health minister Arthur Chioro holding up a condom while making commercial for the aids-preventing campaign "#partiuteste".

10) Date and time of publication: 26/01/2015, 07h04
Category of news: Rio
Author (journalist): Not written, (EXTRA-publication)
Headline: Componentes da Beija-Flor ensaiam com faixas de luto em homenagem a travesti morta
Pronouns used in regards to travestis: Feminine, travesti in this article is used synonymous and instead of the word “cross-dresser”.
Visual image: None.

11) Date and time of publication: 30/01/2015, 07h23
Category of news: Society
Author (journalist): Evandro Éboli
Headline: Notificação do Ministério da Saúde vai constar se vítima é gay, lésbica ou transexual
Pronouns used in regards to travestis: None.
Visual image: None.

12) Date and time of publication: 05/02/15, 11h52
Category of news: Society (sub-category: Education)
Author (journalist): Not written, (EXTRA-publication)
Headline: Aprovada na UFPE pelo Sisu, travesti recebe trote da mãe e posta manifesto no Facebook
Pronouns used in regards to travestis: Feminine.
Visual image: None.

13) Date and time of publication: 06/02/2015, 06h00
Category of news: Culture (sub-category: transculture)
Author (journalist): Carol Luck
Headline: Um baile das arábias em Berlim, sem preconceito
Pronouns used in regards to travestis: Feminine.
Visual image: Photo of the interiors of the nightclub.

14) Date and time of publication: 06/02/2015, 10h00
Category of news: Rio
Author (journalist): Adalberto Neto
Headline: Personagem que se destacou na peça 'Sarau das putas' estrela 'Cabaré' foguete
Pronouns used in regards to travesties: Masculine.
Visual image: Photo of actress Ana Foguetinho, sitting, leaning against a housewall, wearing a dress, looking into the camera with a calm smile.

15) Date and time of publication: 06/02/2015, 11h36
Category of news: Society
Author (journalist): Not written (O Globo publication)
Headline: Estudantes travestis e transexuais do Brasil podem usar nome social na UFRJ
Pronouns used in regards to travesties: None.
Visual image: None.

16) Date and time of publication: 23/02/2015, 16h03
Category of news: Society
Author (journalist): Evandro Éboli
Headline: Programa de Aids recruta ativistas, gays, travestis e usuários de drogas
Pronouns used in regards to travesties: None.
Visual image: None.

17) Date and time of publication: 25/02/2015, 10h44
Category of news: Society (sub-category: Education)
Author (journalist): Biagio Talento
Headline: ProUni: Transsexuais já se matriculam com nome social na UFBA e na rede pública estadual
Pronouns used in regards to travesties: Masculine.
Visual image: None.

18) Date and time of publication: 03/03/2015, 07h44
Category of news: Rio
Author (journalist): Rafael Nascimento
Headline: Homem com dois mandados de prisão em aberto é preso na Lapa
Pronouns used in regards to travesties: Masculine.
Visual image: None.

19) Date and time of publication: 07/04/2015 6h00
Category of news: Culture
Author (journalist): Arnaldo Jabor
Headline: O homem-bomba do Ocidente
Pronouns used in regards to travesties: Masculine.
Visual image: None.
http://oglobo.globo.com/cultura/o-homem-bomba-do-ocidente-15797945

Period 2

20) Date and time of publication: 16/04/2015, 06h00
Category of news: Culture
Author (journalist): Maurício Meireles
Headline: Aguinaldo Silva lembra sua saga na imprensa alternative, incluindo o primeiro jornal gay do país
Pronouns used in regards to travesties: Masculine when Silva speak of travestis in both singular and plural, Silva also uses the word “bicha” and with that follows feminine pronouns.
Visual image: Profile photo of Aguinaldo Silva.

21) Date and time of publication: 03/05/2015, 9h27
Category of news: Society
Author (journalist): Marina Cohen / Sérgio Matsuura / Thiago Jansen
Headline: Saiba como estão hoje 10 brasileiros que ficaram famosos ao longo dos 10 anos do Youtube
Pronouns used in regards to travesties: Feminine.
Visual image: A collage over of Brazilian Youtube stars of different genders.

22) Date and time of publication: 04/05/2015, 16h27
Category of news: Culture
Author (journalist): Natalia Boere
Headline: Após vencer o medo de ser rotulado como um cara estranho, Sérgio Guizé faz balanço de ‘Alto astral’
Pronouns used in regards to travesties: Feminine.
Visual image: Photo of actor and musician Sérgio Guizé, wearing a white shirt and jeans, standing up with his legs wide, looking into the camera.

