CITIES, VIOLENCE AND GENDER: FINDINGS AND CONCEPTS OF THE 21ST CENTURY

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CITIES, VIOLENCE AND GENDER: FINDINGS AND CONCEPTS OF THE 21ST CENTURY

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Editorial: Cities, violence and gender: Findings and concepts of the 21st century

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Editorial on the Research Topic
Cities, violence and gender: Findings and concepts of the 21st century

The city has always been a laboratory in which society experiences the dramas and challenges of its cohesion and experiments with ways of overcoming threats to its sustainable continuity. In recent decades, different types of violence, hitherto submerged, have become visible, altering the conceptual universe of violence. Until then, subordinate groups such as women, sexual dissent, and ethnic minorities managed to increase their discontent with their subordinate place in contemporary societies in the wider public domain. The social actions of groups concerned about gender violence or violence unleashed against minorities contributed to the idea that the visibility of violence is becoming a significant concept.

The Research Topic "*Cities, violence and gender: findings and concepts of the 21st century*" brings together critical contributions from various social actors, as well as problematizes public policies and relevant legislation to combat gender violence in different spheres of society. From innovative theories and methodologies, belonging to different disciplinary fields, the articles that make up this issue address issues of different types of corpus (social, political, cultural, legislative, journalistic, and media) and in different geographical spaces, from America to Africa, configuring an interdisciplinary and transnational perspective on these issues. Consequently, this Research Topic is intended to provide an up-to-date overview of a complex—still—conflicting society, as well as the points on which it is necessary to focus to promote the human rights of different social groups, such as peripheral populations, women, and people LGBTQIA+.

The articles focused on themes that involved gender, violence, and social movements. The main themes that emerged were inclusive/neutral language, sex education, social discourses, LGBTQIA+ population, women's activism, and agency. The issues addressed focused on discussions about: neutral and inclusive language and the importance of language education for society (Bonnin and Coronel; Tosi); socio-discursive representations and social discourses on topics such as abortion, sex workers and transgender sex workers, transgender women and LGBTQIA+ populations (Bagagli et al.; Benner; Dvoskin; Ribeiro et al.; Soich); and, on gender and women's activism (Moura and Cerdeira; Vieira and Rocha; Estivalet).

Finally, the articles analyzed the need to broaden debates on topics that were hitherto considered controversial, but which have increasingly become relevant to public debate, contributing to the improvement of education, to changing attitudes and behaviors, for the reduction of gender inequalities, violence, and prejudice, in search of a more just, egalitarian society that respects differences.

We are grateful to all researchers who shared their valuable contributions, believing that this Research Topic can serve as inspiration and support for academics, practitioners, and readers working on gender issues and as a starting point for generating interdisciplinary links at the southern and north levels global, helping to generate more just and egalitarian societies in terms of gender.

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The authors declare that the research was conducted in the absence of any commercial or financial relationships that could be construed as a potential conflict of interest.

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Re-Thinking Gender, Artivism and Choices. Cultures of Equality Emerging From Urban Peripheries

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Gender dimensions of violence, and especially women's experiences in settings of urban violence have been the subject of important feminist research, including those that highlight gender as essential for comprehensive analyses of security and urban violence, and for promoting solutions and positive change. A primary contribution of feminist research indeed has been to demonstrate that there are both visible and invisible aspects of urban violence. A gap in literature on these gender dimensions is that of men's construction of masculinities – and how these constructions are challenged during times. An important set of invisible phenomena within urban spaces and their peripheries includes the positive and decolonial responses that occur, including non-violent and feminist cultural and artistic pathways and the factors that lead men to resist to dominant, violent, or 'hyper' versions of masculinities. While there is a predominate focus on men's involvement in violence, far less attention has been placed on men's non-violent pathways. Based on examples of cultural, artistic and activist practices from the peripheries, namely those emerging in Rio de Janeiro, this article aims to discuss how artivism can challenge gender inequalities and power relations.

Keywords: culture, peripheries, feminism, artivism, masculinities

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INTRODUCTION

The mainstream debate on public security and urban violence in Latin America and elsewhere generally focuses on drug-related violence, kidnappings and violence between rival gangs. Considerable research has explored risk factors such as alcohol consumption, access and availability of guns, population density, poverty, unemployment, the lack of governance and the weakness of the state (Muggah, 2012). Yet, these analyses have often failed to fully explain the complex configuration and tragic persistence of violence in urban settings as well as the drivers of the inequitable gendered distribution of violent deaths, which are linked and reflect gendered, societal hierarchies and power relations in terms of how such violence disproportionately affects young, non-white and poor men in deeply polarized, unequal and segregated cities. The latest Brazilian Public Safety Yearbook (Cerqueira et al., 2019), for example, indicates that homicide victims in Brazil are mostly black (75.4%), between 18 and 29 years old (68.2%) and only studied through primary school (81.5%). Similar trends have been observed in other countries of the Americas (Hideg and Frate, 2019).

However, some gender dimensions of violence, and especially women's experiences in settings of urban violence and war have been the subject of important feminist research, including those that highlight gender as essential for comprehensive analyses of security and urban violence, and for

promoting solutions and positive change (Moser, 2004; Moura, 2007; Sjoberg and Via, 2010; Moura and Santos, 2011; Moura et al., 2012). This research has also drawn attention to and posed questions regarding interconnections between violence in public (including urban spaces), and intimate partner violence. A primary contribution of feminist research indeed has been to demonstrate that there are both visible and common effects of urban violence and wars: often what is registered or manifested in public, urban spaces; as well as invisible effects, those that remain 'unaccounted for' (see Barker, 2005; Moura, 2007; Moura et al., 2009; Moura and Roque, 2009; Roque, 2012a; Moura and Santos, 2012).

A major gap in literature on these gender dimensions is that of how boys are socialised into men – young men's construction of masculinities – and how these constructions are challenged during the socialisation process. These constructions are met with expectations to provide for the family (with enhanced pressures in times of economic strain); and often, the option to use violence as a tool to achieve status, exert power or control that is threatened or lost, and to achieve social belonging. However, an important set of invisible phenomena in feminist analysis and masculinities studies include the positive responses that occur, including young men's non-violent pathways and the factors that lead them to resist to or cope with dominant, violent, or 'hyper' versions of masculinities in urban contexts. While there is a predominant focus on men's involvement in violence, and a tendency to position young men as a problematic group, far less attention has been placed on young men's non-violent pathways (Barker, 1998; Barker, 2005; Roque, 2012b), namely how young men resist to or cope with dominant versions of masculinities. Understanding what leads men to prioritise non-violent pathways is key to preventing intergenerational transmissions of violence (Barker et al., 2012).

Based on examples of cultural and artistic practices from the peripheries, namely those emerging in Rio de Janeiro, this article aims to discuss how performance as an artivist practice allows one not only to denounce racist, sexist and colonial practices (past and present), but also to reflect on their potential for coalition around common struggles and guaranteeing the right to the city. It is intended to discuss the importance of the use of narratives told in the first person, in relation to the crystallization or emancipation of the performativity of bodies and the occupation of public space by subalternized bodies, challenging the cultural and social norms built around the possibilities of being.

Based on previous work conducted and published by the authors (Moura and Fernandez, 2020) it discusses how artistic and cultural practices in urban peripheries can transform relations of inequality, decolonize language and open space for hidden narratives in the peripheries. It argues that cultural practices such as dance, music and slam poetry performed by peripheral subjects contribute to a redefinition of identity building and sense of belonging to the city, taking into account intersecting oppressions of gender, race and class that informs daily life and positioning of particular subjects at not simply geographical peripheries, but at the edges of socio-economic structures and relations. Understanding the negative representations and stereotyping of urban peripheries is essential to the building of a new perspective away from the notion of "absence" and understand how they are sites of creativity and potentiality which can be seen through the production of arts and cultural practices that affirm rights and promote gender and racial equality, non-violent life trajectories and spaces of resistance.

MASCULINITIES, NON-VIOLENT PATHWAYS, RESISTANCE AND COPING

Multiple contemporary 'crisis' scenarios with intersecting layers of complexity and underlying causes emerge in urban spaces worldwide. These scenarios are marked by overlapping factors of financial and health crisis, histories of war, and violence in urban spaces – and the interplay between masculinities and violence in these settings – all of which pose complex and unresolved challenges.

The study of *newest wars* offers several starting points in order to consider the nature and effects of crises. "Newest wars" occur largely in scenarios of formal peace, cities and their peripheries, marked by socio-economic factors and disparities, and gender ideologies (Moura 2007; Moura 2010). A high concentration of state and gang violence within larger scenarios of institutionalised peace in these contexts stem from combined social and economic asymmetries, high unemployment rates, unplanned city growth, the availability of firearms and a centrality of violent norms, among other factors (Cockburn, 2001; Moser, 2001; Moura, 2007; Moura et al., 2009; Moura, 2010; Santos et al., 2011).

A major gap in the feminist literature about urban violence, peace and conflicts is how boys are socialised into men – young men's construction of masculinities – and especially how these constructions are challenged during time.

Masculinity is the "set of norms, values and behavioural standards that express explicitly or implicitly expectations on how men should act and present themselves before others" (Miescher and Lindsay, 2003:4), in a gender order. They are complex, heterogeneous, part of a relational notion of gender in which they are not isolated from, but interact with femininities and diverse influences (Connell, 2005b), and they are fluid, dynamic and may change over time.

Most of the global studies on masculinities from the last 30 years shed some light on these aspects, with a special focus on the factors that contribute to male use of violence in the public sphere. Globally, we know that violence, whether in conflict or otherwise, is disproportionately committed by men against other men. At the global level, men are three to six times more likely than females to carry out homicide, and men of all ages represent 80 percent of homicide victims (Krause et al., 2011).

Literature on urbanization, poverty and violence has contemplated multiple risk factors (urbanization, city density, poverty, inequality, theories around youth bulges and unemployment among young males, conflict-related legacies, and governance failures) (Muggah, 2012) – but often omits consideration of the connections between masculinities and each of these factors and factors associated with non-violent options. So,

what does it mean to apply a masculinities lens to violence and conflict analysis? First, we affirm that while the socioeconomic and racial dimensions of urban violence have received attention (Sampson and Wilson 1995; Mark and Fraser 2015), gender, and within that masculinities, has not garnered significant attention. "Gender-neutral" concepts of urban violence continue to prevail. As a result, with some notable exceptions (see Pearce 2006; Wilding, 2011; Baird 2012; Kern and Mullings 2013; Peake and Rieker 2013; Wilding and Pearson, 2013; Wilding, 2014), gender relations, gender power dimensions and gender norms and identities have rarely or only superficially been considered in urban violence scholarship. Other gender analyses of conflict, urban violence and war simply disaggregate data on mortality or participation in armed groups by sex and call it a gender analysis.

Our analysis is informed by diverse border epistemologies, gender and masculinities theorists – from Raewyn Connell's work on hegemonic and subaltern/margin masculinities to Judith Butler's work on gender as performative (and masculinities as performed and judged by other men), to the vast array of work by Michael Flood and others on men's use of violence in the context of partnered relationships and the complex interplay of individual, childhood, and societal conditions that drive that violence.

There are strong scientific, policy and programme implications for researching and working with young men and choosing as epistemological focus their non-violent pathways (and positive peace solutions in these contexts).

Theoretical discussions of masculinities have shifted from a more singular 'male sex role' view to a conceptualisation of 'multiple masculinities,' including an emphasis on change (Connell 2005b). This emphasis on change sheds light on alternatives to dominant/hegemonic forms of masculinities, and explicit attention to non-violent pathways. Understanding what leads men to prioritise pathways to non-violent and peaceful versions of manhood are essential to achieving peace and reducing violence, in the public and private sphere, and promote cultures of equality.

ARTIVISM, THE DISMANTLING OF PATRIARCHY AND HEGEMONIC MASCULINITIES: PATHWAYS TOWARDS DISRUPTIVE LANGUAGE OF POWER STRUCTURES

Urban peripheries across the global south and north are stereotyped as sites of violence and criminality. Such stereotyping negates not only the root causes and factors that (re)produce violence and conflict in the peripheries, but also the multiplicity of positive examples that exist within each context (Moura and Fernandez, 2020). Favelas across the city of Rio de Janeiro are imagined as territories apart from the city, as the non-city, vis-à-vis the formal city (Pinheiro 2011). Rio de Janeiro is structured around profound socio-spatial inequality producing what Santos (2007) terms, an "abyss and abyssal lines". Santos (2007:71) argues that the Universe "on this side of the line" only prevails to the degree that it exhausts the field of relevant reality: beyond the line, there can only be invisibility and inexistence – or, at least, inexistence of relevant or understandable forms of being. More recently, Santos and Meneses (2010), in his Epistemologies of the South, challenges the centrality of the hegemonic eurocentric framework, broadening the production and understanding of knowledge to include perspectives of artists and activists in the transformation of colonial epistemological dominance. In this article we adopt this definition of artivism (resulting from the fusion between artistic expressions and social and political activism), drawing on "border thinking" as an 'epistemology from a subaltern perspective' (Mignolo and Tlotanova, 2006).

Art produced in and by the periphery, while frequently not recognised as 'art', has the potential to destabilise the discourse constructed by actors who are economically, socially, and racially privileged. These movements operate nationally and therefore have a large-scale possibility to contribute to cultures of equality. Art, in this sense, can greatly contribute to dismantling the construction, widely disseminated by the media, of the peripheral subject as a disempowered victim or a potential criminal, and the peripheries as a locus of absence (Moura and Fernandez, 2020). Silva (2016) propose a new decolonial approach by using the "paradigm of potential" to interpret social practices found in the favela, one which values the inventiveness and plural aesthetic expressions affirmed by residents in relation to their own experience of urban life. The art produced by peripheral subjects has the potential to produce and give visibility to another periphery which affirms itself through its agency, inventiveness, and non-violet pathways. Art can thus contribute to ensuring that peripheral subjects treated as inexistent may assert themselves and interfere in dominant representations of gender, race, and class.

Passinho and Slam Poetry (analysed bin the following section) are two examples of a multitude of cultural manifestations from the periphery that demonstrate the creative potential of groups to produce innovative artistic and cultural movements. These movements have potential to challenge structures of inequality founded on patriarchy, racism, heteronormativity, and coloniality by promoting spaces of inclusion for plural alternatives, non-hegemonic ways of bringing forward discourses of equality, occupying spaces, and shifting boundaries and meanings across spaces and bodies.

In contrast to the reproduction of models of masculinities based on the control and use of violence, Passinho and Slam resist the use of violence. These movements specifically call out state-backed violence and challenge the criminalisation of peripheral bodies. They refuse the stereotyping models of peripheral and black masculinities and highlight the complex struggle to exist in the imaginary of the police and society outside of oppressive structural inequalities. Slam poets are creating spaces, occupying city spaces, challenging intersecting inequalities, and promoting new understandings of the multiplicity of gender relations.

Sewing the Broken City: Gender and Cultures of Equality

Previous work by the authors and other activists and researchers (Moura and Fernandez, 2020) state that cultural and artistic

movements from the urban periphery in Rio de Janeiro can be seen within a perspective of equality. Many cultural movements promote "cultures of equality" by articulating demands at multiple levels: through verbal, physical, rhythmic, and/or aesthetic mediums; by creating equitable practices within their organisations; and by occupying and redefining spaces throughout the city. These movements promote spaces of inclusion for plural alternatives, non-hegemonic ways of bringing forward discourses of equality, and shifting boundaries and meanings across spaces and bodies. These were the basic assumptions of the GlobalGRACE project[1]. Underpinning this project were two basic ideas. The first was that equality is a cultural artefact and are made and contested in a variety of ways in different parts of the world. The second was that cultures might best be understood as the practices through which people create the worlds they inhabit, and people's creative practices challenge inequality and engender new possibilities for more equitable ways of living together. In other words, GlobalGRACE treated gender equality as a contingent cultural product and that methodologically brought together interdisciplinary work to investigate the production and meanings of cultures of equality across a range of sites, events, practices and objects. Moreover, we adopted a critical de-colonial and postcolonial perspective that challenges the assumption that cultures of equality originate in and flow from countries in the global North. Our emphasis was on how new and alternative cultures of equality emerge from the periphery and out of situations of marginality. As Audre Lorde (2007) states:

The difference should not be merely tolerated but seen as a background of necessary polarities between which our creativity can sparkle as dialectics. Only then does the need for interdependence become non-threatening. Only within this interdependence of different, recognized and equal forces can the power to seek new ways of being in the world generate the courage and sustenance to act where there are no licenses.

This notion of interdependence of forces (and vulnerabilities) fosters not only a critical and conscious awareness of ourselves, but also of our body in relation to the outside - other bodies, structures, politics - besides allowing us to assume different roles according to the plurality of struggle scenarios.

In this sense we can affirm that artistic and cultural movements that arise naturally out of peripheries are creating spaces, occupying cities, challenging intersecting inequalities, and promoting new understandings of the multiplicity gendered identities – challenging gendered performativity and transforming vulnerabilities in collective forms of resistance. Given the connection of dominant versions of masculinity to the use of violence, it is shown that art performed in peripheral spaces can contribute especially to the production of non-violent and solidary forms of social organization.

This model that Mohanty (2003) calls a feminist model of solidarity focused on common interests, challenges contemporary feminist movements to reformulate their starting questions regarding what unites them and what separates them, and consciously perceive the interdependencies of their vulnerabilities and privileges, so that it is possible to develop strategies of struggle and resistance capable of transcending borders (geographical and/or cultural).

This model also values the narratives of historical experiences - collective and individual - challenging us to a permanent theorization and debate of the complexities and connections between the different experiences of being a man or a being a woman, democratizing instead of colonizing experiences. (Mohanty, 2003). The importance of understanding how identities and experiences change and flow over time becomes fundamental to the very process of resignifying struggles and coalition strategies.

People build identities that unite or separate them at these crossroads, often because of the exclusions or oppressions they are subject to and the forms they take. Although, these identities are neither fixed nor stable, they are not essential, but are subject to constantly changing contexts, and are therefore procedural, dynamic, unstable and tense, determined by contradictory logics of defining identities and differences. (Martins, 2018: 5).

Art and artistic performativity, in its multiple languages, as a device of social transformation, acts as a counter-hegemonic narrative before the production of hegemonic knowledge that dictates standardized behaviors and attitudes. The paths presented by the politically implicated artistic doing corroborate for a narrative that produces a theoretical-practical field with more possibilities, with processes of experimentation, projections and collective construction.

The performance, whether individual or collective, has the double role of not only exposing and denouncing violence, but also of democratizing its possibility of insurgency: what is said by the performance, whether by verbal language, or by the performativity of each body that stages it, ends up assuming a collective body, understood and assimilated by a plurality of individuals, regardless of having already suffered physical violence or not, regardless of their contexts, inside and outside their personal and collective histories. (Butler, 2018).

The artivist movements of Passinho and Slam Poetry are examples of how art creation and processes of production can challenge stereotyped notions of identity, promoting cultures that aim to reach more equal relations. Occupying spaces throughout the periphery and beyond, these movements are building networks that renegotiate the city's divisions. While Slam can be seen to actively and overtly advocate for equality, challenging hegemonic power structures, Passinho inserts its participants into market forces, mainstream cultural movements, and showcases the value of individual dancers' and groups' talents. In both instances, essentialized images of the periphery and the criminalization of bodies and culture from these areas are challenged.

In fact, artivism as a political-aesthetic process was strongly influenced by the use of performance by artists linked to the feminist and queer movements (Mesías-Lema, 2018). Although

[1]Global Gender and Cultures of Equality (GlobalGRACE) was a 51 months programme of research and capacity strengthening funded by the UKRI's Global Challenge Research Fund (GCRF) delivered through the Arts and Humanities Research Council. GlobalGRACE employed arts based practices and multi-sensory research to investigate the production of cultures of equality and enable gender positive approaches to wellbeing internationally. For further information, please consult https://www.globalgrace.net/

the use of feminist performance has a long history from the 'second wave of feminism', its visibility has been largely attributed to western, white women artists, in line with the consolidation of the movement itself. As soon as the phrase 'the personal is political' was coined, women performers and artists began to turn their own experiences, using these as primary resources (Heddon, 2006: 130). The use of personal experiences that gave motto to the slogan 'The Personal is Political' was the strategy found to break with the invisibility of the so-called private sphere and oppressions. As hooksbell (2000) have long argued, telling the story in the first person allows the oppressed to become the subject of their own history, challenging their own power structures. In this sense, the narratives of the women who participate in slam poetry, particularly black and peripheral women, allow them not only to challenge the oppressive context, but also to emancipate themselves from their own experiences, so often marked by processes of violence. For this reason, after three decades of using so-called biographical performances, the reflection around their use as a tool of denunciation and resistance in the context of contemporary feminist struggles deserves to be re-examined, similar to the current challenges faced by the movements themselves.

Inspired by the *rap* and *hip-hop* movements of the 1970s, *slam poetry* as an artistic and performative language emerged in the United States in the 1980s. Mobilized by the poet Marc Smith in Chicago, it gained popularity in the following decades, particularly in the peripheries of urban environments not only in the United States, but also proliferating in various countries around the world (Freitas, 2020: 2).

In the particular case of Brazil, although *slam poetry* only consolidated in the 2000s, *hip-hop* as an urban culture gained strength in Rio de Janeiro in the 1990s, taking advantage of the space moved by the independent samba and choro circuits that began to take over the streets and alternative spaces in the city. Thus, no longer conditioned to ghettos and peripheries, *hip-hop* and the battles of spoken poetry began to consolidate and attract more and more public in the following years.

Notable groups and movements of slam poetry in Brazil include, *Slam Laje, Nós da Rua, Slam das Minas,* and *Slam Resistência*. *Slam das Minas*, in contrast with the other groups, is solely composed of women. This collective was first formed in 2015 in Brasilia and has grown quickly, expanding to other cities, notably Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Porto Alegre. According to *Slam das Minas-Rio de Janeiro*, Slam das Minas is a playful poetic game to develop the artistic power of women. emerges as a feminist movement of marginal poetry in which women conquer their space: public space, artistic space and space to speak out and denounce their restlessness, violence and oppression. In their rhymes these women speak of love, of the power of the periphery, of patriarchal violence, of feminicide, of maternity, of pain and the power of being women, to multiple voices and multiple narratives. Slam das Minas, in addition to following the basic rules of *slam poetry,* modeled the format of their encounters with their own characteristics, thus acting strategically to challenge the structures of power.

Slam movements in Rio de Janeiro actively speak out against machismo, sexism, racism, homophobia, discrimination, violence, and other topics affecting the city's residents. These movements articulate feminist agendas and anti-racism agendas defined by black women and people from the periphery both through individual poets' contributions and organisation's communications (Moura and Fernandez, 2020).

Passinho mixes different elements such as break, capoeira, kuduro, contortionism, mime, frevo, performance, combined with step marking in two counts, characteristic of funk carioca, electronic genre of track, created in the peripheries and communities of the city in the years 1980. In this way, Passinho imposes itself as a powerful expressive manifestation to reflect on new modalities of identity belonging in the second decade of 2000. It aligns with the debates on globalization, youth and new meanings of relationship between local and global, center and periphery, virtual and non-virtual (Bacal and Domingos, 2020). The dancers' creativity and originality are key. Since 2008, Passinho *battles* have occupied numerous favelas, city metro stations, and the wealthier neighbourhoods in the *zona sul* (south) of Rio. Passinho gained global fame after being featured in the 2012 Olympic closing ceremony in London and the 2016 Olympic opening ceremony in Rio de Janeiro. In 2017, Passinho was declared cultural heritage under law 390/2017 (Rio de Janeiro 2017).

Under the scope of our project we partnered with Cia. Passinho Carioca, from Rio de Janeiro. Together, and in partnership with other movements and organizations, we asked: how does the art produced in and by the peripheries build subjectivities that rearrange and subvert everyday discourses and practices of hegemonic, white, and cisheteronormal masculinity? How do artistic and cultural interventions disturb the intersecting regime of gender inequality that structures us and disproportionately affects/oppresses the black and peripheralized population? How do they challenge stereotyped constructions about violent peripheralized masculinities? The final result was the show *Na Manha*, where the dancers are, through their performances, transgressing the gender boundaries internalized even in the Universe of Passinho; they are challenging the geographic and symbolic boundaries of a city that says how and where these bodies should transit and how they should perform; they are questioning the classist and racist limits of the city. In short, by freely performing with a gender and masculinities lens this young group of dancers in dialogue with two young female directors, black and of popular origin, are demanding another project of life. In this process, dancers resist the places and roles socially and violently constructed for their bodies to inhabit. Bodies crossed by markers of gender, sexuality, race, class and territory, which have been historically criminalized and dehumanized. Black men who have been socialized, as hooksbell (2018) teaches us, in a racist and macho culture that does not allow them to feel, to expose their vulnerabilities and of which a violent masculinity is demanded, can through art express a complexity of emotions. If the dominant culture has produced a culture of death of young men from the peripheries through secular processes of genocide, in the collective project *Na Manha* these bodies are made available for a culture of their own, centred on the affirmation of life.

We can recognize that these artistic and cultural practices take on a decolonial character that allows, even if momentarily, to break with normative expectations regarding the performativity of their bodies in a society deeply hierarchized by a social-spatial inequality.

DISCUSSION

Through this article we tried to analyse the implications that emerge from applying lens of power, patriarchy and masculinities to violence-affected areas, namely urban peripheries. From a gender and power analysis of peripheries, and adopting a feminist approach, we can go beyond the obvious, challenge stereotypes, and identify positive, creative and non-violent identities and practices. It is important to 1) understand salient power structures and gender norms in context, given the strong associations between masculinities, power, patriarchy and violence, in order to challenge directly gender and masculine norms in violence prevention efforts; 2) focus and identify resistance to patriarchal violence, for example by examining men´s resistance and resilience within contexts of violence, and nonviolent trajectories specifically, taking into account that "violent" or "nonviolent" do not comprise fixed categories. In addition, while the feminist literature increasingly focuses on men's multiple experiences and expressions of gender, there remains a tendency to emphasize men's involvement in violence rather than understanding their non-involvement, namely how men resist to or cope with dominant versions of masculinities. Risk and vulnerability, rather than resilience, is often a starting point for research on violence (amongst men). It is crucial to understand how to negotiate models of masculinity away from violence and how to produce alternative models of masculinity that resist violence and promote equality.

As previously mentioned, men's violence is produced – not innate – and nonviolent, pro-social masculinities exist alongside violent versions of manhood in any setting, including in conflict settings. Understanding masculinities is never, on its own, the way to end conflict, and it should be done together with understanding women's lived realities. It is by understanding patriarchy and masculinities, together with the array of other drivers of conflict and violence, and together with the experiences of women and girls, that solutions are likely to be more effective and more enduring.

This article politicises and questions the naturalisation of violence and multiple forms of oppression (gender, race, class, and geographical) that affect the favelas and favela residents. These forms of oppression cannot be explained without contemplating both past and present systematic inequalities. The peripheries in both the global South and the North, and in particular those of Rio de Janeiro, are presented here from the paradigm of potential, as spaces of creative agency. These spaces create movements that, on a daily basis, subvert power relations. Very briefly, we sought to understand artistic and cultural expressions that arise naturally out of peripheries and are creating spaces, occupying cities, challenging intersecting inequalities, and promoting new understandings of the multiplicity of gender identities – specifically peripheral and black masculinities. Given the connection of dominant versions of masculinity to the use of violence, it is shown that art performed in peripheral spaces can contribute especially to the production of non-violent masculinities.

In the contemporary world, permeated by so many complexities of existences, analyses and uncertainties, the common search seems to be in fact to find these possibilities of life: not only the guarantee that our bodies really remain alive, but that they are respected and not violated, that they circulate without fear, that they are accepted, that they move freely not only in physical territories but also in social structures and power structures.

AUTHOR CONTRIBUTIONS

TM conducted research on peripheries, masculinities and non-violent trajectories. LC focuses on artivism, feminism and disruptive performances.

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Attitudes Toward Gender-Neutral Spanish: Acceptability and Adoptability

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This article presents the results of a survey conducted in January 2020 about attitudes toward gender-neutral language in Argentina. The survey was delivered mainly through social networks to 4,205 participants, and its results help understand the complexity of the attitudes toward the phenomenon. In particular, I will argue two hypotheses: 1) that an extensive favorable attitude of acceptance toward gender-neutral language does not imply extensive willingness to use it; 2) that its use is more readily accepted and used in vocative positions, indicating that it works better as a strategic discursive option than as an ongoing linguistic change.

Keywords: gender-neutral language, non-gendered language, inclusive language, linguistic attitudes, sociolinguistic survey, social media, Argentina

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INTRODUCTION

Although the phenomenon of gender-neutral language (GNL), also known as non-gendered language, gender-inclusive language or simply inclusive language, can be traced back until at least the mid-1960s, in the past few years it has gained visibility in public discourse, mass media and social media.

In English, "preferred pronouns" and "singular they" are extremely visible examples of the way in which speakers struggle to define new resources to express non-binary gender identities. Similarly, Arabic, Hebrew, German, French and Swedish, among other languages, use different alternatives: rehabilitating out-of-use variants (such as the 14th-century singular they, in English), re-functionalizing already existent forms (such as the neutral pronouns in German, or the dual in Arabic), introducing new orthographic signs (such as the asterisk "*" in French or the underscore "_" in Slovene), etc. (Berger, 2019).

In Argentina, the issue became especially visible during 2018, when a teenager's casual use of gender-neutral morphology in a TV interview was received with angry remarks by the interviewer, the notoriously right-wing Eduardo Feinmann (Schmidt, 2019). Since then, the issue of GNL has triggered the most extreme arguments in Argentina's public and private sphere: Is it a linguistic aberration? Should it be prohibited? Should it be mandatory? Despite the huge social repercussions of this debate, little systematic research has been done from a sociolinguistic or discourse analysis perspective.

Thus, this article presents the results of a survey conducted in January 2020 about attitudes toward GNL in Argentina. The survey was delivered through different social networks to 4,205 participants, and its results help understand the complexity of the attitudes toward the phenomenon. In particular, we will argue two hypotheses: 1) that an extensive favorable attitude of acceptance toward GNL does not imply extensive willingness to use it; 2) that its use is more readily accepted and used in vocative

positions, indicating that it works better as a strategic discursive option than as an ongoing linguistic change.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The emergence of gender-neutral forms in different languages around the world is a relatively new phenomenon, which encompasses new identities and social movements, notably feminisms, transgender and gender-nonconforming or non-binary groups. In English, for example, the indication of a "preferred pronoun" has become increasingly frequent as a part of basic personal information at institutions, especially universities (Parks and Straka, 2018). The adoption of singular "they" as a pronoun used as a conscious choice to reject the traditional gender binary "he" or "she" made headlines in 2016, after well-established linguistic institutions such as the American Dialect Society and the Merriam-Webster Dictionary chose singular "they" as "word of the year" 2015. This policy regarding gender and language has been quite extensive in college campuses throughout the United States: at Harvard University, for example, 1% of the 4,000 students indicated gender-neutral pronouns at the university's registration system in 2015 (Binkey, 2015). The visibility of non-binary identities through language choices, however, has faced resistance among staff, faculty and even students (Darr and Kibbey, 2016). It also presents technical challenges in fields where identity between grammatical gender, gender identity and biological sexuality are usually taken for granted, as in laboratory tests and medical records (Imborek et al., 2017).

The use of gender-neutral forms, and even of languages with less gendered grammar, helps women to overcome stereotyped gender roles and develop as active agents in institutions; at least that is the conclusion of Brutt-Griffler and Kim (2017) in their study of Asian female international studies at US colleges. The field of social psychology has established experimentally the impact of grammatical gender in male-bias perception, within the scope of linguistic relativity studies in a number of different languages (cfr. Boroditsky, 2003; Stahlberg et al., 2007; Everett, 2011), generally classifying "gender" in dichotomic categories (Ansara and Hegarty, 2014). In other languages, such as Slovene, the use of gender-inclusive forms is widespread only in the LGBTIQ + community and some specific cultural/media outlets. Within these groups, the use of non-binary forms is remarkably consistent, even presenting some level of variation that has been interpreted as index of linguistic vitality (Popic and Gorjanc, 2018).

Despite the existing evidence of the impact of grammatical gender on the perception of reality, and the role of generic masculine in reproducing male-biases and gender stereotypes, it is often argued that introducing gender-neutral forms in a natural language is both useless (as gender inequality goes far beyond grammar) and impossible (as speakers' resistance defies linguistic planning). However, the case of the gender-neutral pronoun "*hen*," in Sweden, has shown that it is both possible and has active positive effects on language attitudes and behavior (Gustaffson Sendén et al., 2015).

The Swedish form is beautifully called "gender-fair language" ("könsmässigt språk"), and introduces a neutral third person pronoun, hen, as an alternative to the existing Swedish feminine (hon) and masculine (han) alternatives. After its first appearance in print in a children's book in 2012 (a coincidence with the Spanish gender-neutral morpheme *-e*, which appeared in a The Little Prince edition of 2018), it was included in the 2015 edition of the Swedish Academy Glossary, thus acquiring semi-official status despite the heated public argument about its adoption. However, research shows that, over time, the initial resistance to its use shifted to positive attitudes and behavior (Gustaffson Sendén et al., 2015).

Within these global processes of linguistic policies and politics, I will introduce the case of Spanish in general, in Argentina, in particular.

Spanish has a binary grammar gender system, differentiating masculine and feminine. The gender of nouns agrees with determinants and adjectives, so gender is a very pervasive feature. Nouns are always assigned a gender; from a grammatical point of view, there are no gender-neutral nouns. Masculine is often marked with the suffix -o, and can be easily changed to feminine by replacing it by a, as in "*compañero/compañera*," or by adding the suffix if the masculine form ends in consonant, as in "*doctor/doctora*."

Masculine has an unmarked or default status for Spanish speakers from the standpoint of grammar (Real Academia Española, 2010, chapter 11), psycholinguistics (Beatty Martínez and Dussias, 2019) or sociolinguistics (Kalinowski, 2020b). From a discursive point of view, however, this unmarked status of the generic masculine has been questioned repeatedly (cfr. Chávez Fajardo, 2019). At first, feminist criticism denounced the many forms of invisibilization of women through linguistic sexism (Fletcher, 1988). In public discourse, this critique became visible in the coordination of masculine and feminine forms when addressing a heterogeneous group of people ("*estimados y estimadas*" instead of "*estimados*"). Although the Spanish Royal Academy and other conservative linguistic institutions argued against this coordination as unnecessary (for example, by evoking a principle of linguistic economy, or style), it became fairly extended in public discourse (cfr. Pérez and Moragas, 2020) and there is little room for rejection, since it conforms to the standard norm.

A second instance of linguistic activism against linguistic sexism became more visible in the late '90s and early '00s, under the form of a non-binary morphology used to refer to collectives of people which cannot be assumed to be male, female or non-binary. When considering these gender-neutral options, the first innovations consisted in replacing the binary morphemes -a and -o by -x or -@. The "@" was progressively abandoned because of its binarism (as it evokes an "a" and an "o"), while the "x" became very widespread; even in English the term "*latinx*" became popular, at least in college campuses and academic settings. Nonetheless, there is a catch in this alternative: although it works perfectly well in written texts, it cannot be pronounced. Thus, the morpheme -e was introduced in 2012 by LGBTTIQ + activists M. Wayar and Lohana Berkins as the most suitable innovation, since it is a non-binary vowel that can be used both in written and oral discourse.

The use of the morpheme -e as a gender-neutral mark has been persistently discussed, in very heated and often aggressive terms, in mass media and social media. Pérez and Moragas (2020) analyze the process of neutralization of dissident discourses in the media by de-legitimizing feminism and LGBTIQ + spokespeople. From their perspective, the main reason to delegitimize inclusive language is its anti-binarism in terms of gender identity.

There is very little research on the topic on Spanish, most of which is devoted to discourse analysis on the topic. Many universities and public offices have developed guidelines for non-sexist and inclusive language, and scholarship in general has shown a favorable attitude toward the acceptance of non-binary forms, either standard (i.e. using epicene nouns) or non-standard (-x or -e) (Romero and Funes, 2018; Kalinowski, 2019; Martínez, 2019; Sayago, 2019; Tosi, 2019; Kalinowski, 2020b). As the issue has only gained visibility in the last three years, research on the subject is still scarce and mainly theoretical (Bolívar, 2019; Gasparri, 2020; Glozman, 2020; Kalinowski, 2020b), analysis of discourses which topicalize inclusive language (Barrera Linares, 2019; Pérez and Moragas, 2020) and discursive practices in secondary education (Castillo Sánchez and Mayo, 2019; Tosi, 2019).

Research about attitudes and actual use of inclusive language is even scarcer. Tosi (2020) analyzes the presence of gender-neutral Spanish through a survey of 30 technical copyeditors from Argentina. Her survey asked whether the copyedited manuscripts used any variant of IL, finding only 10% of affirmative responses. An interesting result of the study is that many inclusive language variants that are standard–such as using epicene nouns as "*el estudiantado*" instead of gender-varying nouns like "*los estudiantes*"—are not perceived as "inclusive language". By adopting this broader criterion, the author finds that 60% of the copyedited texts use some of these non-sexist variants.

With regard to actual use of inclusive language, Kalinowski (2020a) conducted a corpus-based study of non-binary morphology in Twitter from 2007 to 2020 in Argentina. He found that, like in Swedish, the use of non-standard non-binary forms (such as -x and-e) increased over time. Another result of this study is that the increased usage of these forms seems to be linked to political actions and legislative initiatives [such as the Gender Identity Act of 2012, or the (failed) Interruption of Pregnancy Act of 2018], which confirms the results reported by Gustaffson Sendén et al. (2015), who show that gender identity and political preferences are predictors of positive attitudes toward inclusive language. In other terms: GNL seems to be linked both to progressive ideologies and political agenda, especially with regard to feminist and sexual rights movements in Argentina.

One remarkable conclusion of Kalinowski (2019) and Kalinowski (2020b) is that non-binary non-standard forms (such as suffixes in -e and -x) cannot be described–at least for the time being–as a part of a linguistic variety, but rather, as a discursive strategy. This conclusion is drawn from: 1) a limited, but very active, number of users; 2) a very limited number of lexical forms employing -e and -x. The latter feature is very important: 72.37% of the non-standard non-binary tokens used in Twitter correspond, in fact, to only four words: *todxs/es*, *amigxs/ues*, *elxs/les*, and *chicxs/ques*.

It can thus be concluded that gender-neutral language, as it currently exists in Argentina and can be documented in social media, is a speech phenomenon, mainly a lexical one, which is limited to a handful of words: "*chiques*," "*amigues*" or "*todes*." Little is known, however, about speakers' attitudes toward these forms. Firstly, linguistic attitudes are usually described in a very simplified manner, as a scale going from "positive" to "negative," and do not distinguish, for instance, attitudes of acceptance from willingness to act. Secondly, word count does not help understand the pragmatic and syntactic aspects of speakers' attitudes toward inclusive language. Finally, ideological motivations in favor of or against non-binary morphology are usually described only from a gender/political ideology perspective, not taking into account linguistic ideologies; i.e., the case of someone who embraces non-binary ideas about gender but still cannot accept non-standard linguistic forms.

In what follows, the survey designed to address these three aspects will be described: 1) a more complex understanding of linguistic attitude, by differentiating "acceptability" from "adoptability"; 2) a pragmatics-based perspective on -e forms, distinguishing its vocative and non-vocative uses; and 3) a more nuanced approach to inclusive language, not only as a phenomenon related to gender/political ideologies, but also to linguistic ideologies.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

Construction and Justification of Hypothesis

Attitudes toward inclusive language have been characterized theoretically according to 2 variables: linguistic ideologies (in this case, whether a person is more or less open to change and linguistic innovation) and ideas about gender (basically, whether a speaker considers gender as a binary or non-binary category). Combined, they provide the following typology:

As can be seen in **Table 1**, only one out of four possible combinations is fully identified with inclusive language understood as a non-binary non-standard form. This, of course, is a typical-ideal model; in the reality of subjective attitudes in everyday communication, the situation is more complex, and often presents multiple nuances.

These attitudes, however, cannot be understood in simplistic terms (such as categorizing them as positive/neutral/negative), because a positive judgment about a linguistic form does nor necessarily means adoption (i.e., I accept children language, but I do not use it myself). Thus, it is important to differentiate between an attitude of acceptance toward other people's use of a linguistic form (a variable which we call "acceptability") from an attitude of willingness to adopt such form (which we call "adoptability").

To understand these attitudes, a short survey that received 4,205 responses on social networks, mainly Twitter, was designed. Although the sample is not representative of the Argentine population, and therefore the results cannot be generalized,

TABLE 1 | Typology of linguistic attitudes toward NGL.

	Linguistic ideology resistant to change/non-standard forms	**Linguistic ideology prone to change/non-standard forms**
Binary ideas about gender	A. Rejection ("alumnos")	C. Rejection ("alumnos y alumnas")
	Generic masculine	Binary, standard
Non-binary ideas about gender	B. Rejection of -e suffix but acceptance of standard non-binary forms (such as epicene nouns as "el alumnado" instead of "les alumnes")	D. Acceptance ("alumnes")
	Non binary, standard	Non-binary, non-standard

the survey shows how these attitudes are related to each other. The research design of this survey was not meant to disentangle these two dimensions systematically, but only to explore relevant cases with regard to linguistic attitudes toward non-binary, non-standard linguistic forms.

In this article we will address the following hypotheses:

1. Speakers are more willing to express acceptance toward non-binary non-standard morphology than to adopt it themselves.
2. Inclusive language is more acceptable, and people are more willing to use it, in a vocative position, at the beginning of the sentence.