23) Date and time of publication: 08/05/2015, 17h42
24) Date and time of publication: 19/05/2015, 11h05
Category of news: Culture
Author (journalist): Not written, (O Globo-publication)
Headline: Tatá Werneck faz show de lançamento de sua banda rock bem-humorado, a Renatinho
-Pronouns used in regards to travestis: None.
Visual image: The band *a Renatinho* giving their ringfingers to the photographer (instead of the middle finger). They have a song on their album called *Travesse de Fogo* (in English Travesti of fire)

25) Date and time of publication: 25/05/2015, 21h32
Category of news: Society (sub-category: Education)
Author (journalist): Not written, (O Globo-publication)
Headline: Estudante que não está no 3º ano não poderá usar Enem para entrar na faculdade
-Pronouns used in regards to travestis: Masculine.
Visual image: None.

26) Date and time of publication: 25/05/2015
Category of news: Society (sub-category: Education)
Author (journalist): Not written, (O Globo-publication)
Headline: Primeiro dia de inscrição no Enem registrou 410 mil candidatos
-Pronouns used in regards to travestis: Masculine.
Visual image: Students of mixed genders and race, writing a test for university admission.

27) Date and time of publication: 29/05/2015, 13h40
Category of news: Rio
Author (journalist): Célia Costa
Headline: Travestis e transexuais presos poderão escolher ir para ala feminina de penitenciárias do Rio
-Pronouns used in regards to travestis: Feminine.

28) Date and time of publication: 05/06/2015, 06h00
Category of news: Culture
Author (journalist): Mariana Filgueiras
Headline: Violência e transexualidade sobressaem na obra de Copi, que chega ao país em livro e ocupação teatral
-Pronouns used in regards to travestis: Masculine.
Visual image: None.

29) Date and time of publication: 03/07/2015, 11h02
Category of news: Rio
Author (journalist): Not written, (O Globo-publication)
Headline: Travestis terão identidade social respeitada na rede de Saúde do Rio
-Pronouns used in regards to travestis: Mixed.
Visual image: None.

30) Date and time of publication: 19/07/2015, 06h00
Category of news: Culture
Author (journalist): Fernando Gabeira (Columnist)
Headline: As meninas entram em cena
-Pronouns used in regards to travestis: Feminine.
Visual image: None.

31) Date and time of publication: 19/07/2015, 06h00
Category of news: Culture
Author (journalist): Ronald Villarido
Headline: Jane Di Castro volta a Copacabana com seu batom, 31 anos depois
-Pronouns used in regards to travestis: Jane Di Castro uses masculine pronouns, follows grammar.

32) Date and time of publication: 27/07/2015, 15h39
Category of news: Ela (Her in English), (sub-category: Gente), (Gente means "people" in and worth noting is the masculine form)
Author (journalist): Melina Dalboni
Headline: Aos 91 anos, Ivo Pitanguy lança livro de memórias
-Pronouns used in regards to travestis: Masculine.
Visual image: A picture of celebrity plastic surgeon Ivo Pitanguy, standing turned to the right, gazing out in the air with his arms crossed, wearing a suit, smiling.
33) Date and time of publication: 27/07/2015, 15h55
Category of news: Ela (Her in English)
Author (journalist): Gustavo Autran
Headline: Com 50 anos de carreira, Rogéria fala sobre infância, caso com mulher e prostituição
Pronouns used in regards to travestis: Masculine.
Visual image: Travesti Rogéria, leaning toward a wall, supporting herself with her hands, she’s wearing a purple elegant dress, gazing into the camera with her lips spread open.

34) Date and time of publication: 27/07/2015, 16h02
Category of news: Ela (Her in English)
Author (journalist): Mariana Timóteo da Costa / Roberto Kaz (Elíáriá Andrade photo and photo text)
Headline: Acompanhamos grupos de homens que gostam de ‘brincar’ de ser mulher
Adeptos do ‘crossdressing’ e do transformismo falam da dor e da delícia de ser do outro gênero
Pronouns used in regards to travestis: Mixed.
Visual image: A photo of Laerte Coutinho a famous Brazilian cartoonist and transsexual woman. The text to the picture quotes Laerte “Sou uma mulher experimental” and then it says “diz ele”.
http://oglobo.globo.com/ela/gente/acompanhamos-grupos-de-homens-que-gostam-de-brinar-de-ser-mulher-16952147

35) Date and time of publication: 18/08/2015, 06h00
Category of news: Culture
Author (journalist): Aline Macedo
Headline: Show burlesco traz luxúria e ironia ao Teatro Rival
Pronouns used in regards to travestis: None, “Travesti is only mentioned in a sentence with O mundo travesti.
Visual image: Photo of three burlesque dancers, cutting meat.

36) Date and time of publication: 30/08/2015, 21h36
Category of news: Rio
Author (journalist): Ana Beatriz Marin
Headline: Parada gay reúne cerca de 800 mil pessoas em Madureira
Pronouns used in regards to travestis: Feminine.
Visual image: Photo of ‘Angels da diversidade’ with their hands joint together in the middle (like a soccer team). All looking into the camera.