Participants and Procedure

Data on attitudes toward gender in oral speech was collected by administering two questionnaires in social networks during one week in January 2020 (see **Supplementary Annex S1**). The rationale for using two questionnaires was to test an additional hypothesis, which was proven false, that female voices would trigger more positive attitudes toward inclusive language than would male voices. In Form 1, the first three items are uttered by a female voice, and the latter three by a male voice, while in Form 2, a male voice is heard in the same first three items, and a woman's voice in the latter three.

A pilot test was applied to 30 individuals chosen at random with the purpose of detecting internal inconsistencies of the questionnaire, semantic incongruities of the questions and detecting difficulties in understanding the instructions as well as the proposed response categories. As a result, the "non-binary" gender category was adopted, as an emergent from the pilot. The final questionnaire is included in **Supplementary Annex S1**.

Both questionnaires were distributed through a single link, and then alternatively administered by redirecting to one of two Google forms with the survey. Form 1 was answered by 1959 people, and Form 2 by 2,246, totaling 4,205 cases, selected by virtual snowball sampling.[1] The survey was accessed mainly through Twitter (56.6%), followed by WhatsApp (28.4%), Facebook (8.3%), Instagram (1.8%), and others (4.9%). As there were no statistically significant differences[2] in any variable of either dataset, I collapsed both into one to run the analysis, thus abandoning any hypothesis about gender-of-speaker as an independent variable (see **Supplementary Annex S2**).

As cases were reached by convenience, this is a non-probability sample, which means that neither generalization, nor sample error, can be estimated with any degree of confidence to the entire population of Argentina. However, it can help to better understand the ways in which different variables are associated, especially with regard to the hypothesis proposed here.

Variables

One of the main concerns of the survey was its length, because web-based surveys have high attrition rates, especially when answered in mobile phones (Hochheimer et al., 2016). Therefore, its design was very simple, while other items were postponed for future research (such as including more pragmatic alternatives, written items or Likert scales to measure different attitudes). This is one of the limitations of the study although, on the other hand, it helped to secure a greater number of valid answers and a larger sample.

Participants listened to six short audios, the first three spoken by a woman and the last three by a man, or vice versa (depending on whether it was Form 1 or 2; cfr. **Supplementary Annex S1**). The phrases were the following:

1. Hey, chiques, ¿quieren venir al cine esta noche?
2. Hey, chicos, ¿quieren venir al cine esta noche?
3. Hey, chicos y chicas, ¿quieren venir al cine esta noche?
4. Les dije a todes mis amigues que vinieran al cine.
5. Les dije a todos mis amigos que vinieran al cine.
6. Les dije a todos mis amigos y mis amigas que vinieran al cine.

Grammatical markings of gender are analyzed in three non-mutually exclusive forms, following the typology presented in **Table 1**: non-binary, non-standard "-es"; generic masculine "-os"; and binary standard "-os and -as." Only type b (non-binary, standard) is not represented in the survey, as no convenient

[1]Due to this modality of participation, it is not possible to record the number of actual invitations. Moreover, the technique of data entry (Google Forms) does not allow to know how many participants abandoned the questionnaire before completion. Therefore, there are not invalid or dropped cases in our sample.

[2]Crosstabs were tested using the non-parametric chi-square test. A significance level of 95% was chosen for the entire data analysis procedure.

epicene noun was found to serve both as vocative and non-vocative with these syntactic forms.

To account for the pragmatic meaning of gender marks vocative and non-vocative positions were distinguished, as they offer unique insight into the interface between syntax and pragmatics that can be observed in very short fragments (Shormani and Quarabesh, 2018). For the case of the non-vocative position, it is a reported speech topicalizing a previous invitation, which allows for evoking the situation without actually using the vocative form.

Attitudes toward these phrases were assessed by selecting one of the following statements:

(1) I find it acceptable and I would use it.
(2) I find it acceptable but I would not use it.
(3) I find it weird but I would use it.
(4) I find it weird and I wouldn't use it.
(5) I find it unacceptable and I wouldn't use it.
(6) I find it unacceptable, but I would use it.

Each statement offers a combination of two attitudes. The first one is acceptability, assessed in three values: acceptance, weirdness and non-acceptance. "Weirdness," as an intermediate value, was defined as a result of qualitative exploratory studies. The second attitude is adoptability, or willingness to use, as preliminary studies showed that people can accept the use of non-binary non-standard forms in other people, but might not be willing to use it themselves, which happens to be my own case, too.

Gender identification was assessed by simple choice (male, female, non-binary, I prefer not to answer) showing the following gender profile in the sample, as can be seen in **Table 2**.

The table shows that women are overrepresented regarding total population of Argentina, which comprises 48.6% men and 51.3% women, with no count of non-binary population as of the last census in 2010.

On the contrary, it should be stressed that, despite we cannot determine whether Non-binary participants are either over or underrepresented regarding total population, its survey percentage participation was low. Nevertheless, for the sake of statistical analysis, having $n = 69$ implies that the statistical theoretical assumptions can be fulfilled, having no negative statistical implications at all when analyzing crosstabs.[3]

In terms of location, a list of Argentine provinces was offered when asked for "place of residence". The sample included people from all over the country, although Buenos Aires Province and Buenos Aires City are overrepresented (together they account for 75% of total answers). This fact does not allow to consider this variable as eventually explicative of results.

TABLE 2 | Distribution gender identification—total sample (absolute frequencies and %).

Gender	Frequency (n)	Percentage (%)
Female	2,884	68.6
Male	1,207	28.7
Non-binary	69	1.6
NA	45	1.1
TOTAL	4,205	100

Source: The authors.

Respondents were also asked for level of education, in order to test the popular hypothesis that higher educational levels could be associated with a more positive attitude toward non-binary non-standard options, both in terms of acceptability and adoptability. Analysis, however, showed no significant relationship between these two variables.[4]

Finally, age was an open question, which was later clustered into seven groups: 12–18, 18–24, 25–30, 31–40, 41–50, 51–60, 60+ (age distribution shown at **Table 3**). For reasons of relevance, this variable will not be analyzed here, but in a future study.

RESULTS

Analysis shows a statistically significant association between gender and attitudes toward gender marks, especially in the case of non-binary respondents for the extreme categories (accept and use, and reject and not use).

How do attitudes toward different forms in different positions correlate to each other? **Table 4** shows how attitudes toward the six phrases proposed in the survey correlate to each other, independently of the attitude in itself.

Most correlations between options are weak, which means that there is no particular reason why someone would prefer or prefer not to say "chiques" and "amigos y amigas"; in other words, the absence of correlation between these items can be interpreted as all of them being part of a repertoire that can be activated according to the situation, instead of being structurally co-dependent. The only two exceptions are 1 and 4, 2 and 5, and 3 and 6 (in bold in **Table 4**), which show strong correlations that make them directly proportional. In other words: someone's attitude toward non-binary non-standard option "*chiques*" as a vocative will be the same if that form is being used in a non-vocative position. The same is true of generic masculine or binary standard forms: if a speaker is willing to use "chicos" or "chicos y chicas" as a vocative, they will have the same attitude in a non-vocative position; if a speaker finds its use unacceptable as a vocative, they will find it unacceptable in any other position.

This table also shows that there are low correlations among options that have the same position but differ in form, while there are high correlations between options that have the same form different positions. The fact that phrases with a different form in

[3]As shown, non-binary group clearly surpasses the minimum of $n = 30$ required for considering large samples procedures (for instance, the Central Limit Theorem) at the same time that having n = 69 (crearly a very small sample proportion compared to other genders) did not threatened in any case the statistical assumption needed for the validity of chi-square test, that is, that no more than 25% of cells should have an expected value below 5.

[4]As applied in the rest of this article, when crosstabs were used, data was chi-square tested at a 95% significance level.

TABLE 3 | Distribution of age—total sample (absolute frequencies and %).

Age - Re-coded	Frequency (n)	Percentage (%)	Valid percentage
<18 years	74	1.8	1.8
18–24 years	776	18.5	18.5
25–30 years	786	18.7	18.7
31–40 years	1,319	31.4	31.4
41–50 years	713	17	17
51–60 years	366	8.7	8.7
> Than 60 years	168	4	4
Valid total	4,202	99.9	100
System missing	3	0.1	—
Total	4,205	100	—

Source: The authors.

the same position are weakly or non-correlated seems to show the relative independence of these forms; that is, that accepting and/or adopting "chiques" is not a reason to reject or not use "chicos" or "chicas y chicos.. Therefore, we can understand this relative independence as a sign of being a part of a repertoire that does not privilege or prefer one option over the others. On the contrary, we can hypothesize that a future qualitative study would show that the effective adoption of one form or the other will be contextually dependent. Although it could be interpreted that this matrix globally argues against Hypothesis 2, as there exist strong correlations between the same form in both positions, crosstabs will show that the percentage of attitudes -especially with regard to non-binary non-standard forms-differ in about 10%. Therefore, although they are directly proportional, they show different frequencies.

In the following section, attitudes of the total sample toward the six phrases will be analyzed. For the sake of clarity, results were grouped according to acceptability and adoptability.

Attitudes Toward Non-binary Non-standard Options: *Chiques/Amigues*

The general data (i.e., without distinguishing by gender, place of residence, age, etc.) indicate the following values of acceptance for the non-binary non-standard option, i.e., for "chiques".

As seen in **Figure 1**, in the vocative position, at the beginning of the sentence, 74.2% of the respondents find the non-binary, non-standard option acceptable, 17.6% find it "weird" and 8.3% consider it unacceptable. This indicates that a large number of the survey respondents accept the use of inclusive language in different positions. Hypothesis 2 proposed that "chiques" is more acceptable in the vocative position than in the middle of the sentence, and this difference is verified by 10 points: 74.2% in the vocative position, and 64.9% in the non-vocative position. There are more people who find its use in the non-vocative position weird (24.6%) or unacceptable (10.5%).

Gender identification behaves as expected. Non-binary respondents find it acceptable in vocative position by 84%, compared to 68.5% of men and 76.3% of women. It is found weird by 11.5% of non-binary, 20.9% of men and 16.4% of

TABLE 4 | Correlation Matrix between attitudes toward phrases.

			Phrase 1	Phrase 2	Phrase 3	Phrase 4	Phrase 5	Phrase 6
Spearman's rho	Phrase 1	Correlation Coeff	1	−0.179[a]	0.056[a]	0.761[a]	−0.190[a]	0.069[a]
		Sig. (bilateral)		0	0	0	0	0
		N	4,205	4,205	4,205	4,205	4,205	4,205
	Phrase 2	Correlation Coeff	−0.179[a]	1	−0.021	−0.236[a]	0.807[a]	0.016
		Sig. (bilateral)	0		0.183	0	0	0.308
		N	4,205	4,205	4,205	4,205	4,205	4,205
	Phrase 3	Correlation Coeff	0.056[a]	−0.021	1	0.098[a]	−0.059[a]	0.683[a]
		Sig. (bilateral)	0	0.183		0	0	0
		N	4,205	4,205	4,205	4,205	4,205	4,205
	Phrase 4	Correlation Coeff	0.761[a]	−0.236[a]	0.098[a]	1	−0.234[a]	0.095[a]
		Sig. (bilateral)	0	0	0		0	0
		N	4,205	4,205	4,205	4,205	4,205	4,205
	Phrase 5	Correlation Coeff	−0.190[a]	0.807[a]	−0.059[a]	−0.234[a]	1	0.035[b]
		Sig. (bilateral)	0	0	0	0		0.024
		N	4,205	4,205	4,205	4,205	4,205	4,205
	Phrase 6	Correlation Coeff	0.069[a]	0.016	0.683[a]	0.095[a]	0.035[b]	1
		Sig. (bilateral)	0	0.308	0	0	0.024	
		N	4,205	4,205	4,205	4,205	4,205	4,205

[a]*Correlation is significant at the level 0.01 (bilateral).*
[b]*Correlation is significant at the level 0.05 (bilateral).*
Source: The authors.

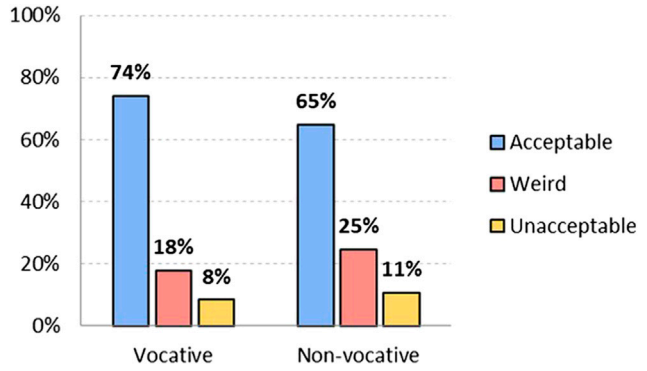

FIGURE 1 | Level of acceptability of non-binary non-standard *option chiques*, both vocative and non-vocative use (in %). Source: The authors.

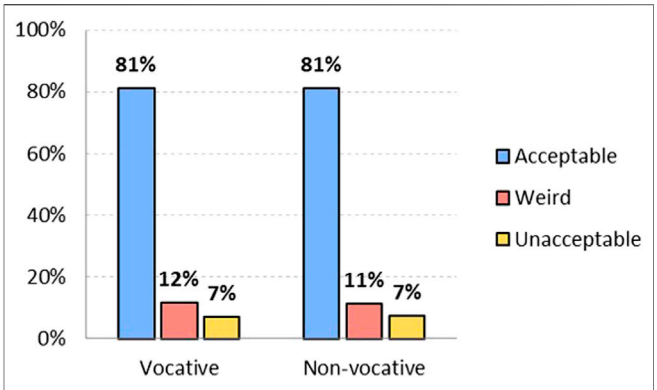

FIGURE 3 | Level of acceptability of generic masculine option *chicos/amigos*, both vocative and non-vocative use (in %). Source: The authors.

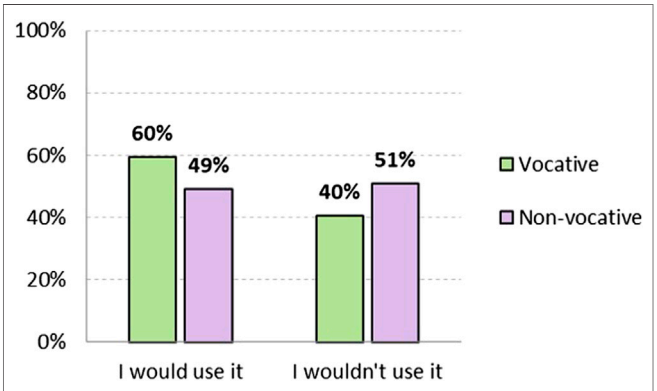

FIGURE 2 | Level of adoptability of non-binary non-standard option *chiques*, both vocative and non-vocative use (in %). Source: The authors.

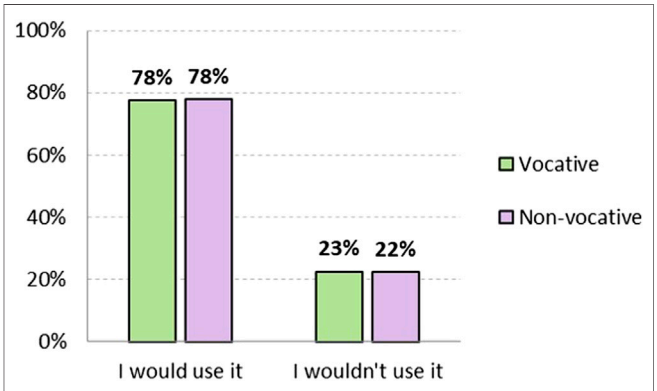

FIGURE 4 | Level of adoptability of generic masculine option *chicos/amigos*, both vocative and non-vocative use (in %). Source: The authors.

women. Finally, it is unacceptable to 4.3% of non-binary, 10.6% of men and 7.3% of women.

In a non-vocative position, non-binary respondents still show higher acceptance than the average: 84% find it acceptable and 10.1% find it weird. Men, on the other hand, find it unacceptable in 15%, weird in 28.8% and acceptable in 56.2%. Finally, women accept the non-binary non-standard option in non-vocative position in 67.9%, find it weird in 23.2% and unacceptable in 8.8%. Thus, in general terms, gender is significant: in the case of non-binary, positive attitudes (of acceptance and willingness to use) are much higher than average, while men's negative attitudes (of non-acceptance and non-use) are higher. Women are usually slightly more positive and less negative than the total sample.

Hypothesis 1 proposed that accepting the use of *chiques* in other people is not the same as being willing to use it oneself. Thus as shown in **Figure 2**, although 59.6% would use it in a vocative position, only 49.1% would do so in a non-vocative position. In both cases, there is a difference of almost 15 points less with respect to acceptability. These results show that there is an attitude that could be described as "tolerant" toward non-binary language: speakers accept its use by others, but are not willing to use it themselves. Acceptability is higher in vocative position, and remarkably lower in non-vocative position, where rejection (non-acceptance) increases from 8.3% to 10.5%.

When analyzed according to gender, non-binary respondents would use it in a vocative position in 87.1%, followed by 64.6% of women, and 48.2% of men. In non-vocative positions, attitudes are less positive, as expected: 72.4% of non-binary, 52.9% of women and 38.5% of men. As in the case of acceptability, differences according to gender identification are significant.

Attitudes Toward Generic Masculine: *Chicos/Amigos*

One of the fears that the use of NGL arouses among its detractors is that it will "deform" the language, i.e., that those who use it will abandon the standard morphology of grammatical gender. Results show that that fear is unjustified, because attitudes toward the use of the generic masculine show high levels of acceptability:

Figure 3 shows that the option of the generic masculine is the most widely accepted, both in the vocative position (81.2% find it acceptable, against 11.6% to whom it sounds weird and 7.2% who consider it unacceptable) and in a non-vocative position (which

81.4% find acceptable, 11.4% find weird and 7.3% find unacceptable). In this case, the attitude toward generic masculine does not change whether or not it is used in a vocative position.

Attitudes of non-binary respondents show that it is not perceived as unacceptable, although they would not use it. In the vocative position, only 11.5% of non-binary respondents find it unacceptable (and 20.3% find it weird), compared to 4.1% (and 7.6%) of men and 8.3% (and 13.2%) of women. In a non-vocative position, the generic masculine "*amigos*" is found to be unacceptable only by 11.5% of non-binary respondents (weird by 24.6% and acceptable by 63.8%), followed by women (78.5% acceptable, 13% weird, and 8.5% unacceptable) and men (89.1% acceptable, 6.8% weird, and 4.2% unacceptable). In the case of generic masculine, as expected, non-binary and women have more-than-the-average negative attitudes than men, much higher in the case of non-binary.

To a slightly lesser extent, but with little significant difference, generic masculine is also the form that would be used most, as seen in **Figure 4**: 77.5% as vocative and 77.9% as non-vocative. Those who would not use it also maintain a similar attitude in both positions: they have 22.5% rejection as vocative and 22.2% in the non-vocative position.

From the perspective of gender, 54.9% of non-binary respondents would use generic masculine in a vocative position, followed by 75.8% of women and 83.3% of men. In a non-vocative position, the situation is similar: 52.1% of non-binary would use it, followed by women (75.5%) and men (84.9%). Again, gender is closely related to attitudes toward generic masculine, as shown by the more positive attitude of binary than non-binary gender identification, and of men than women.

It is worth noting that, unlike the non-binary option, in the case of the generic masculine there is no difference in attitude according to its position (vocative or non-vocative); i.e., it has the same level of acceptance or rejection, and of willingness or unwillingness to use it, in both positions.

This is an expected result: since it is the unmarked option, i.e., the one that is acquired when the language is learned, it sounds equally good in any position. The non-binary option, on the other hand, sounds better where it is used more strategically: at the beginning, as a vocative.

Attitudes Toward Binary Standard Forms: *Chicos y Chicas/Amigos y Amigas*

What happened to the more inclusive, but still binary, standard option: "boys and girls," "*chicos y chicas*"?

This binary standard option is not as conservative as the generic masculine, but neither is it innovative in linguistic or gender terms. Unlike the previous options, it sounds quite weird: although 66.3% find it acceptable as vocative, 32.1% find it weird and almost no-one (1.6%) finds it unacceptable. In the non-vocative position, on the other hand, it is more widely accepted (73.2%), less weird (25.3%) and equally unacceptable (1.6%) (see **Figure 5**). These results clearly show that it is more acceptable in the middle of the sentence than at the beginning.

From the perspective of gender identification, the binary option in vocative position is seen as acceptable especially by women (67.8%), followed by men (63.6%) and non-binary (in a surprisingly high 50.7%, although still very much lower than the average). The relationship is reversed in the case of weirdness: 44.9% of non-binary, 34.8% of men, and 30.7% of women. Finally, as expected, it is seen as unacceptable mostly by non-binary respondents (4.3%), although it was expected a higher rejection rate of the binary from a non-binary perspective. Attitudes regarding this option in a non-vocative position are very similar to those for the vocative position, showing approximately the same percentages as for vocative position.

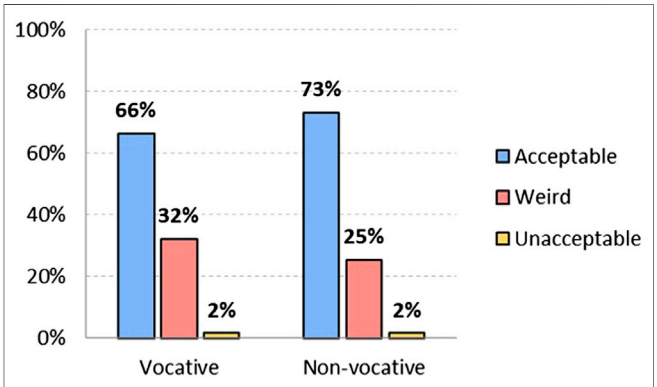

FIGURE 5 | Level of acceptability of binary standard option *chicos y chicas/ amigos y amigas*, both vocative and non-vocative use (in %). Source: The authors.

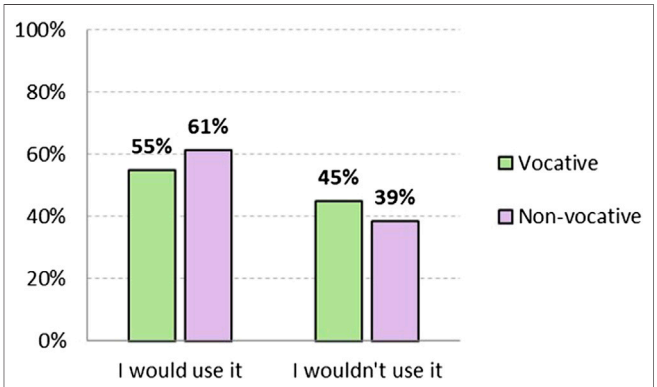

FIGURE 6 | Level of adoptability of binary standard option *chicos y chicas/ amigos y amigas*, both vocative and non-vocative use (in %). Source: The authors.

In terms of use, **Figure 6** shows that, in there are also more people who are willing to use the binary standard form in a non-vocative position (61.4%) than in a vocative one (55%). However, the number of people who would not use it is very high: 45% in a vocative position and 38.7% in a non-vocative position.

From the perspective of gender identification, the binary standard option is more adoptable in a vocative position by women (56.7%), followed by men (51.7%), and non-binary (37.6%). In a non-vocative position, it is more adoptable by women (63.7%), followed by men (57.1%) and non-binary (39.1%). In this case, women have a more than average positive attitude toward its use, either in a vocative or non-vocative position. As in the previous analyses, there are relatively high levels of adoptability of the binary standard form in non-binary speakers.

Similar to the non-binary non-standard option, "chiques," the binary standard option generates more acceptability than adoptability. The reason, however, is probably the reverse:

some people accept it because they know it is "correct", but it sounds so bad that they do not want to say it.

DISCUSSION

As pointed out earlier, the main limitation of this study is its very restricted survey design, where only six phrases were evaluated, due to the need for a short form to avoid the usually high levels of attrition of web-based surveys. A second limitation is regarding to sampling: as it is a non-probabilistic convenience sample, thus, results cannot be generalized to the population of Argentina. In the same way, other sampling biases prevent us from studying whether the event is typical of the most cosmopolitan cities or not. However, significant differences and association between analyzed variables are sufficient to be theoretically relevant.

The two hypotheses tested in this study seemed to be proven by the results.

As stated, difference between acceptability and adoptability was observed in the evaluation of the three forms (non-binary, masculine and binary) in both two positions (vocative and non-vocative). The innovative (non-binary) form was, to speakers in general, more acceptable than adoptable. The opposite is true for the generic masculine: although it is slightly less acceptable, it is largely adoptable. This is a consequence of and evidence that the generic masculine still works as the non-marked grammatical gender in Spanish.

The non-vocative position was the one that least accepts innovation; on the contrary, the place at the beginning of the sentence is where the non-binary option, "chiques", was more accepted. The vocative can be interpreted as helping to propose an identity and define the speaker and the addressee, as a typical phenomenon of social deixis. Saying "chiques" takes more cognitive effort, because it is the marked, non-standard option. However, using it creates an interpersonal relationship, where the speakers recognize each other as people who share a non-binary conception of gender, even when they are not willing to use it extensively in their speech.

Is this a process of grammatization of a third gender in Spanish? This is a question that few scholars ask, and even fewer can answer. The fact that it is far more accepted as a vocative, in a peripheral part of the phrase, seems to show that it is not. Furthermore, the high levels of acceptability and adoptability of generic masculine, not only by the general population, but also when seen from the perspective of gender identification, show that the form is very much alive. However, the significant differences observed according to gender show that the marks of grammatical gender are closely related to gender identification. In this case, attitudes were as expected, with a more conservative tendency in the case of men, and a more disruptive one in the case of non-binary respondents. Women, on the other hand, behave slightly more like non-binary people in the cases of generic masculine and non-standard non binary *chiques*. However, women's attitudes differ in the case of binary standard options ("*chicos y chicas*" and "*amigos y amigas*"), which seemed to be more acceptable and adoptable to women than to the rest of the sample.

Are inclusive language activists a group of purists that want to impose such language on everybody? The high levels of acceptability and adoptability of all forms show that they are not mutually exclusive, but a part of a repertoire. In a future study I will analyze this aspect in greater depth by building a typology of speakers according to their attitudes toward the three forms proposed.

Finally, we think our study allows for a more nuanced approach to the study of linguistic attitudes. By avoiding the "positive/neutral/negative" scale we can understand attitudes not only in terms of value judgments, but in terms of acceptance. Thus, attitudes are not only opinions toward linguistic forms, but attitudes toward speakers, as people often can accept in others something they do not like personally or are not willing to adopt. In second place, by evaluating vocative/non-vocative positions we have been able to understand the pragmatic impact of syntax in linguistic attitudes. This is especially important as many research in the field address linguistic forms de-contextualized from verbal context. Finally, with regard to research on GNL and ideological motivations, we observe the role of linguistic ideologies in shaping attitudes toward non-standard non-binary forms. The distance between accepting other speakers' use of non-standard non-binary *chiques* but resisting its adoption in one's own speech shows a non binary political (i.e. gender) ideology, but a more conservative linguistic ideology. Further investigation is required, in this aspect, to understand the social motivations, and their impacts, behind this attitude toward non-standard non-binary forms.

Unlike other surveys on the matter (e.g. Gustaffson Sendén et al., 2015), we did not ask for "use", as it is often not transparent to speakers and is more difficult to account for. Kalinowski (2020a) shows that only 33% of Argentine Twitter users employed a non-binary non-standard form during 2019, without distinguishing legitimate uses from quotations, parodies, etc. The data in the current study, on the contrary, show that 60% of respondents would use it, at least in the vocative position. This means that reported use does not reflect actual use, and that a question thus formulated ("Do you use it?") can be ambiguous. Thus, defining it as willingness to use, or adoptability, makes it clearer that the respondent is assessing willingness to act, not the action in itself, and this could be a methodological asset for future research on linguistic attitudes.

We find necessary, for future research, to explore contextual factors conditioning the adoption of non-binary non-standard forms through qualitative sociolinguistic studies. This will allow for understanding how these forms are selected and used in actual settings. Furthermore, in-depth interviews would allow for better understand what "acceptance/weirdess/non-acceptance" means to speakers, especially in those who are not willing to use these forms. Finally, cross-cultural comparison will help deepening the social motivations of these attitudes, especially with regard to place of residence (rural/urban) and nationality.

DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

The raw data supporting the conclusion of this article will be made available by the authors, without undue reservation.

ETHICS STATEMENT

Ethical review and approval was not required for the study on human participants in accordance with the local

legislation and the institutional requirements. Written informed consent from the participants' legal guardian/ next of kin was not required to participate in this study in accordance with the national legislation and the institutional requirements.

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The authors confirm being the sole contributors of this work and have approved it for publication.

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REVIEW
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Trans Women and Public Restrooms: The Legal Discourse and Its Violence

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Safe access to public restrooms is an essential need for participation in civic life, in the workplace, in educational settings, and other public spaces. This is no different for transgender people. However, access to public restrooms according to gender identity has sparked controversy to the extent that transgender people face embarrassment and even expulsion from these spaces. The lack of access of the transgender population to public restrooms has a negative impact on the physical and mental health of this population. Thus, this article aims to address the main consequences that the ban on the use of bathrooms has for the transgender population, specifically the access of transgender women to the women's restroom. We covered some legal aspects of "bathroom laws" and the main arguments in this discussion. We understand that the prohibition of access to the restroom constitutes a form of gender violence and discrimination, as we conclude that the arguments that express concerns about safety are not supported.

Keywords: transgender rights, bathroom laws, discourse analysis, sexual violence, privacy, discrimination, security, public restrooms

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INTRODUCTION

> At the restroom door, the security guard came to me and asked for my documents. I replied: "why?" He said: "you know why". I replied: "I don't know". So I went into the bathroom with my friend and I suddenly realized that the bathroom was being evacuated. I was alone in the bathroom. He sent a cleaning woman into the bathroom and asked everyone to leave. At the time... I think that was the biggest humiliation I went through in my whole life and, believe me, I've been quite humiliated. Because he treated me as if I were a delinquent, but not just any delinquent, a highly dangerous one, who might risk those people, so dangerous that a public place needed to be evacuated[1] (Maria Clara Spinelli[2]).
>
> Once the door is closed, a white toilet, between 40 and 50 cm height, as if it were a perforated ceramic stool that connects our defecating body to an invisible universal cloaca (Preciado, 2018).

Surveillance, violence, humiliation, embarrassment, trauma, and suffering are everyday actions and affections in the lives of some individuals who need access to public restrooms in Brazil and throughout the world. Preciado (2018) notes that it is when architecture seems to

[1] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VJ_EuQHNm6E

[2] Maria Clara Spinelli is a theater, film, and television actress. She was the first transsexual actress to play a character of a cisgender woman on Rede Globo, in the soap opera A força do querer (2017).

harmlessly serve basic natural needs that a perverse and effective policy of access restriction is established, in which doors, windows, furniture, walls, partitions, exits, and entrances work as a complex apparatus at the service of *technologies of gender*[3]. Just as there is extensive research in Gender Studies regarding the complex network of constraints involving the presence of women in public spaces[4], it is urgent to analyze the policy of transphobic spatial segregation that permeates many practices and functions, which has as one of its most violent exclusion and segregation devices in the access to public restrooms. The language in social practices and subjective relationships actively participates in these exclusion devices.

From the account of Maria Clara Spinelli, we have a sample of how discrimination operates. It is a complex apparatus that involves not only the State and its institutions, but the smallest and singular dimension—although not the less cruel—of everyone who authorizes themselves to be the "inspector of other's gender." This discourse involves, for example, the security agent of a shopping mall, who, from misunderstanding games of glance, recognizes certain individuals as subjects, and authorizes himself to question them, demanding their documents, saying "you know why." It is by returning to the other the evidence of historical violence that the arguments turn into a "you know why," closing the door and locking the other inside the very own violence that victimizes them.

Language helps us realize how certain ideological processes materialize, and, in this case, we are facing a very familiar functioning. According to Pêcheux (1975/2009), it is not just about "everyone knows"—i.e., fundamental ideological evidence—, but the "you know," which implies an enunciative game in which the subject is placed as accomplice of the violence that affects them: "you and I know why[5]." A perverse game that finds shelter in the social relations, as all the women present agree with the scene and participate in it, leaving the bathroom. We ask ourselves: what if they stayed? What if, by staying, they showed the security guard that the only dangerous thing was his prejudiced attitude? And that the assumption of a danger and threat say much more about who acts that way and where their desire rests? Maria Clara remembers that the restroom is a public space. Are we really willing to live together?

This account, or rather, this outburst, is available on Youtube, which confirms that there is a voice, a face, a body giving life to those words, faltering in the syntax, exposing how disturbing it is to express oneself in a traumatic experience. If we consider enunciation, we can notice when the speech trembles, when the pause interrupts the word, when the nervous laughter is followed by the expression: "and, believe me, I've been humiliated a lot." The most humiliating episode in Spinelli's life takes place at the entrance of a "Women's" restroom, as the door sign indicated. And we know that crossing that door, or rather, crossing that border, says much more about the subject's relationship with desire—by a psychoanalytic (Allouch, 2010) perspective—and the subject's relationship with a naming process, which is part *of a repeated norm* (Butler, 1993/2013, p. 161), than a biological, anatomical, or genetic data.

The bathroom is part of the exclusion operation of cities and, as Preciado (2018) points out, it is necessary to think of the historicity of the public bathroom as a bourgeois institution responsible the management of bodily waste, especially from the nineteenth century onwards, which emerges in accordance with conjugal and domestic codes crossed by the spatial division of gender, the normalization of heterosexuality[6] and the pathologization of homosexuality: "[...] In the twentieth century, bathrooms became authentic public inspection cells, in which the adequacy of each body with the current codes of masculinity and femininity is evaluated[7]" It is as if an unwritten law authorizes people going to the bathroom to inspect the bodies of those who choose to cross the border that separates the inside and the outside (of the door and of gender).

We have a significant sample that such violence practices operate daily not only on the doors of public restrooms, but through a set of statements surrounding those places, like the speech of state deputy Douglas Garcia when he stated during a session in the Legislative Assembly of São Paulo in April 2019, that: "if by chance inside a woman's bathroom, that my sister or my mother is using, a man who feels like a woman or who may have taken off or put whatever he wants on, enters, I don't care: I'm going to beat him out of there first and then call the police" (Huffpost Brasil, 2019). The deputy also said that it was necessary to respect "the biology and values of our people." This statement puts at stake a series of meanings that not only make invisible and deny gender identity by erasing the designation "trans-person" or "transvestite" by referring to them as "a man who feels like a woman or who may have taken off or put whatever he wants on," as it also shows how this issue is crossed by moral arguments, since the deputy uses his supposed family responsibility (as a brother and son) to justify his conduct in face of this type of situation[8]. This is a conduct that, incidentally, also raises not only

[3]Expression by Lauretis (1989) to define the set of institutions and practical techniques and functions that (re)produce the truth of masculinity and femininity (Lauretis, 1989).

[4]On the one hand, we consider, from a discursive perspective, the constitutive relationship between the city and the subject (Orlandi, 2004), on the other hand, we also take into account the dialogues that such relations generate between Linguistics and History with respect to coercions and transgressions in the gender field (Cf. Chaves, 2015; Cestari, 2015, among other works developed in the Women in Discourse Research Group. https://www.iel.unicamp.br/br/content/mulheres-em-discurso).

[5]Historically, it is not difficult to think that this type of statement supports practices of violence that pervade several enunciative instances marked by unowned statements: "I don't know why I'm beating, but you know why you're being beaten," "you were asking to be raped," etc., in which an alleged knowledge of the victim participates in the network of arguments that support the aggressor's violence.

[6]As Preciado (2018) points out: "[...] Two opposing logics dominate the women's and men's restrooms. While the female bathroom is the reproduction of a domestic space in the middle of the public space, the male bathroom is an addendum to the public space, in which the laws of visibility and upright position are intensified, which traditionally defined the public space as a space of masculinity. While the women's bathroom operates as a mini-pan-optic, in which women collectively monitor their degree of heterosexual femininity and in which every sexual approach results in male aggression, the men's bathroom appears as a breeding ground for sexual experimentation."

[7]https://www.select.art.br/lixo-e-genero-mijar-cagar-masculino-feminino/

[8]In this sense, it is also recurrent, in the speeches that discuss access to the women's bathroom for trans women, that the male enunciator takes a position occupying roles that express a family and/or personal relationship with women, such as the

the violence of what was said—"beat him out of there first and then call the police"—, but also the violence of what was silenced: what was taken off? What was put on? There we have the cynical modesty that forbids the enunciation of the names of the genitalia as a counterpoint to the authoritarian shamelessness to openly incite violence.

As a result, São Paulo state deputy Erica Malunguinho, a trans woman, filed a lawsuit for breaking parliamentary decorum that resulted in a verbal warning against Deputy Douglas Garcia by the Legislative Assembly's Ethics Council (Huffpost Brasil, 2019).

In our theoretical course, we seek to foster possible dialogues between the field of materialist discourse analysis and feminist and gender studies. This dialogue allows us, on the one hand, to take language as the place of materialization of ideological processes (Pêcheux, 1975/2009), to question the logically stabilized universe of discursive constructions regarding events, questioning the functioning of ideology, its contradictions, and the evidence that essentialize the subjects and their effects of meanings in History. On the other hand, the political and theoretical work of Feminist and Gender Studies allows the denaturalization of the notion of identity as something pre-discursive, natural and biological, interrogating the ways in which the subjectivity of the gendered subject is historically constructed. From an analytical point of view, our view goes through several enunciative instances (legal documents, testimonies, audiovisual productions), taking into account the significant specificities. This gesture seeks to work on the events linked to gender violence in its multiplicity, showing the heterogeneity of the discursive processes, their contradictions, dominances, and resistance movements, without any instance overlapping the other.

Considering the aforementioned, this paper aims to address the controversy over the restriction of restroom use according to gender identity by the transgender population[9], specifically by transgender women. We analyzed some legal aspects of the so-called "bathroom laws" and the main arguments in this discussion, especially those related to the allegations of risk to other women in those bathrooms. We understand that the lack of access or the prohibition of access to restrooms is a type of gender violence that negatively impacts the presence and circulation of transgender people in different social spaces, resulting in segregation and ghettoization of this population. At the same time, we analyze the process that constitute what support such prohibition policies, processes that reinforce historically dominant meanings about masculinity and femininity, and that build the image of a subject-other, upon which meanings of violence (particularly sexual violence) and animality are projected.

BATHROOM LAW

Safe access to public restrooms is a right and a necessity for participation in civic life, in the workplace, in educational settings and other public spaces. However, many transgender people are afraid to go to bathrooms, as they are exposed to embarrassment (and violence) and may even be prevented from accessing them. This stems from discriminatory practices already socially established and not legally regulated, given the absence of clearer and/or effective laws or legal provisions that protect the rights of transgender people to access these spaces without embarrassment or hostility. Therefore, the right to access bathrooms is fundamental to the fight for equality in the transgender community, which is reveal by the many legal cases that dealing with protection against discrimination that refer to this issue (Elkind, 2006, p. 922).

The legal debates about the right to use restrooms by transgender people in the United States add to the set of studies known as the "bathroom law" or "bathroom bill," which adds legal provisions and analyses ranging from the right to work to the dismantling of the racial segregation experienced in that country[10] (Rios and Resadori, 2015, p. 204). Levi and Redman (2010, p. 133) go so far as to say that "bathroom inequality is one of the greatest barriers to full integration of transgender people in American life." Rios and Resadori (2015, p. 204) argue that the accumulation of the American legal debate on "bathroom laws" provides valuable arguments for improving this discussion in the Brazilian context.

Trans-exclusionary bathroom laws (or bills)[11] end up giving new meaning to these equipment by targeting its use exclusively to cisgender people, segregating the transgender population as a result. These discriminatory initiatives reverse the burden of crime, by penalizing trans people who assert their right to use social facilities, instead of penalizing the very discriminatory parliamentary practices that intend to legislate for the exclusion and invisibility of this population. They are usually based not only on a definition of sex as a set of physical characteristics seen as *immutable,* but also on the legal assignment of sex registered in a person's first birth record. For example, a bill presented in South Carolina—United States—[12] understood that the "*original birth certificate may be relied upon as definitive evidence of an*

position of *father* and *husband*, saying that it is necessary to protect, for example, their daughters and wives from possible "sexual predators" in the bathrooms. We will also address this aspect later.

[9]We assume the definition of a transgender person as someone who does not identify themselves with the gender originally assigned to them at their birth, including, therefore, transsexual women and men. The considerations we make regarding the use of the female bathroom by transgender women in this article also apply, considering the Brazilian socio-cultural context, to transvestites, as this group also has a feminine gender identity and demands the use of the feminine bathroom, as well as transgender women. We use the expression "cisgender people" to designate people who are not transgender, and cisnormativity as the norm that establishes cisgenerity (the condition of cisgender people) as the desirable social standard.

[10]The arguments that supported racial segregation during the Jim Crow laws in the United States are analogous to arguments in favor of trans-exclusionary positions, as they both harbor similar fears about the need to protect women and children from a group of people perceived as capable to corrupt public morals, health, and order (Pogofsky, 2017, p. 753).

[11]We designate "trans-exclusionary bathroom laws" those laws that aim to prohibit the use of restrooms by transgender people according to their gender identities, and "trans-inclusive bathroom laws" those laws that aim to guarantee access to restrooms for transgender people according to their gender identities.

[12]Senate Bill 1306, South Carolina General Assembly 121st Session, 2016, http://www.scstatehouse.gov/billsearch.php?billnumbers=1306&session=121&summary=B.

individual's sex." The emphasis on the *original* birth certificate as *definitive* evidence is not accidental, as transgender people, including minors, may have later rectified the assignment of sex in their official documents[13]. The proposed wording therefore implies that even transgender people who have already managed to rectify their documents could not, in theory, use the bathrooms in accordance with their current official documentation, which denies the right to recognition of civil identity and legal status of transgender people.