37) Date and time of publication: 06/09/2015, 08h40
Category of news: Rio
Author (journalist): Not written (O Globo-publication)
Headline: Travestis são detidos com arma branca na Lapa
Pronouns used in regards to travestis: Mixed.
Visual image: Three knives on top of a piece of fabric saying “Presente” (evidence) and a policia militar (police badge above the knives to the right).

38) Date and time of publication: 18/09/2015 22:09
Category of news: Rio
Author (journalist): Elenilce Bottari e Vera Araújo
Headline: Sete presos conseguem liberdade provisória na estreia do programa de audiências de custódia
Pronouns used in regards to travestis: Masculine.
Visual image: Picture of a female judge and a male prisoner with his back against the camera. Here we have an “active/powerful” female and a “criminal male”.
http://oglobo.globo.com/rio/sete-presos-conseguem-liberdade-provisoria-na-estreia-do-programa-de-audiencias-de-custodia-17532079

39) Date and time of publication: 25/09/2015, 06h59
Category of news: Culture (sub-category: Theatre)
Author (journalist): Alexandre Giannini
Headline: Obra de João das Neves no teatro ganha exposição
Pronouns used in regards to travestis: Masculine.
Visual image: Photo of João das Neves, shot in profile, das Neves is gazing out over the sea with a big smile.

40) Date and time of publication: 23/10/2015, 09h49
Category of news: Sociedade (sub-category: education)
Author (journalist): Clarissa Pains
Headline: Curso Prepara, Nem! instrui transexgenéros que farão o Enem
Pronouns used in regards to travestis: None, but when talking about transgender individuals, Pains respect the self-definition of the individual.
Visual image: A photo of Travesti Luciana Vasconcellos reading a book in a library. The second photo is of a group of transgender students in front of bookshelves in a library.

41) Date and time of publication: 24/10/2015, 06h00
Category of news: Culture
Author (journalist): Fabiano Ristow
Headline: Carolina Ferraz conclui filme em que interpreta travesti
Pronouns used in regards to travestis: Masculine.
Visual image: Ferraz wearing a knee-long dress with a print of a cheetah cat, high sandals and the person in the picture (Ferraz) is walking proudly, looking successful.
42) Date and time of publication: 12/11/2015, 23h45
Category of news: Brazil
Author (journalist): Márcio Menasce e Jaqueline Falcão
Headline: ‘Qualquer casal tem brigas’, diz ex-mulher de secretário de Paes
Pronouns used in regards to travestis: Masculine.
Visual image: Showing a courtroom, the people in the photo are the secretary of a Brazilian governor and the ex-wife of the governor, both looking depressed and beaten down.
http://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/qualquer-casal-tem-brigas-diz-ex-mulher-de-secretario-de-paes-18038410

43) Date and time of publication: 15/11/2015, 06h00
Category of news: Cultura (Column of Artur Xéxeu)
Author (journalist): Artur Xéxeu
Headline: A boa esposa
Pronouns used in regards to travestis: Masculine.
Visual image: None.

44) Date and time of publication: 20/11/2015, 6h00
Category of news: Culture (sub-category: Music)
Author (journalist): Mariana Filgueiras
Headline: Sarau do Escritório lança ‘mapa de saraus’ do Rio
Pronouns used in regards to travestis: Feminine.
Visual image: A photo of a male musician and an attached video promoting the poetry festival ‘Sarau do Escritório’.

45) Date and time of publication: 29/11/2015
Category of news: Culture
Author (journalist): Fernando Gabeira Colunista
Headline: O amigo oculto - Quando é que Eduardo Cunha vai chegar ao mar?
Pronouns used in regards to travestis: Feminine.
Visual image: None.
http://oglobo.globo.com/cultura/o-amigo-oculto-18171283

46) Date and time of publication: 09/12/2015, 15h17
Category of news: Culture
Author (journalist): Natalia Castro
Headline: Sergio Guizé ignora status de estrela: ‘Eventos de TV não me seduzem’
Pronouns used in regards to travestis: Feminine.
Visual image: A photo of actor Sergio Guizé, casually leaning against a wall wearing sunglasses.

47) Date and time of publication: 18/02/2016, 20h29
Category of news: Culture
Author (journalist): Luiz Felipe Reis
Headline: Festival de Curitiba busca se aproximar da cidade e seus moradores
Pronouns used in regards to travestis: None.
Visual image: A photo of actor and director Grace Passô, covered in a neon yellow piece of fabric and on top of that a pair of sunglasses.

48) Date and time of publication: 12/03/2016, 05h50
Category of news: Culture
Author (journalist): Victor da Rosa
Headline: Crítica: contos de Luci Collin fazem desfile debochado de caricaturas
Pronouns used in regards to travestis: da Rosa uses the word irmã (sister). A male character in the book of Luci Collin uses irmão (brother).
http://oglobo.globo.com/cultura/livros/critica-contos-de-luci-collin-fazem-desfile-debochado-de-caricaturas-18855768