On the other hand, it is noteworthy that no bathroom law has so far been able to explain how and by whom a person's gender would be effectively verified [Movement Advancement Project (MAP), 2016, p. 4] in everyday contexts of using restrooms. This is especially salient for trans-exclusionary laws that are based on a notion of sex as physical or chromosomal anatomy. In this regard, laws that forbid the use of restrooms due to gender identity are impossible to enforce, unless the government is willing to engage in invasive policing of the use of restrooms by its citizens [Movement Advancement Project (MAP), 2016, p. 9] or endorse people to informally "watch" each other, promoting a social suspicion environment. Those surveillance practices necessary for the application of trans-exclusionary bathroom laws are based on the idea that it is evident the determination of someone's access to restrooms through bodily characteristics (Beauchamp, 2019, p. 106), and that transgender people practice "gender fraud."

The term "trans-exclusionary" has often been used to specify radical feminist currents that advocate the exclusion of trans women from feminism, which includes the acronym *TERF* (trans-exclusionary radical feminist) (Bagagli, 2019). This exclusion is based on the basic premise that the fight for rights of transgender people is antagonistic with the rights of cisgender women. In addition to the naming of this feminist current, the use of the expression "trans-exclusionary" is capable of designating an extensive set of transphobic practices that defend exclusion or effectively exclude transgender people from different spaces, which includes, in the scope of the analysis of this work, the exclusion of trans women from the women's bathroom. In this sense, we understand that the exclusion of transgender people due to their gender identities is a form of manifestation of transphobia and/or cissexism. It is not by chance that several trans-exclusionary radical feminists advocate positions favorable to the exclusion of trans women from women's bathrooms. According to Jones and Slater (2020, p. 835), over the last decade, hostility directed toward trans people from some factions within feminism has monopolized public discourse around the movement and the access to the toilet has thus become a symbol overloaded with significance.

Some authors consider a distinction, although slight, between transphobia and cissexism. While transphobia, for Serano (2016), implies fear or aversion, broadly, to all identities, expressions, appearances, and behaviors related to gender that deviate from social norms, cissexism is based, more specifically, on the belief that the gender identities of transgender people are inferior or less authentic than the identities of cisgender people. Kaas (2012), on the other hand, understands that transphobia refers more usually to the most obvious and ostentatious examples of discrimination and violence against transgender people, while cissexism relates to discourses and practices that invalidate transgender identities in a subtler or veiled way.

Free access to the bathroom without the fear of being embarrassed or expelled due to one's gender identity can be described as a form of cisgender privilege. The cisgender (or cissexual) privilege is thought by Serano (2016) through the action of a "double standard that promotes the idea that transsexual genders are distinct from, and less legitimate than, cissexual genders." The act of gendering, defined by Serano as the process of distinguishing between females and males in which "we actively and compulsively assign genders to all people based on usually just a few visual and audio cues" has a central role in establishing the tacit rules of the use of the bathroom according to gender. The condition of invulnerability to misgendering[14] is, in general, a cisgender privilege. Transgender people, particularly those who "pass" as cisgender, can enjoy conditional cisgender privilege, because although they may have their genders legitimately recognized, this can be threatened from the moment their transgender condition is revealed or addressed. The need to "pass" as cisgender, in the context of using the bathroom, aims to circumvent the stigmas, both visible and hidden, associated with gender non-conformity and is carried out through a continuous act in everyday life (Kessler and McKenna, 2000, p. 17).

Preciado (2018) reminds us of the existence of this kind of unwritten law that allows everyone to publicly control femininity, initially through looking and, when in doubt, through the speaking: "hey, hey, you're at the wrong door," "the men's bathroom is over there," among other more or less cynical statements that insist on putting the gender "inside the box." This process of interpellation crossed by the look and the power of the word concerns a complex network that involves those who feel entitled to speak—why would they feel in agreement with their gender?—and approach the other, not anywhere, but exactly where the choice is binary: male or female. In the case of Deputy Douglas' speech, he not only poses himself as a "law enforcement" of the other's gender, but at the same time his argument is justified "by the women" taken care by him: sister and mother, women figures that allegedly need male protection.

CONSEQUENCES OF HOSTILITY AGAINST TRANSGENDER PEOPLE AND THE LEGAL ASPECTS OF USING RESTROOMS

We assume that the laws, measures, and positions that support the prohibition of transgender people accessing bathrooms according to their gender identities are expressions of hostility

[13]It is relevant to consider that access to rectification of official documents for transgender people may vary according to the legislation of each country and that minors in general may have to face greater bureaucracy and stricter legal requirements than trans adult people.

[14]Misgender is the act of mistakenly assigning a gender that does not match someone's gender identity.

and discrimination[15] against this group. As Machado (n.d.) points out, hostility toward transgender people, particularly regarding the use of public bathrooms, inhibits not only the use of the bathroom itself, but also the presence and circulation of trans people in several other spaces, including schools, work, and leisure areas. The journalist also points out that failing to go to the bathroom when necessary is one of the risk factors for urinary tract infection, which can affect the bladder, ureters, urethra, and kidneys. The lack of safe access to bathrooms by transgender people is also associated with mental health problems, conditions related to stress, and increased levels of suicidal thoughts and behavior (Herman, 2013).

The binary conception of gender that underlies the spaces segregated by gender ignores or marginalizes those people who do not fit the norms of gender expression, whether they are transgender or cisgender. These people can be seen as being in a "wrong" bathroom, whether male or female. Kogan (2008) understands that the very binary division of bathrooms between male and female impacts on the way bodies and gender identities are interpreted, as this division is seen as the unquestionable evidence that human bodies can only be male or female. Thus, bodies that do not easily fit into this binary classification are considered unacceptable and can be ordered to leave those places. Black transgender people showed higher rates of exclusion and embarrassment in bathrooms than white transgender people (Herman, 2013), which indicates that the fight for the right to access the public bathrooms must also consider race and class (Patel, 2017).

Bathrooms segregated by gender implicitly shows that there are only two possible forms of gender expression and, therefore, restrict public acceptance of transgender individuals who defy social norms (Rudin et al., 2014, p. 724). On the other hand, the heightened and recent debate on the use of restrooms by transgender people is also seen with surprise, considering that transgender people have already used public bathrooms for countless years without other people noticing them. But the question here is not only related to the historical existence of trans individuals in society, but to the fact that in the current conditions of production, the conditions of existence, permanence, and circulation of such individuals in the public space go beyond the everyday conversations, and public and private institutions debates. When we turn to the current political scenario in Brazil, we know that the discussion about sexuality and gender goes beyond the walls of epistemological productions and disputes over identifications that have marked the theoretical and activist field in gender and Queer studies (cf. França et al., 2019). Such discussion also concerns a reactionary wave that marks the current political debate in Brazil, its electoral platforms and the evangelical groups in the national congress, which have a position regarding what "already existed without people realizing it." To talk about it means that processes that cross language and history, such as nominations, designations, activism and theoretical productions, videos, poetics and aesthetics, among others, disturb the meanings already established on the issue.

For the United States Department of Labor Occupational Safety Health Administration (2015, p. 1), restricting transgender employees to only use bathrooms that are not consistent with their gender identity, or segregate them from other workers, requiring the use of gender-neutral bathrooms or other specific bathrooms, isolate these employees, and may make them fear for their physical safety. As a result, the agency recommends that all workers, including transgender workers, should be able to access bathrooms that match their gender identities. However, in the United States, measures that protect access to the bathroom by transgender people vary by state, and there is no federal law associated [Movement Advancement Project (MAP), 2016]. The controversies generated by the use of restrooms by transgender people have unfortunately been used for some employers to fire transgender employees (particularly those who start their gender transitions after being employed) or to avoid hiring them, aggravating discrimination, and social exclusion.

A survey (James et al., 2016) carried out with 28,000 transgender or diverse gender people, with 18 years old or more in the United States in 2015, showed the following situations experienced up to 1 year before the research: 48% *sometimes* avoided and 11% *always* avoided using the bathroom, totaling 59%; 32% limited their drinking habits to avoid using the bathroom; 24% had their presence in a particular bathroom questioned or challenged; 12% were verbally harassed, physically attacked, or sexually abused when accessing or using a bathroom; 9% had access to the bathroom effectively denied, with undocumented residents (23%), and interviewees working in the clandestine economy (20%) (such as sex work, drug sales, and other currently criminalized jobs) being twice more likely to be denied access to restrooms than the general sample; and 8% reported having a urinary tract infection, kidney infection or other kidney-related problem as a result of avoiding using the bathroom.

Rios and Resadori (2015, p. 200) cite judicial cases (until 2014; Brasil, 2014) of Brazilian trans or transvestite women who were prevented from using public female restrooms and had their indemnity lawsuits denied by the State due to the understanding that they would not have suffered discrimination, embarrassment, psychological, or moral harassment. This understanding, however, is based on the premise that transgender and transvestite women are "in fact" men, and therefore could not denounce the impediment to accessing the women's bathroom as discrimination. On the other hand, transsexual and transvestite women have also won victories in their claims for moral damages due to the restriction of using women's bathroom, showing that these decisions still diverge in the Brazilian courts.

The Brazilian Supreme Court (STF) recognized in 2014 that the use of bathroom by transgender people is a general repercussion thesis resulting from the Extraordinary Appeal (*Recurso Extraordinário*—RE) (845779), which, in turn, seeks to reform the Court of Justice of Santa Catarina (2012) decision

[15]Levi and Redman (2010, p. 136) understand that forcing a transgender person to use a bathroom that is inconsistent with their gender identity is a form of discrimination, as it is based on disregarding the gender identity of transgender people while respecting the identity of cisgender people. Discrimination against transgender people leads to violence, poverty, and social isolation, in addition to negatively interfering with access to social, economic, and health support systems (Barnett et al., 2018, p. 237).

that had dismissed an indemnity lawsuit for moral damages to a transgender woman that was forbidden to enter a female bathroom in a shopping center and who, shaken by what happened, ended up urinating in her own clothes, in front of everyone there (Rios and Resadori, 2015, p. 203). The Court of Justice of Santa Catarina (TJ-SC) understood that there was no moral damage, but "mere dissatisfaction" (Notícias STF, 2015). The legal question, therefore, is to determine whether the requirement that a transgender person use designated to the gender they do not identify with is an offensive conduct against the dignity of the human person and personality rights, and therefore indemnifiable as moral injury (Notícias STF, 2014). Rios and Resadori (2015, p. 210) argue that simply ignoring transsexuality in a space as meaningful and vital as public bathrooms implies disregarding or excluding transgender people due to their gender identities and also hurting the heart of the constitutional protection of human dignity.

However, the lawsuit has not been completed so far, as it was interrupted in 2015 by a request for a review from Minister Luiz Fux (Notícias STF, 2015). At least 778 similar cases, currently suspended, would be concluded with the decision of the RE (Notícias STF, 2015). One of the justifications for this request for review and this interruption is that the matter would generate, according to the minister, a "reasonable moral disagreement" so that "social opinion" should be considered on the topic. Minister Luís Roberto Barroso had proposed the following thesis for general repercussion: "transsexuals have the right to be socially treated according to their gender identity, including the use of public bathrooms." The opinion of the Attorney General's Office had also concluded that "it is not possible for a person to be treated socially as if they belong to a different sex from which they identify with and present themselves publicly, as sexual identity finds protection in personality rights and dignity of the human person."

Carvalho Filho (2015) is surprised before Minister Fux's argument, because, according to the author, there is no glimpse of reason in an eventual moral disagreement in view of the inexistence of a plurality of constitutionally legitimate options in the case under analysis. The author points out that reasonable moral disagreements are constituted by the "lack of consensus on controversial topics whose antagonistic solutions are constructed as rational products," thus involving "diverse positions that coexist within society," but which are equally legitimate constitutionally.

The absence of a determination by the Supreme Court of Brazil on this issue allows for municipal laws to be passed aimed at forbidding the use of restrooms by transgender people according to their gender identities, such as Law No. 7,520 of Campina Grande (Paraíba) signed on May 25, 2020 by Mayor Romero Rodrigues (Campina Grande, 2020), which, by prohibiting the "interference of 'gender ideology[16]' in public and private elementary schools," had determined that the use of bathroom, locker rooms, and other spaces in schools should "continue to be used according to the biological sex of each individual, with any interference of the so-called 'gender identity' being prohibited," and establishing fines to the School Manager or the school owner (if private) if the law was not met. However, a preliminary decision granted by the Justice in a public civil action filed by the Human Rights Nucleus of the Public Defender of the State of Paraíba on June 10, 2020 annulled the application of fines to schools in Campina Grande that allow the use of bathrooms in accordance with the gender identity of young transgender or diverse gender people and also determined that students can use bathrooms in accordance with their gender identities (G1 PB GLOBO, 2020). Another similar municipal law, in Sorocaba (São Paulo), was considered unconstitutional by the São Paulo Court of Justice (Viapiana, 2019).

Despite the absence of a comprehensive and nationwide resolution, it is noteworthy that Resolution No. 12 of the National Council Against Discrimination and for the Rights of Lesbians, Gays, Transvestites, and Transsexuals of January 16, 2015 (CNCD, 2015), when establishing the parameters to guarantee the conditions of access and permanence of transvestite and transsexual people in educational systems and institutions, decided that the use of bathrooms, locker rooms, and other spaces segregated by gender must be in accordance with each person's gender identity. Within the specific scope of the Federal Public Ministry (MPU), Ordinance No. 7 of March 1, 2018 of Attorney General's Office of Brazil establishes that the use of bathrooms, locker rooms, and other spaces segregated by gender is guaranteed according to each individual's identity. This ordinance includes service users, members, employees, interns, and outsourced workers under the MPU (Brasil, 2018).

On October 14, 2020, the Attorney General's Office (AGU) sent an appeal (embargoes of declaration) to the Supreme Court of Brazil to clarify points of the trial that framed homophobia and transphobia within the racism law. The AGU seeks to find out to what extent the criminalization of prejudice against LGBT people affects religious aspects. The Supreme Court's decision had already determined that "freedom was ensured so that religious leaders can argue in their cults that homoaffective conduct is not in accordance with their beliefs, as long as such manifestations do not constitute hate speech, thus understood the externalizations that incite discrimination, hostility or violence against people because of their sexual orientation or gender identity" (Folha de S. Paulo, 2020). According to Amparo (Folha de S. Paulo, 2020), the federal government intends to expand exceptions to the criminalization of homophobia and transphobia. One of the points that the AGU demands explanations for refers precisely to "the control of access to certain places open to the public (such as bathrooms, locker rooms, penitentiary establishments, and public transportation wagons)" and understands that "the control of access to certain places open to the public based on physiobiological aspects should not be characterized as an act of racism when the restriction of entry has been established in favor of protecting the privacy of vulnerable groups," assuming, therefore, that "the access to public spaces can be organized based on the physiobiological criterion of gender, and not on the social identity of the user" (Advocacia-Geral da União, 2020, p. 36–37).

[16]We share the position of França et al. (2019), in understanding that one of the functions of the designation "gender ideology" is the negation of the ideological within the ideological.

In the USA, most trans-exclusionary bathroom bills are not approved, with the notable exception, for example, of the House Bill 2 (HB2) in 2016 in North Carolina, which determined that individuals should use the bathroom that corresponded to the sex originally assigned on their birth certificates in this state. This law was a response to a regulation (*ordinance*) in the city of Charlotte that had established anti-discrimination measures that included using the bathroom according to gender identity. In 2017, HB2 was revoked by House Bill 142, which, however, also vetoes local governments to approve anti-discrimination measures for the use of bathrooms until December 1, 2020 (Barnett et al., 2018, p. 233). The Trump administration recently caused the U.S. Department of Justice to rescind the Obama administration's position that established that non-discrimination laws require schools to allow transgender students to use bathrooms that match their gender identity (Peter et al., 2017).

Lopes (2017) and Wilson (2016) understand that the fear spread around the use of bathrooms by transgender people was a widely popular strategy used by conservatives to stop measures aimed at combating discrimination against LGBT people in the United States. It is worth remembering that access to bathroom is part of the protections against discrimination, but anti-discrimination measures or laws address more issues than just this one [Movement Advancement Project (MAP), 2016, p. 2]. For Wilson (2016, p. 1386) "the bathroom narrative has emerged [since 2008] as the main rhetorical weapon against protecting LGBT people from discrimination in public places [in the United States]."

When we look back at the arguments that support trans-exclusionary legal measures, we face many evidence based on a pre-discursive conception of sex, in Butler's (1990/2017) terms, the idea that sex is a gross matter, unquestionable, linked to nature, therefore excluded from the social context, where gender would fit in. At the same time, such arguments are produced within a contradiction that arises from the imaginary around masculinity and femininity that constitute the "bathroom narratives": the idea that women are defenseless and men are aggressive by nature; then, we face a set of attributes that makes the social and the nature contexts not that far from each other. Thus, perceiving the way sex is part of the argumentative plot of such measures is one of the ways of realizing two mechanisms that work together, one supporting the other: (1) a transphobic ideological process based on the very denial of ideology to make nature as the only truth of things and (2) a process of sedimentation of cisnormativity by dichotomizing and naturalizing what would be biologically feminine vs. what would be biologically masculine.

TRANS-EXCLUSIONARY POSITIONS ON THE USE OF RESTROOMS

We can identify two aspects of trans-exclusionary positions in relation to the use of women's bathrooms: (1) the defense of laws or measures that effectively aim to prohibit the access of trans people to restrooms according to their gender identities (trans-exclusionary bathroom laws); and (2) opposition to laws or measures that explicitly guarantee access for transgender people to bathrooms according to their gender identities without constraint or discrimination (trans-inclusive bathroom laws). Thus, we infer that positions that defend trans-exclusionary laws necessarily oppose to trans-inclusive measures; however, not all positions that oppose the establishment of trans-inclusive measures necessarily advocate explicitly trans-exclusionary measures.

We will see next how dominant meanings regarding masculinity and femininity support what we call here trans-exclusionary arguments regarding access to public bathrooms. The violence argument is a constant in this discussion, although statistics show that there is no concrete data to prove that trans people are a threat or participate on acts of violence against users of women's bathroom. So, why do such arguments continue to support argumentative and, therefore, discursive processes that segregate and exclude transsexual women not only in public bathrooms, but in the many social practices and spaces? We know that Brazil has a history of violence crossing the relationship between women and the public space, and our political and theoretical position about it does not deny or erase such historicity. On the contrary, it allows us to think about how the violence acts at the intersection between historical determinations involving gender, sexuality, race, and class around the condition of abjection[17].

Some proposals of apparent consensus aim at the creation of a third bathroom, which would then be destined for transgender people at the expense of the use of female (in the case of trans women) and male (in the case of trans men) bathrooms. However, despite the possible use of these bathrooms by transgender people whose gender identities do not fit into gender binarism and as an intervention that proposes to legitimately question the binary division of restrooms (without assuming that transgender people should be forced to use only neutral bathrooms) this proposal is potentially problematic. According to Elkind (2006, p. 927):

> The proposal for a third category of gender neutral facilities is not the solution. The proper means of attaining transgender equality is not to segregate the group into an extraneous "other" category, but to treat transgender individuals as the majority is treated and to permit each person bathroom access based on his or her gender identity. Gender neutral bathroom access is both cost prohibitive and ignores the underlying problem faced by transgender individuals with respect to bathroom access. Individuals should be considered as members of the gender group with which they identify and not as an abnormal "other" denied recognition among existing societal groups. Creating a third group of gender neutral bathrooms for transsexuals only bolsters the assertion that such individuals do not "fit in."

One of the arguments for transgender people to not use the bathrooms according to their gender identities is that it

[17] In the field of gender and American anti-Islam policies, we have the work of Judith Butler on the precariousness of life and the condition of ineluctable (Butler, 2009/2016). In the field of racial issues, Achille Mbembe's work on the construction of the racial subject as the hostile other (Mbembe, 2013/2018).

could generate some kind of embarrassment for other people (presumably cisgender) using the space (Rios and Resadori, 2015), or even that security, specifically in the case of women's bathrooms, could be impaired[18]. Whether for security or privacy[19], the underlying message that emerges in these speeches is that trans people are disregarded on the one hand in relation to their affections (why would they not feel embarrassed?), and, on the other hand, perversely stigmatized, because they are considered sexually threatening[20] (Levi and Redman, 2010, p. 144). The legislative position that conceives transgender bodies as threats requires complicity with pervasive practices of surveillance in bathrooms, which spread, at the same time, the idea of cisgenerity as the standard of normal bodies, easily interpretable and inherently compatible with the use of bathrooms without constraint (Beauchamp, 2019, p. 106). From this perspective, the access of transsexual and transvestite women to women's bathrooms would mean the supposed permission for "men" to also access these spaces (assuming, with this discourse, that transsexual and transvestite women are simply men because they share some biological characteristics) and eventually abuse other women in bathrooms.

It is relevant to point out that, for positions that do not conceive transgender women as men, the claims that measures aimed at guaranteeing trans women access to women's bathrooms would allow men to access women's bathrooms make no sense. In a consensus statement [National Task Force to End Sexual and Domestic Violence against Women (NTF), 2018] against laws that prohibit the use of bathrooms due to gender identity signed by more than 300 U.S. organizations that fight against sexual and domestic violence, we read that:

> Nondiscrimination laws do not allow men to go into women's restrooms—period. The claim that allowing transgender people to use the facilities that match the gender they live every day allows men into women's bathrooms or women into men's is based either on a flawed understanding of what it means to be transgender or a misrepresentation of the law.

Also according to the declaration, the idea that protection for transgender people (including using the bathroom without constraint due to gender identity) harms the privacy and security of other users is a myth. Several critics point out that there is no evidence that non-discrimination policies or that explicitly allow transgender people to use restrooms according to their gender identities have led to an increase in the number of sexual harassment cases in bathrooms and women's locker rooms anywhere in the world (Doran, 2016; Hasenbush et al., 2019). States (19) and cities (more than 200) in the US that have passed laws against discrimination against LGBT people show that such measures have not caused any increase in incidences of crime in bathrooms (Maza and Brinker, 2014). This is not surprising, given that the approval of protections against discrimination has no impact on existing laws that criminalize violent behavior in bathrooms. In the absence of real incidents to base trans-exclusionary bathroom policies, anti-trans groups fabricate horror stories about trans-inclusive bathroom policies (Maza, 2014).

Security and privacy in the use of public restrooms are certainly important for everyone—including transgender people. Arguments that unilaterally conceive the access of transgender people to restrooms according to their gender identities as a risk factor for the safety of other people assume, even implicitly, that the transgender population does not deserve to be protected under the same standards as the cisgender population. This is particularly alarming, given that research shows precisely that young transgender people are exposed to much higher rates of violence in US schools' restrooms (*middle and high school*) than young cisgenders (Murchison et al., 2019).

The safety in the use of restrooms can only be effectively compromised through attacks by abusers, so it is misleading to simply assume that transgender people, especially transgender women, commit these crimes or are essentially more predisposed to commit such crimes only because they access women's bathrooms or for not having explicitly denied their access to women's bathrooms by law or regulation. It is worth remembering that sexual harassment and rape are already considered crimes, so it does not seem reasonable to create new laws to curb crimes that have already been typified. Violence cases can happen and/or happen in restrooms regardless of the approval of trans-inclusive bathroom measures or laws. People should be held responsible for any crimes in bathroom spaces regardless of gender identity, whether transgender or cisgender, and which people (or groups of people) have access to a particular bathroom. Among bathroom attack cases, only a small number of cases actually involved transgenders, people who[21] falsely claimed to be transgender or perpetrators who tried to disguise themselves as a member of the opposite sex to gain access to the bathroom (Barnett et al., 2018, p. 235). Thus, the idea that it is necessary for individuals to use bathrooms according to the gender assigned to them at birth to ensure safety in these spaces

[18]On the other hand, other arguments against the access of trans women to women's restrooms are not justified by the appeal for safety, but rather by the basic belief that trans women are men and therefore could not use the women's bathroom (Wilson, 2016, p. 1400). A survey by Rudin et al. (2014) revealed that a significant number of participants understand that access to bathrooms for transgender people according to gender identity must be conditioned to the performance of sexual reassignment surgery, which implies the naturalization of public policies of invasive disciplinatory action of the corporeity of the population.

[19]The assumption that women's privacy in women's restrooms is guaranteed by the exclusion of men or people assigned with the male gender at birth is based on the assumption that only men or people assigned with the male gender at birth would be interested in invading that privacy (Levi and Redman, 2010, p. 163).

[20]Levi and Redman (2010, p. 154) point out that the laws that prohibited the use of clothes of a certain gender if someone had been assigned the other gender in the 1950s until the 1980s in the USA used the argument that they would prevent "fraud" and, with that, the violent attacks in the bathrooms. It is interesting to consider the materiality of the language in the constitution of such arguments, since the designation "gender fraud" puts at stake a relationship between "truth × lie," "cunning × righteousness," but where would be the gross truth of the gender in a state of purity and susceptible to verification?

[21]The authors (Barnett et al., 2018) were able to locate only one registered case of a transgender woman who committed a sexual offense in a women's bathroom (took pictures of the users of the bathroom without their permission).

is inconsistent and disproportionate. In this sense, Davis (2018, p. 206–207) makes the following questions:

> The assumption that sex-segregated public bathrooms protect women from physical assault is flawed in two ways. First, sex-segregated restrooms only serve as a barrier to physical assault if one's attacker is of the opposite sex. Secondly, if someone is already willing to break laws to commit criminal assault, it is likely that the person will break another law to enter a women's restroom with little or no hesitation. Public restroom sex-segregation is not the best, or even a rational, way to address the very real and important matter of anti-female violence. Even worse, the misconception of women's restrooms as places of refuge may lull many women into a false and dangerous sense of personal safety when they enter those rooms.

Despite the recent spread of the "bathroom predator" (Schilt and Westbrook, 2015; Fitzgerald, 2016) in the social imaginary and its impact on bathroom laws, it is noteworthy that most US citizens are opposed to measures that would effectively force transgender people to use a bathroom in disagreement with their gender identities (Wilson, 2016, p. 1388). This discrepancy does not seem to us to be fortuitous, since it indicates the presence of an ambivalence in the speeches that defend the prohibition of the use of the feminine bathroom by transgender women or that conceive the access of transgender women to the feminine bathrooms as a risk factor for security.

People who report some kind of fear regarding the access of transgender women to the women's bathroom may simultaneously recognize that it would be wrong, on the other hand, to force trans women to attend the men's bathroom. Many still admit that it would not be transgender women who would actually commit sexual crimes in restrooms, rejecting the idea that this particular group (transgender women) would directly represent a risk factor for safety in the bathrooms, but rather the men who would falsely claim being transgender women, that is, men who would somehow inadvertently benefit from anti-discrimination measures to commit such crimes. In this way, abusers would supposedly have facilitated access to victims by measures that guarantee access for trans women to women's bathrooms and/or the sheer absence of measures that explicitly prohibit access for trans women to women's bathrooms.

In a statement by the Massachusetts Family Institute (MFI) (Levi and Redman, 2010, p. 142) against anti-discrimination laws on bathroom use, we read that "there is no way to distinguish between someone suffering from 'Gender Identity Disorder' and a sexual predator looking to exploit this law." If we assume that there would be no way to "distinguish" transgender women from sexual predators, we are very likely to conclude that it is necessary to prohibit transgender women from accessing women's bathrooms because of the maintenance of security. However, if we really wanted to apply this argument without a cisnormative bias, we would have to the same extent recognize that we could not also distinguish, in an absolutely unequivocal way, cisgender women from sexual predators. The fact that we cannot guarantee with absolute unmistakability who may or may not be a potential "sexual predator" seems to have a burden only for transgender women. In this sense, under the operation of the most elementary evidence in relation to gender, we are not equally likely to conclude that female cisgender women should no longer share the use of the female restroom due to the possibility of female cisgender women committing crimes or being "sexual predators" in the bathrooms in the same way as we do with transgender women. These cisnormative biases, therefore, should not go unnoticed without critical analysis when discussing these arguments. Jones (2015) exposes this bias as follows:

> In most cases, we understand that allowing any group of people into a given place means that some small fraction of them might commit crimes, and we accept that the benefits of their being able to access that place outweigh the potential risks. Cis women have assaulted cis women in restrooms, yet nobody takes this as a reason to ban all cis women from women's restrooms. Imposing that kind of inconvenience on all cis women is obviously unacceptable, but imposing it on trans women is totally okay for some reason. (The reason is transphobia.)

If we assume that the absence of laws or measures that forbid access for trans women to women's restrooms is in any way an incentive for sexual predators to pretend to be trans women to access their victims in those places, then we should face such cases on a daily basis, considering that most countries or states around the world do not actually have laws or measures that explicitly prohibit transgender women from accessing women's restrooms, nor do they have measures that establish ways to effectively bar trans women from accessing restrooms or checking whether the women who are accessing those bathrooms had the female gender signed on their first birth certificate. However, this does not appear to be the case, given that there is no evidence that the absence of laws or measures that prohibit the use of the women's bathroom by trans women may in fact represent a risk factor for safety in these spaces, nor that approval of measures against discrimination against transgender people in bathrooms has some impact on the chance of people violating criminal laws regarding rape and sexual harassment. Jones (2015) makes the following question: whether under trans-inclusive laws sexual predators can pretend to be transgender women to access the women's bathroom, which would prevent them, under trans-exclusionary laws, from pretending to be transgender men to access the same women's bathrooms? According to Wilson (2016, p. 1401) the connection between the supposed implications of safety in restrooms and the guarantee of access for trans women to women's bathrooms rests in a "cascade of factual assumptions" about "*situational and preferential sex offenders*" that could attack victims in facilities segregated by sex.

In a statement (Arter, 2015) of a campaign against a Texas *ordinance* that would allow the use of restrooms according to gender identity, we read that:

> [This] Bathroom Ordinance would force businesses and public establishments to allow troubled men, or men who want to start trouble, to use women's public bathrooms, locker rooms and shower facilities. This endangers women and girls and places them in harm's way. There are 8345 registered and convicted sexual predators in Harris County. This just scratches the surface of this

> dangerous problem. These men could use this ordinance as a legal shield to threaten our mothers, wives and daughters.

Assuming that trans-inclusive bathroom laws allow "condemned sexual predators" to access women's bathrooms, this discourse produces a series of equivalence substitutions between the following elements: transgender women > men > problematic men > condemned sexual predators. The access of "condemned sexual predators" to women's bathrooms is a possibility condition for them to be able to commit sexual crimes against women in these spaces, which seems logical to conclude that it is necessary to reject trans-inclusive bathroom laws to curb attacks in women's bathrooms. Furthermore, this statement takes on the face of a masculine law, unable to conceive women simply as "women," and not already interpreted from the social roles that supposedly link them to a man: as mother, wives, and daughters.

We propose to look at the implicit thought that transgender women are men from a pre-built idea (Pêcheux, 1975/2009, p. 159), which is understood as a content already produced, something that "everyone knows," as well as what "everyone in a given situation can be and understand, under the evidence 'of the situational context.'" The successive substitutions that associate transgender women with a condemned sexual predator and the consequent production of cause and consequence effects (the accessibility of transgender women to women's bathrooms *causes* the vulnerability of cisgender women allegedly exposed to attacks by sexual predators in women's bathrooms) can be understood from the notion of a transversal discourse. For Pêcheux (1975/2009, p. 152), the transversal discourse functions as a sequence that perpendicularly crosses another sequence that contains replaceable elements (in our case, transgender *women* vs. *condemned sexual predators*). This transversal discourse produces the evidence that certain biological characteristics shared between transgender women and condemned sexual predators (notably the presence of a penis and other possible physical attributes associated with the male sex) expresses a necessary condition for the practice of sexual crimes in bathrooms as if it were necessary to have these biological characteristics[22] to practice such crimes in women's bathrooms. This is able to explain, on the other hand, the absence of similar concerns regarding the presence of transgender men, whether in men's or women's bathrooms, as well as the very assumption that cisgender women pose no threat to themselves. According to Schilt and Westbrook (2015, p. 30):

> In contrast, transgender men—assumed by critics to be "really women" because they do not possess a "natural" penis—are relatively invisible in these debates. Transgender men are mentioned directly by opponents only once in all of the articles we analyzed. (...) Transgender men are never referenced as potential sexual threat to women, men, or children. Instead, they are put into a category that sociologist Mimi Schippers labels "pariah femininities." They are not dangerous to cisgender women and children, but they also do not warrant protection and rights because they fall outside of gender and sexual normativity.

A statement against the Department of Justice under the Obama administration (which argued that HB2 violated federal law) says that "apparently, the Department believes that these obvious social costs are outweighed by the policy's purported psychological benefits to persons of conflicted gender identity" (Kogan, 2017, p. 1231). The statement assumes that the use of restrooms by trans people according to their gender identities implies an "obvious social cost" and implies that the supposed psychological benefits for trans individuals would not outweigh "obvious social costs" (in this position, risks regarding security or privacy violation) of a trans-inclusive policy. Transgender gender identities are qualified as "conflicting."

Assuming that the "costs" that transgender women would suffer are preferable to those that cisgender women would suffer, we can consider the functioning of a valuation scale in which the protection of the dignity of cisgender women is ahead of transgender women. This cost-benefit calculation projects onto trans people an idea of second-class citizens (Beauchamp, 2019, p. 86), as well as the intrinsic vulnerability of cisgender women. When we also consider race, class and/or social situation (see James et al., 2016, p. 225), we understand that black and/or non-white transgender women, in a situation of social vulnerability and/or poverty, and also when those women do not "pass" as cisgender, they are the base of the discrimination scale. According to Beauchamp (2019, p. 98):

> Legislative and public discourse on the transgender threat to other gendered bathroom users draws on familiar viewing practices that simultaneously claim bodies as objective, apolitical data points (we can easily know which bodies are women's bodies) and reiterate a decidedly social and political meaning given to different types of bodies (women's bodies are vulnerable and need special protection). Certain women's and children's bodies will more readily signal vulnerability, a point that public bathrooms themselves underscore, since the history of bathroom segregation rests largely on the protection of white women.

In this direction, another relevant aspect to the scale concerns the family and/or personal connection of a woman with a man. This is justified because of the roles attributed to women as *mothers, daughters, sisters, and wives* in speeches of men who believe they need to protect them from the supposed dangers resulting from trans-inclusive bathroom laws. In the hegemonic imaginary, men are conceived as potential protectors of vulnerable people with whom they have personal ties; and a potential source of sexual threat to other people, notably other women (Schilt and Westbrook, 2015, p. 31). According to Blumell et al. (2019, p. 383) the protection of cisgender women in the context of using the women's bathroom is seen as dependent on certain conditions, including:

> (a) The defender has a personal relationship with the woman (wife or daughter), which situates her welfare within her importance to an individual man; (b) the threatening man is seen as non-normative, deviant, and uncontrollable, in perpetuation of the

[22]It is worth mentioning that in the context of the use of the women's bathroom, transgender women are often imagined as having "male anatomies" (Schilt and Westbrook, 2015, p. 29).

> stranger danger rape myth (Weiss, 2009); and (c) the woman being protected is cisgender, monogamous, and heterosexual, revealing an implicit assumption that "good" women who have men to protect them will not be raped. Transwomen, by contrast, were not seen as needing protection because of their deviance and presumably masculine strength.

By basing trans-exclusionary positions on individual references that guide the family and/or personal ties, we observe a universalization effect from this male point of view regarding the ideas of protection, vulnerability, and danger. That is, successive precepts and notions from one individual evolve (which, in this case, coincides with the male position that maintains concrete ties with a specific daughter, wife, mother, or sister) to the production of a universal subject, operating an erasure of the preceding concrete situation, which would then start to think through concepts and abstractions (capable, therefore, of creating laws). This operation is named precisely by Pêcheux (1975/2009, p. 117) as *the empirical-subjectivist continuist myth*. For the author, this myth is based on the identification process: "if I were where you/he/x are, I would see and think what you/he/x see and think" (Pêcheux, 1975/2009, p. 118). In this case, we move from the need to protect the daughters, wives, mothers or sisters of an individual subject to the need to protect the daughters, wives, mothers or sisters of other men to any and all women. Under this specular game, there is a tension that cannot be resolved, since it is to be assumed that the same man who protects women with whom he has family ties represents a potential danger for other women with whom he does not have those ties. This process culminates in the defense of trans-exclusionary bathroom laws, under the supposed evidence that each and every woman is vulnerable to the attacks of each and every man and needs to be protected (sustained perception under the equivocal universalization of the expectation that every woman has a family or personal relationship with a man, or that every woman *should have* a relationship with a man to ensure her protection).

Another argument used to support trans-exclusionary positions concerns the number of people:

> Are we to risk the safety of millions of women and children in public restrooms because an extremely small number of people are experiencing a mismatch between their psychology and their biology? Good public policy does not risk the physical safety of women and children because an extreme few have a preference for a different bathroom. (Turek, 2016).

Thus, the claim that there are an infinitely larger number of cisgender people corroborates the position that the supposed "costs" regarding the security of cisgender women would be, to the same extent, much greater than the "costs" regarding the security of transgender women. However, the considerations, for example, of the Federal Public Ministry of Brazil (Ministério Público Federal, 2015) provide universal constitutional guarantees, that is, arguments based on the quality of the person and not on the number of people. We observe that by understanding that gender identity is essential for the dignity and humanity of each and every person and should not be a reason for discrimination or abuse, in order to conclude that preventing the use of restrooms is the same as denying gender identity, thus violating the dignity of a transgender person.

CONCLUSION

> This thing, in particular, of using the women's bathroom, is a very delicate thing for me. Life has made me strong, but at the same I have my traumas, I have my ways to do things, I am full of... [...] You, woman, who is watching this right now, put yourself in my shoes, as if you were a transvestite. Can you imagine how it is to go into a women's restroom and get kicked out? I have already been taken out of a toilet with my panties down, thrown out like an animal. I called the police, nothing happened, the police didn't even go. [...] (Luísa Marilac[23])[24]

The band Filarmônica de Pasárgada released a music video in 2014 for the song "Fiu"[25], a Brazilian funk that takes place in a shed that looks more like a butcher shop located in a train station, in which people in bloodstained clothes dance and cut several pieces of meat. At a given moment in the video, the central door opens and the cartoonist Laerte Coutinho, a trans woman, appears and steps slowly across the room, decorating herself with necklaces, pinning her long hair, dancing, even though sometimes the music stops and everyone looks at her, examining her body and her presence with strangeness, or when retouching her makeup, a jet of blood splashes over her face. At this moment, Laerte cleans herself and looks at the bathroom door on which a female pictogram is printed, but under the symbol where the word "female" is supposed to be written, the first syllable "fe" is cut, so that it appears written just "male." The writing marks the mistake that involves a space destined for the entry and exit of bodies crossed by a signifier subject to drifts, erasures and mistakes around the signified. It is neither male nor female, but "male," a signifier-other that borders on the real of what is already written with such incompleteness (Cf. Milner, 1978/2012).

Elza Soares has long sung that "the cheapest meat on the market is the black meat," and rightly so, we know that in this world of human beings, we need to turn some people into "meat" because the condition of humanity before being a genetic, biological or natural data is the combination of historical determinations around ethnicity, race, class, gender and sexuality. The way the State calculates its "costs"—which weighs a lot or a little on the social balance about who is more or less of a citizen—proves how unequal the condition of human being is in this world (which is not one). When Butler (2009/2016) thinks about the unequal distribution of humanity, she wonders which frameworks shape certain lives as precarious and under what conditions it becomes difficult or even impossible. In this discussion, the body is immersed in the disciplinary and normalizing processes

[23]Luisa Marilac is a youtuber, communicator, writer, and LGBTQ activist. In 2019 she published the biography "Eu, travesti: memórias de Luisa Marilac," by Record publisher.

[24]https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ARHLKPJPc7o&t=2

[25]https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Bsrq8qv8Uig

that shape recognition, but what is also at stake is what break the rules, which embarrasses the eye and escapes the classifications. From the discursive point of view, we also see in Pêcheux (1982/1990) an investment not only in the mechanism of the dominant ideology, but in the failures, the contradictions, in the sinuous movements of the senses (and of the subjects).

When Luísa Marilac, in her outburst, proposes: "You, woman, who is watching this right now, put yourself in my shoes, as if you were a transvestite," she summons at the same time the limits of the identification processes, but also the relationship that is established between a place and a non-place. Bringing up the everyday mechanisms by which the restroom participates in the excluding functioning of cities, composing one of the non-places for trans subjects, is a practice of denunciation, among others, but it is also the establishment *of places of enunciation*, not just those in which the subject is (not) said, but also those in which they can say. When thinking about the relations between the places of enunciation and the discourse, Zoppi-Fontana (1999/2003) tensions the division of the right to enunciate and the effectiveness of this division in its effects of *legitimacy, truth, credibility, authorship, identification, and circulation*. This proposal is based on a theoretical affiliation to Discourse Analysis as proposed by Pêcheux and more specifically to the notion of *subject position* (Pêcheux, 1975/2009), considering the way in which the figure of ideological interpellation is central to this concept, but also in the way the subject of the discourse is thought through a contradictory relationship with such processes of interpellation. This allows us to problematize how historically subordinate and silent places emerge, interfering in stabilized directions. Thus, when Luísa Marilac and Maria Clara Spinelli, among many others, go public to expose their pains, their traumas, their "tics," there is something beyond what is said about a given event: emerges a subject who asserts themselves in that place of subject. The event overflows: it is about saying who enters and who is kicked out, who can and who cannot, who looks and who is looked at.

This surplus in the event, which refers to the encounter between a memory and a current event (Pêcheux, 1983/2012), concerns to the fact that talking about the process of construction of meanings that constitute the laws of access to public restrooms for trans individuals is also touching on the many stabilized speeches that produce:

1. The erasure of trans subjects in the legislative discourse, which both by constrains and by calls for security, builds, on the one hand, a subject without affection, on the other, a sexual predator;
2. The naturalization of biological arguments, which, taken as the crude truth that precedes the discourse, work at the service of the cisgenerity imperative, taken as the sheer transparency of bodies and a dominant imaginary about masculinity (aggressive and protective) and femininity (vulnerable and incapable);
3. The political and theoretical reaction that runs through activist, institutional and intellectual production, but also daily practices through actions of repudiation, reports, complaints, texts, videos, and other material that come into dispute, claiming a dignified existence in the social environment.

The attempts, whether judicial or informal, to restrict the use of restrooms according to the users' gender identities or expressions should therefore be seen as ways of regulating and perpetuating the cisnormative binarism of gender. In this respect, the expulsion and embarrassment of transgender people in restrooms can be understood as a way of punishment for the transgression of gender norms (Bender-Baird, 2016, p. 987) and as such they must be combated to guarantee equity of rights desirable in a democratic and plural society that respects human dignity.

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"Back to Where They Were": The Socio-Discursive Representation of Transgender Sex Workers and Urban Space in a Television News Report

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Despite significant advances in recent years, Argentina's transgender community still faces structural social exclusion. For a vast majority of transvestites and transgender women, early expulsion from the family home and the educational system results in having to resort to prostitution as their only option for surviving. Police edicts and other similar devices are used to penalize prostitution and persecute transgender people in public places, showing that prejudice and violence against their identities also manifest in the control of urban space. Here I present the results of an in-depth qualitative linguistic analysis of a 2018 television news report about the temporary relocation of the transgender sex workers from their usual location in the *Bosques de Palermo*, the biggest public park in the City of Buenos Aires. The theoretical frame is Critical Discourse Analysis and the methodology is inductive and qualitative. The analysis centers on the linguistic resources that define the socio-discursive representation about the transgender sex workers in relation with urban space and the city's government. The bases of the analysis are the Synchronic-Diachronic Method for the Linguistic Analysis of Texts and the Method of Converging Linguistic Approaches. These methods revealed, in the first place, that the transvestites and transgender women are represented as mere occupants of public space through their close association with the discursive category of *Space*. In the second place, they are represented as fundamentally passive in relation to the Government of the City of Buenos Aires; while, at the same time, the government's responsibility for their displacement is systematically mitigated. Finally, the lack of work alternatives to prostitution for the transgender community is naturalized through the persistent association of the discursive categories connected with transgender people, prostitution and urban space. If we compare these results with those of previous research, we can see that these discursive features—none of which challenge the status quo—remain one of the basic components of the socio-discursive representation of transgender people elaborated by the mainstream media.

Keywords: critical discourse analysis, socio-discursive representations, social exclusion, city of Buenos Aires, urban space, prostitution, transgender, transvestites

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INTRODUCTION

This work deals with the socio-discursive representation elaborated in a 2018 television news report about the transgender and transvestite sex workers[1] in the City of Buenos Aires. This report was chosen for analysis for two main reasons: the social and political influence wielded by the channel that produced and aired it, and the social relevance of its topic. The theoretical frame is Critical Discourse Analysis, which means that the focus is on the systematical study of the text's linguistic components, which are interpreted in the light of their social and political context, with the ultimate goal of creating knowledge that contributes to the solution of social problems connected with discrimination, inequality and power abuse (van Dijk, 1999; Pardo, 2008). The specific topic of the news report is the temporary relocation of the transgender sex workers within Buenos Aires' biggest public park. It thus targets public space as a site of urban conflict (Boy, 2015), with gender identity becoming the main variable of governmental control over one of Argentina's most excluded and discriminated social groups.

The paper is organized as follows. In *The Transgender Community in the City of Buenos Aires*, I provide a succinct description of the situation of the transgender community in the City of Buenos Aires, highlighting those aspects directly related to the news report's topic. In *Theoretical and Methodological Frame*, I describe the methodological frame and explain the analytical methods that were applied to the corpus. In *Corpus*, I describe the corpus in terms of the search and selection process, and of the components of the communicative situation. In *Linguistic Analysis* and its subsections, I present the main results of the linguistic analysis of the corpus, providing examples and explanations for each particular aspect of the socio-discursive representation at stake. Finally, in *Conclusion*, I summarize the findings and offer a brief final reflection.

THE TRANSGENDER COMMUNITY IN THE CITY OF BUENOS AIRES

Worldwide, the human rights scenario is far worse for transgender people than for the cisgender (i.e., not transgender) majority. In Argentina, studies conducted by different transgender organizations (Berkins and Fernández, 2005; Berkins, 2007; Fundación Huésped and ATTTA, 2014; Akahatá et al., 2016) have exposed the violence and dire life conditions faced by this social group due to the systematical exclusion and discrimination promoted by the State and society. Despite offering more favorable opportunities (especially for work, health access and exposure to discrimination), the City of Buenos Aires, the country's capital and richest district, shows a worrying violation of transgender human rights. A study conducted in 2016 with 169 transvestites and transgender women and 33 transgender men (Ministerio Público de la Defensa and Bachillerato Popular Travesti-Trans Mocha Celis, 2017) revealed that 59% of the transvestites and transgender women in the city had not completed the minimum mandatory educational level (high school), and only 9% had access to the formal labor market. 65% of them lived in rented room in hotels or abandoned houses, and 74.6% had experienced some form of violence (insults, robberies, physical aggression and sexual abuse, among others), especially in the streets, police stations and schools.

For the transgender community, and especially for transvestites and transgender women, prostitution is the only option for generating income after their early expulsion from the family home. The same study showed that prostitution was the main occupation of 70% of the transvestites and transgender women, 87% of whom declared that they would abandon that activity if offered a formal job. Age and educational level are directly correlated with this: the higher those two variables, the lower the percentage of transgender women who turn to prostitution for a living.[2]

In the City of Buenos Aires, the social struggle over the presence of transgender sex workers (and of transgender women in general) in public spaces triggered the emergence of the first transvestite and transgender activist organizations during the decade of 1990 (Berkins, 2003; Fernández, 2004). These organizations fought against the penalization of prostitution and of transgender identities. Since 1949, two sections of the city's edicts (2° F and 2° H) had allowed the police to arbitrarily sanction and detain anyone who "exhibit themselves in the public space wearing clothes of the opposite sex" and "people of either sex that publicly incite or offer themselves for the carnal act". These edicts enabled criminalization of people with different gender identities and sexual orientations, such as transvestites and homosexuals, regardless of their relation with prostitution. When the city became autonomous in 1998, the 2° F and 2° H sections were abolished, and the city's new legislative body sanctioned the more liberal Code of Urban Cohabitation, which did not penalize transvestism and prostitution in public spaces. However, due to the pressure of neighbor associations and the Catholic Church, article 71, titled "Alteration of public tranquility," was added later that same year. This article did not penalize transvestism per se, but condemned prostitution, exhibition of underwear and nudity in public spaces. The next year, a presidential decree re-established the old edicts and article 71 was modified to explicitly ban prostitution. Finally, in 2004, the Code was modified again, with article 81 now penalizing "the offer and

[1]In the feminist and gender diversity movements in Argentina, there is an intense debate about whether prostitution is a form of sexual slavery and exploitation, or a job that must be legally acknowledged and protected by the State. Those who support the first position use the term "people in prostitution situation," while those who support the second use the terms "sex work" and "sex worker/s" (Berkins and Korol, 2007). For methodological reasons (see footnote 14), here I use "sex worker/s" to refer to the transvestites and transgender women who appear in the news report. To refer to the activity, I use "prostitution" in a broad sense.

[2]75.7% of the interviewed transvestites and transgender women had turned to prostitution at 18 or less; 30% had begun at ages 11–13 (Ministerio Público de la Defensa and Bachillerato Popular Travesti-Trans Mocha Celis, 2017, pp. 58–61).

demand of sex in public spaces" (Berkins and Fernández, 2005, pp. 39–66).

These comings and goings in legal reform reflect a complex urban conflict that involved the transvestite and transgender sex workers, the city's neighbor associations, government officials, the police and the Catholic Church, all of which "emitted discourses about the legitimate and illegitimate uses of public space, about who deserved to live in the city, and about the transvestites and their bodies" (Boy, 2015, p. 177). At that time, the circulation of these discourses in the mass media marked a turning point in the visibilization of transgender people, although the treatment they received in the media was anything but respectful, with trivialization of their identities and verbal aggression being the deplorable norm (Berkins, 2003; Naty Menstrual, 2009; Wayar, 2009; Vásquez Haro, 2012).

The urban conflict around transgender people and public space was particularly noticeable in Palermo, one of the neighborhoods with more transgender sex workers.[3] With moral arguments that condemned prostitution and transvestism as an "obscenity," the cisgender neighbors of Palermo demanded first the banning of prostitution and then the creation of a special zone—called "the red zone"—where transvestites and transgender women would offer their sexual services away from homes, schools and churches. After many conflicts and negotiations that were abundantly covered by the media, in 2005 the transvestites and transgender sex workers moved to the spot of the *Bosques de Palermo* (Palermo Woods, the city's biggest public park) known as *El Rosedal* (the Rose Garden). The new location, however, did not please the cisgender neighbors and, a few years later, the sex workers had to move again to another part of the *Bosques* called Florencio Sánchez Square, where they still work today. During this process, the Government of the City of Buenos Aires promised to the transgender organizations several measurements to enhance their work conditions, such as installing chemical bathrooms, building speed bumps and improving public lighting. These promises were only partly fulfilled.

In August 2018, due to the upcoming realization of the Summer Youth Olympic Games near Florencio Sánchez Square, the Government of the City temporarily relocated the transgender sex workers to another part of the *Bosques* known as the Planetarium. This was agreed after negotiations with different transgender and social organizations, including the Argentinean LGBT Federation (FALGBT), the Argentinean Transvestites, Transsexuals and Transgender Association (ATTTA), the Trans House, the Gondolín Hotel Civil Association, and the Argentinean Association of Women Prostitutes (AMMAR) (Clarín, 2018). Unlike the negotiations that began in the late 1990s and led to the transgender sex workers moving to *El Rosedal* in 2005, this episode did not involve public demonstrations or conflicts. Nevertheless, it showed that, even six years after the passing of the National Gender Identity Law in 2012, governmental decisions about the use of urban space still considered transgender bodies an "obscenity" that must be removed from the public—and international—eye.[4]

THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAME

The theoretical frame of this work is Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 1992; van Dijk, 2001a), particularly as expressed in the Latin American Network for the Analysis of the Discourse of Extreme Poverty (REDLAD) (Resende and Ramalho, 2006; García Da Silva, 2007; Pardo Abril, 2007; Pardo, 2008; Montecino Soto, 2010). This means that the primary focus is on studying how the ways in which language is used take part in social problems like inequity, power abuse and discrimination. In this regard, Critical Discourse Analysis is not defined as an exclusive and closed method for studying those problems, but as a critical perspective to be adopted regardless of the methods chosen for the linguistic analysis of texts (van Dijk, 2001b). It is important, however, that the methods provide solid linguistic evidence, so that researchers can make their claims on the basis of observable linguistic and discursive data, rather than make commentaries loosely based on the texts' content (Pardo et al., 2018, p. 94).

Discourse as analytical material is a complex phenomenon that cannot be reduced to formal linguistic structures. It requires a holistic interpretation that also takes into account contextual and social aspects of the communicative situation. For this reason, this research is positioned in the interpretativist paradigm (Guba and Lincoln, 1994) and the methodology is fundamentally qualitative with data triangulation (Pardo, 2011).

Research in Critical Discourse Analysis is essentially interdisciplinary, because studying the role of language in use in social problems requires a deep comprehension of different (social, political, historical, etc.) aspects of the context that exceed the field of Linguistics. Thus, although this particular work concentrates on showing the results of the linguistic analysis, the contextualization and interpretation of the data draws heavily from social studies about gender and sexuality, particularly South American transvestite theory (Berkins, 2003; Berkins and Fernández, 2005;

[3]Located in the north of the city, Palermo is its biggest neighborhood and green area, with many transportation connections, shops and tourist sites. Most of its inhabitants have middle and high-level incomes.

[4]The situation described in this section coexists with significant legal and social advances in recent years, such as the passing of the law that enabled same-sex marriage in 2010, the passing of the National Gender Identity Law in 2012, several local laws and a recent presidential decree that established a transgender work quota in the public administration, the inclusion of transgender identities in the law that legalized abortion (which contains the terms "pregnant persons" and "women and persons with other gender identities with the capacity to conceive"), and an increasing visibilization of transgender issues in the media and social debate; including the designation, in 2019, of transgender activist Alba Rueda as the first Subsecretary of Diversity Policies in the new National Ministry of Women, Gender and Diversity. The coexistence of these transcendental advances with the inexcusable life conditions and hate crimes suffered by the transgender community defines what Rueda has called "the non-linearity of the transgender political subject" (Rueda, A., "Personas Trans: lecturas sobre pobreza, diversidad sexual y estrategias políticas en Sur América," lecture, X Congress of the Latin American Network for the Analysis of the Discourse of Extreme Poverty, Buenos Aires, November 10, 2015).

Ministerio Público de la Defensa and Bachillerato Popular Travesti-Trans Mocha Celis, 2017; Wayar, 2018). It is worth mentioning that, in the last decades in Argentina, transgender issues have gradually become a focus of attention for the social sciences, resulting in different works that analyze discursive aspects and representations of transgender identities from a qualitative point of view. However, most of these works are mainly concerned with the texts' content and semantic features, and do not present a systematized analysis of linguistic forms and strategies such as the one we intend to offer here (Soich, 2017, p. 109).

The main analytical method is the Synchronic-Diachronic Method for the Linguistic Analysis of Texts (henceforth SDMLAT) (Pardo, 1994; Pardo, 2011). This method "accounts both for the categories required by any basic theory (Glaser and Strauss 1967) and for the linguistic properties through which such categories materialize in a given text" (Pardo and Lorenzo-Dus, 2010, p. 258). The SDMLAT involves two basic category types that show how social subjects arrange and give meaning to the world through discourse: the grammaticalized and the semantic-discursive categories. Grammaticalized categories have a high frequency of use in different discursive genres and therefore are mandatory. Semantic-discursive categories are text-specific: they depend on the particular set of meanings that are constructed in each discourse and, therefore, are not mandatory. While grammaticalized categories constitute a finite list, semantic-discursive categories are virtually infinite.

According to Pardo (2011, pp. 67–68), the grammaticalized categories are:

- *Speaker-Protagonist (S-P):* this category is constructed by any pronominal persons or nominal referents that assume the central argument in the text. In other words, it incarnates the text's "central point of view," from which other arguments can be developed.
- *Value Nexus 1 (VN1):* this category manifests the actions and states associated with the Speaker-Protagonist. It can be instantiated by finite and non-finite verbs as well as by nominalizations.
- *Actor/s:* this category or categories are constructed by any pronominal persons or nominal referents that assume arguments opposed to the one developed in the Speaker-Protagonist category.
- *Value Nexus 2, 3 . . . (VN2, VN3 . . .):* they manifest the actions and states associated with the Actor/s. They can be instantiated by finite and non-finite verbs as well as by nominalizations.
- *Time* and *Space:* these two categories construct the temporal and spatial orientation inherent to any text.
- *Pragmatic Operator (PO):* this category has several functions, such as involving the hearer or reader, pointing out how an utterance[5] must be interpreted and connecting utterances or utterance parts. It can be instantiated by different constructions and word types, such as vocatives, interjections and connectors, among others.
- *Negation:* it is a "floating" category, in the sense that it can appear, for example, negating a verb (I did *not* go) or a word (*un*necessary), and it is not mandatory to the same degree than the others.

As was said, semantic-discursive categories are text-specific and therefore, unlike grammaticalized categories, they vary depending on the discursive genre and the context. Some examples of semantic-discursive categories based on previous research are *Gender identity*, *Education* and *Work* in life stories (Soich, 2017), *Insecurity* in news from the written press (Molina, 2015), *Social policies* in legal norms (Marchese, 2017) and *Delinquency* and *Family* in television news chronicles (Pardo, 2014). Semantic-discursive categories are named inductively after particular sets of meanings that appear throughout the text and refer (directly or indirectly) to a specific topic or phenomenon (Pardo, 2011, p. 71).

An important underlying concept of SDMLAT is argumentation as a basic principle of language. This means that regardless of the discursive genre, all texts possess a certain degree of argumentation, which manifests in the presence of strategies or minimal argumentational features that make the text "move forward" until it attains its communicative goal (Lavandera, 1992; Pardo, 2011). The *Speaker-Protagonist* and *Actor* categories of the SDMLAT take this principle to the methodological plane by embodying different chains of reasoning that respond to each other as the text unfolds. In other words, each of these categories represents a distinct argumentative paradigm. These paradigms, in turn, represent the internalized voices that make up the dialogism inherent to any text (Bakhtin, 1981; Pardo, 2011, p. 68).

The application of the SDMLAT takes the concrete form of a table, with each column representing a different category (see **Table 1**). All lexical elements in the text are classified in either a grammaticalized or a semantic-discursive category, using as many rows as necessary to respect their order of appearance in the utterance. This way, when categorization is concluded, the text can be read by following the table's rows from left to right and from top to bottom. This enables two complementary readings that give the method its name: a synchronic, "horizontal" reading, which follows the unfolding of each utterance through the different categories; and a diachronic, "vertical" reading, which follows each category as it is progressively developed and charged with meaning throughout the text. Combined, both readings allow a detailed analysis of the linguistic resources through which the discursive categories are instantiated. This, in turn, provides concrete linguistic evidence to study how discursive representations are constructed in the text (Pardo, 2011; Marchese, 2012).

The SDMLAT is continued through the Method of Converging Linguistic Approaches (henceforth MCLA) (Marchese, 2011; Marchese, 2012; Marchese, 2016), which amplifies it by adding analytical phases to study different linguistic aspects that converge in the construction of meaning. In this sense, SDMLAT becomes the first phase of MCLA. In this phase, the analysis concentrates on determining which discursive categories appear in the text and how.

[5]According to Pardo (1996, 2011), an utterance is a unit for the analysis of language in use that is lesser than discourse. An utterance is defined by the concurrence of three criteria: pauses and intonation in oral speech, the presence of punctuation marks in writing and the full realization of a theme and a rheme, in both.

TABLE 1 | The two readings in the synchronic-diachronic method.

SYNCHRONIC READING				
SPEAKER-PROTAGONIST	VALUE NEXUS 1	SEMANTIC-DISCURSIVE CATEGORY: BEAUTY	PRAGMATIC OPERATOR	TIME
[John	looked at	the flowers	and	
	found	them beautiful.]		
[He	felt			
more inspired			than	ever.]
DIACHRONIC READING				
[John	looked at	the flowers	and	
	found	them beautiful.]		
[He	felt			
more inspired			than	ever.]

For this paper, besides the MCLA's first analytical phase (or SDMLAT), I have also adopted its second phase, which studies how information is organized in the utterance.[6] To do so, the method resorts to the theories of information hierarchization and tonalization (Firbas, 1964; Lavandera, 1986; Pardo, 1994; Pardo, 1996; Pardo, 2011). The theory of information hierarchization studies how the order in which information appears in the utterance relates to that utterance's communicative goal. From this theory, I will retain the concept of *focus*, defined as the section of the utterance that contains the information necessary to complete that utterance's communicative goal. In Spanish and other romance languages, this coincides with the final section of the utterance (Pardo, 2011, p. 35). In other words, the information placed at the end of the utterance is the one most important in relation to its communicative goal, and this information is said to be placed in the focus position or *focalized*.

The theory of information tonalization takes the study of hierarchization to a "smaller" plane within the utterance. Its two fundamental concepts are those of *reinforcing* and *mitigating resources*, which are defined as any linguistic resources (for example, the active or passive voice, verb tenses and persons, adverbial constructions, lexical choices, word order, etc.) that respectively strengthen or weaken a certain argument. These two notions are mutually relative and complementary.

All these concepts are gathered in the second phase of the MCLA in order to analyze, in the first place, which discursive categories in the SDMLAT contain the information most relevant for the text's communicative goal. These are called the *focus categories*. A category becomes a focus category when it is the last category in an utterance. This means that the information that appears in that category is the one that fulfills that utterance's communicative goal (Marchese, 2011). The observation of the focus categories in a text provides statistic data, such as which focus categories are predominant and in what proportion. As this research is positioned in the interpretativist paradigm, statistic data is always qualitatively interpreted.

In the second place, the second phase of the MCLA allows us to detect, mark and interpret the reinforcing and mitigating resources that appear in different discursive categories. Studying these linguistic resources is key to understanding how the argumentative paradigms that make up the text are constructed with varying degrees of emphasis.

Regarding this second phase, I have also used Halliday and Matthiessen's (2004) process types classification (material, mental, relational, verbal, behavioral and existential processes) as a means of describing the lexical elements that instantiate the *Nexus Value* categories. The use of specific process types to express actions and states in these categories was interpreted in terms of reinforcing or mitigating resources that affect the representation of the different *Actors* in terms of agency. In this sense, for example, material or verbal processes tend to construct the *Actors* with a higher degree of agency, and this is usually

[6]The MCLA has three more phases, which respectively study the roles attributed to different participants, the use of metaphorical expressions and aspects connected with the discursive genre and context (the last one is currently in development). For more information, see Marchese (2011, 2012, 2016), Soich (2017) and Pardo et al. (2018, in press).

TABLE 2 | First ten results of the YouTube search "trans + city + Buenos Aires" (August 6, 2020).

Order	Video title	YouTube channel	Upload date	Views
1	La Ciudad de Buenos Aires deberá garantizar vivienda a tres mujeres trans (The City of Buenos Aires will have to ensure housing for three trans women)	Televisión Pública Noticias (news program, national free-to-air television)	4/30/2020	201
2	* Las chicas trans corridas por los Juegos Olímpicos de Buenos Aires (The trans girls displaced by/because of the Buenos Aires Olympic Games)	Telenoche (news program, national free-to-air television)	9/26/2018	2,088,000
3	Hotel Gondolín: una alternativa de vivienda para travestis y trans en Buenos Aires (Gondolín Hotel: a housing alternative for transvestites and trans in Buenos Aires)	Presentes LGTB (independent international news agency)	12/3/2018	3,524
4	Buenos Aires tiene la primera Casa Trans del país: testimonio de Morena Pinat (Buenos Aires has the first Trans House in the country: Morena Pinat's testimony)	Prensa GCBA (Government of the city of Buenos Aires' press channel)	11/16/2017	1,318
5	* VAGABUNDO/Prostitución: La Noche de una trans (VAGABOND/Prostitution: the Night of a trans)	Jujuy al Momento Diario (regional media of the province of Jujuy)	8/20/2019	215,000
6	Recorrido por la Historia de la Militancia Trans en Buenos Aires/Noti Trans—Sociedad y Política (A walk around the History of Trans Activism in Buenos Aires/Noti Trans—Society and Politics)	Noti Trans Argentina (independent trans activist organization)	4/19/2018	304
7	* Travestis: Una pasión de ciertos hombres (Transvestites: A passion of certain men)	70 20 Hoy (journalistic program, national free-to-air television)	9/7/2014	5,500,00
8	* Pasa de noche: travestis—Telefé Noticias (It happens at night: transvestites—Telefé Noticias)	Telefé Noticias (news program, national free-to-air television)	5/23/2018	749,000
9	* Zona Roja—Vértigo (Red Zone—Vertigo)	Telefé (national free-to-air television network)	1/23/2014	967,000
10	Conversatorio Ley Integral Trans en Argentina (Dialogue panel Integral Trans Law in Argentina)	RedLacTrans Oficial (international trans activist organization)	8/6/2020	4

interpreted as a reinforcing resource; while relational or existential processes tend to reduce the degree of agency and, therefore, are usually interpreted as mitigating resources.

The approach inherent to the SDMLAT and the MCLA meets the goals of Critical Discourse Analysis for several reasons. In the first place, it allows working with the products of language in use, i.e., concrete texts, as complete units of analysis, instead of focusing only on fragments, text selections or ideal sentences (as is the case in positivist linguistic studies such as the ones from Labovian Sociolinguistics, or even in other interpretativist studies from Discourse Analysis) (Pardo, 2013). In the second place, context is also incorporated as an intrinsic component of those units of analysis, with the grammaticalized and semantic-discursive categories providing a theoretical and methodological basis for the nexus between language and the social (Pardo, 2011, p. 28). In the third place, these methods allow to inductively obtain concrete linguistic evidence about specific social phenomena while, at the same time, reflecting on the nature of language in use, thus tracing a "virtuous circle" between analysis and theory (Pardo et al., 2018). Finally, both the SDMLAT and the MCLA are methods created in Latin America and were designed with Latin American contexts and problems in mind, in a conscious effort to question and critically reinterpret received traditions from a decolonizing perspective (Pardo et al., 2020).

This said, it is important to mark that, in accordance with the interdisciplinary spirit of Critical Discourse Analysis, the SDMLAT is open to incorporating other theories and methods, even if they come from other areas of linguistic studies. This, of course, does not mean that any theory can be simply and directly incorporated into the SDMLAT, as this requires a degree of critical examination and re-interpretation of the basic theoretical assumptions at stake. An example of the expansion of the SDMLAT is the systematic inclusion of the process types classification from Systemic Functional Grammar (Marchese, 2011); another is the incorporation of the Theory of Conceptual Metaphor (Soich, 2017; Pardo et al., 2018;Pardo et al. 2020). Thus, this work's analytical approach is not incompatible, but potentially complementary with other theories and methods from the branch of functional linguistics (for example, the theory of speech acts or the theory of appraisal).

CORPUS

The corpus consists of a news report titled "Las chicas trans corridas por los Juegos Olímpicos de Buenos Aires" ("The trans girls displaced by/because of the Buenos Aires Olympic Games").[7] It was aired on September 26, 2018 at 9 pm on *Telenoche*, the central news program of *El Trece*, one of the most watched free-to-air television networks in Argentina. Ideologically aligned to the right, *El Trece* belongs to the corporate group Clarín, which throughout its history has had a significant influence on Argentina's social and political life.[8] The same day it aired, the report was also uploaded to *El Trece*'s official YouTube channel, where it had considerable impact: to date, it has over two million views, 15,143 likes and 4,599 comments.[9] The linguistic analysis was carried out on this uploaded video, which lasts 9'44".

[7]In this case, without further context, the Spanish preposition *por* can mean both "because of" and "by".

[8]Today, this group owns multiple companies that produce and distribute contents all across Argentina: newsprint, newspapers, magazines, radio stations, television channels and film studios, and internet and telephone companies. It thus dominates a very significant part of the country's media and communication market. For more information, see Sivak (2013), Becerra (2019) and Zaiat (2020).

[9]Report available at: https://youtu.be/IECOD6uGanU (last accessed January 17, 2021). When last accessed, the video had new comments made only a day ago.

The search that led to this video was made on August 6, 2020 in YouTube, using as keywords "trans," "city" and "Buenos Aires". The first ten results are listed in their order of appearance in **Table 2**. Videos consisting of street interviews about transgender prostitution are marked with an asterisk; as can be seen, they amount to half of these results. The other half deals with other issues related to transgender human rights, like housing and the history of activism. The five videos about prostitution in urban public spaces were produced by free-to-air television networks, four of them of national scope. The other five were produced either by the national public television network, independent media, the Government of the City of Buenos Aires or trans activist organizations. Videos dealing with transgender prostitution have significantly more views (215,000–5,500,000) than those videos dealing with transgender human rights (4–3,524 views). Also, all videos with massive amounts of views were produced by free-to-air television networks. These results show, then, a clear threefold correlation between a specific topic (transgender prostitution in urban public spaces), a particular source (free-to-air television) and a certain (massive) degree of audience.[10] This correlation can be interpreted as a sign of both the public's and the mass media's selective interest in the transgender community.

From these results, *Telenoche*'s video was selected for analysis because it had the second largest amount of audience, which suggests that it appealed to—or at least interested—a vast number or viewers. The video with the largest amount of audience ("Transvestites: a passion of certain men," with five and a half million views) was discarded for analysis because of its less recent date (2014).

The YouTube version of *Telenoche*'s report opens with an aerial nocturnal view of the *Bosques de Palermo*.[11] We see MC, a cisgender male journalist, walking through the streets of the *Bosques* near the Planetarium, where he briefly explains that, due to the upcoming Summer Youth Olympic Games, the transvestite and transgender sex workers had to be temporarily relocated to that area. This is followed by a brief sequence containing parts of the interviews and takes of the workers standing or walking among their clients' cars. This sequence lasts a minute and acts as a general introduction. Then follows the main part of the report (78% of the video's total length), comprised of longer segments of interviews with the transgender sex workers and with a cisgender male *remis*[12] driver who works in the area. All sequences are heavily edited, with many cuts that affect the interviewees' speech. Subtitles are provided only when the interviewees talk. The interview segments are separated by short musicalized clips that show the sex workers and the cars in the streets. During the video, three different headlines appear onscreen in the following order: "Corridas por los Juegos" ("Displaced by/because of the Games"), "Por los JJ. OO. de la Juventud corrieron a las chicas trans de Palermo" ("Due to the Youth Olympic Games they displaced the trans girls of Palermo"), and "Las chicas trans, molestas porque las trasladaron a la zona del Planetario" ("The trans girls, upset because they moved them to the Planetarium zone").[13] The video ends with a brief editorial remark by MC and a cisgender female journalist, MLS, live from the television studio.

LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

In the following subsections, I present the main results of the linguistic analysis of the corpus.

Categorization and Category Focalization

To start, I present the discursive categories obtained from the SDMLAT (phase 1 of the MCLA). These are:

- *Speaker-Protagonist (S-P)* and *Value Nexus 1 (VN1)*: these two categories develop the argumentative paradigm sustained by the person who is speaking.
- *Actor* and *Value Nexus 2 (VN2)*: these two categories develop the argumentative paradigm attributed to the other participants in the dialogue situation.

These two sets of categories require some further explanation. As the corpus contains dialogues, many nominal and pronominal items refer to participants who are present in the communicative situation. Depending on which participant is speaking, these nominal and pronominal referents are categorized under the *Speaker-Protagonist* or the *Actor*. For example, when MC is talking to a transgender sex worker, lexical items that refer to MC are categorized under the *Speaker-Protagonist*, while those items that refer to the sex workers are categorized under the *Actor*; and vice-versa, when it is a transgender sex worker speaking to MC, lexical items that refer to the workers are categorized under the *Speaker-Protagonist*, while those that refer to MC are categorized under the *Actor*. It is important not to equate the number of participants who are present in the communicative situation with the number of argumentative paradigms. For example, in this report there are eleven participants (two cisgender journalists, eight transgender women and the cisgender *remis* driver), but only two argumentative paradigms: the television program's, which includes the discourse of both journalists, and the transgender sex workers', which encompasses the sex workers and the *remis* driver.

There are two other *Actor* categories, which represent subjects and institutions not present in the communicative situation. These are:

[10]The case of the first video in the table suggests that the topic is central in this correlation: though produced by the public national free-to-air television network—which could lead to expect a significant audience–, this video had only 201 views. Significantly, it is the only video produced by a television network that does not deal with transgender prostitution.

[11]In this paragraph I offer a minimal description of the audiovisual components of the report. My analysis focuses on verbal text, with the exception of three written headlines mentioned below, which were analyzed through the MSDALT and MCLA. The relation of image and text was only considered indirectly, in relation with information hierarchization (see *The Control of Discourse*). A full multimodal analysis that takes into account image, music and sound was not conducted for this work.

[12]A *remis* is similar to a taxi, but it can only be called by phone and charges a flat rate according to the travelled distance.

[13]Like the report's title, the first two headlines mention the Olympic Games as the cause of the transgender women's relocation, which implies that the realization of the Games is a valid reason for displacing the women from their usual location in the park. In *The Socio-Discursive Representation of the Transgender Sex Workers in Relation With the Government of the City of Buenos Aires*, we will see that this mention of the Games also constitutes a linguistic resource aimed at mitigating the Government's agency in that displacement.

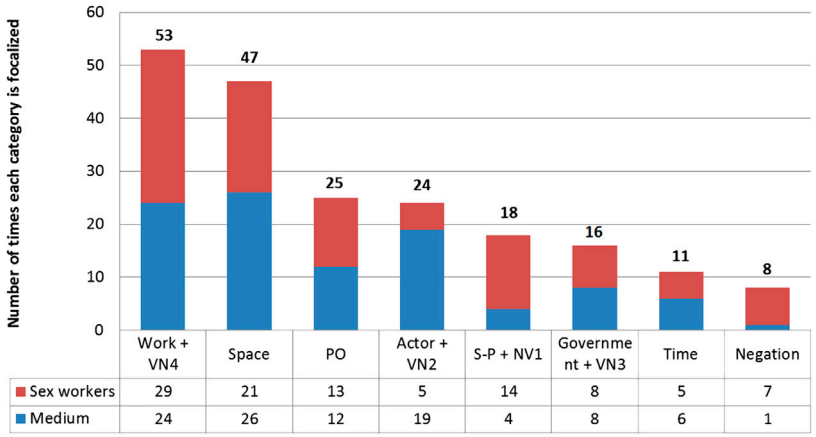

FIGURE 1 | Focus categories.

TABLE 3 | Focalization of the Actor *Work*: the clients.

Id	Time	PO	Actor *Work*	VN4 (Work)
MC		e46[¿**Y**	**los clientes se**	**repiten**
		digamos,	se	ven
	siempre		**las mismas caras**?] WF	
TSW4			e47[**Se**	**repiten**
			muchas caras.] WF	
MC			e48[**Se**	**repiten**.] WF
TSW4		e49[**Sí**		
	todas las noches		un par de **caras nuevas, diferentes clientes, todo nuevo**.] WF	
MC		e50[Y, pero,	**¿el promedio de edad?**] WF	
TSW5		e51[Y	**entre veinte y, treinta y cinco**.] WF	
TSW4			e52[**De veinte años hasta ochenta**.] WF	
MC		u46[**And**	**the clients,**	**do**
			they	**repeat**,
		I mean,		
	(you) **always** (see)		**the same faces**?] WF	
TSW4			u47[**They**	**do repeat,**
			many faces.] WF	
MC			u48[**They**	**do repeat**.] WF
TSW4		u49[**Yes**		
	every night		a couple **new faces, different clients, everything new**.] WF	
MC		u50[And, but,	**their age average?**] WF	
TSW5		u51[And	**between twenty and, thirty-five**.] WF	
TSW4			u52[**From twenty years up to eighty**.] WF	

TABLE 4 | Focalization of the Actor *Work*: economic aspects.

ID.	SPACE		TIME	VN2	PO	NEG.	ACTOR *WORK*	VN4 (WORK)
	PLANETARIUM	PALERMO						
MC					e20[**Y por supuesto,**		**la hilera** de *autos* que	
			todavía,			no	se	**parece**
								demasiado,
							a *lo que se*	***veía***,
		en la zona de Palermo.] WF						
					e120[Y qué,			
				se observa				*un cambio, hay*
							más *autos*	
	por acá?] WF							
							e160[¿**Cuántos** *autos* **menos**	**pasan**
	acá						de *lo que*	***era***…?] WF
MC					u20[**And of course,**		the **row** of *cars* that	
			still					does
						not		**look** *much* **like**,
							what	***was seen***,
		in the Palermo zone.] WF						
					u120[And what,			
				(do you) *see*				*a change, are there*
							more *cars*	
	around here?] WF							
							u160[**How many less** *cars*	**pass by**
	here						than *what it*	***used to***…?] WF

TABLE 5 | The semantic construction of the *Space* category in the discourse of the television program and the transgender sex workers.

Non-evaluative terms in the television programs's discourse	Evaluative terms in the transgender sex workers' discourse
A la derecha el Planetario/esta zona, este barrio, este territorio/en la zona de Palermo/el lugar/otras alternativas/la opción Planetario/el Rosedal/el primer destino/ahí al bosque/el predio/la calle Belisario Roldán/casi dos cuadras. To the right the Planetarium/this zone, this neighborhood, this territory/in the Palermo zone/the place/other alternatives/the Planetarium option/the Rose Garden/the first destiny/there to the woods/the land/Belisario Roldán Street/almost two blocks	Lo que es esto, re chiquitito/un orgullo nacional el Planetario/nos cultiva de un modo increíble/un asco/era nefasto/alguna solución potable/algo positivo/está horrible/mucha villa/es muy chiquita la zona. What this is, super tiny/the Planetarium, a national pride/it cultivates us in an incredible way/gross/it was terrible/some acceptable solution/something positive/it's horrible/much slum/the zone is very tiny

TABLE 6 | The representation of the transgender sex workers in relation with *Space*.

ID	ACTOR *TSW*	SPACE		TIME	VN2 (TSW)	PO
		PLANETARIUM	PALERMO			
MC	e19[Las chicas, que			ahora,	empiezan a, formar parte de,	
		esta zona, este barrio, este territorio.] WF				
	e28[¿Cuántas chicas				son	
		acá?] WF				
						e158[Igual se supone que
					van a volver	
			ahí.] WF			
MC	u19[The girls, who			now,	start being a part of,	
		this zone, this neighborhood, this territory.] WF				
	u28[How many girls				are	
		here?] WF				
						u158[Anyway, supposedly
	(you)				will return	
			there.] WF			

- *Actor* and *Value Nexus 3 (VN3)*: these categories correspond to the Government of the City of Buenos Aires. They were inductively named *Government.*
- *Actor* and *Value Nexus 4 (VN4)*: these categories personify different aspects of prostitution, like the clients and prices. They were inductively named *Work*.[14]
- *Space*: this category appears as a macro-category with three properties[15]: *Planetarium* (the new zone assigned to the sex workers), *Palermo* (the zone where they worked before the relocation), and *Alternatives* (possible sites that were discussed during negotiations with the government).
- *Time.*
- *Pragmatic Operator (PO).*
- *Negation.*

Figure 1 shows the distribution of the focus categories (phase 2 of the MCLA), illustrating the importance of each category in terms of information hierarchization. The first two bars correspond to the predominant focus categories: the Actor *Work* with its *Value Nexus* and the macro-category *Space*. The graph also discriminates how many times each category is focalized in the television program's and in the transgender sex workers' discourse. As we can see, nearly all categories have the same prominence in both cases, with three exceptions: the *Speaker-Protagonist* and *Value Nexus 1* (which are notably more focalized by the sex workers), the *Actor* and *Value Nexus 2* (notably more focalized by the television program), and *Negation* (notably more focalized by the sex workers). These exceptions will be discussed later.

[14]The SDMLAT is a fundamentally inductive method. This means that the socio-discursive representations are defined by the discursive categories that emerge from the text. Therefore, the classification and naming of these categories should respect the text's materiality as much as possible (Pardo, 2011, pp. 66–67). Throughout this news report, the transvestites and transgender women talk about their activity using terms like "work," "job" and "sector," but not "prostitution": for this reason, the corresponding emerging category was named *Work*.

[15]A macro-category is a category (grammaticalized or semantic-discursive) that encompasses other categories, which are considered its properties (Pardo, 2011).

TABLE 7 | Discursive identification of the *Space* and Actor *Work* categories.

ID	ACTOR *TSW*	SPACE		VN2 (TSW)	PO	S-P	ACTOR *WORK*
		PLANETARIUM	ALTERNATIVES				
MC					e207[Y	me	
				dice,	y		
	todas					me	
				decían lo mismo,	"y,		
	siete ocho chicas (de cada diez)			prefieren estar			
			(en otro lado)d				(en otro lado)d
					que		
				estar			
		(**acá**)d WF					(**acá**)d"] WF
MC					u207[And		
				told		me,	
	all of them			told		me	
				the same thing,	"and,		
	seven eight girls (out of ten)			prefer to be			
			(somewhere else)d				(somewhere else)d
					rather than		
				being			
		(**here**)d WF					(**here**)d"] WF

Prostitution and Urban Space

As I said, the Actor *Work* and *Space* are the two predominant focus categories. In the television program's discourse, the Actor *Work* is repeatedly focalized to describe, among other aspects of prostitution, the clients. In **Table 3**,[16] the questions made by journalist MC focalize the Actor *Work* in relation with the clients' regularity and their age average. In response, the transgender sex workers (TSW in the examples) also focalize the Actor *Work* and its *Value Nexus*. These categories are reinforced by reoccurring structures (*se repiten/they do repeat*) and lexical choices that add semantic charge (like *las mismas, muchas, nuevas/the same*, *many, new*, used to describe the clients, or the detailed account of age ranges, as in *de veinte años hasta ochenta/from twenty years up to eighty*).

The television program also directs its attention to the economic aspects of prostitution. Most of MC's questions and comments emphasize the effects of the economic crisis and the inflation on the workers' income. This includes comparing their current situation in the Planetarium area with their previous location, especially regarding the amount of clients. **Table 4** shows three interventions made by MC in different moments of the report. Utterance 20 belongs to the brief explanation he gives during the video's introduction, while utterances 120 and 160 are questions that he asks, respectively, to the *remis* driver and a transgender sex worker.

The first thing I wish to point out in this example is that the Actor *Work* and its *Value Nexus* are, at the same time, reinforced and mitigated. On the one hand, the quantitative elements of the comparison are reinforced by adverbs like *más* (*more*), *menos* (*less*) and *demasiado* (*much*), by lexical choices like *hilera* (*row*), which suggests a certain quantity and disposition, and by the contrastive use of the present and past tenses in *se parece* and *veía* (*look like/was seen*). On the other hand, other concrete aspects of the change that supports the comparison are mitigated. This

[16]In all SDMLAT examples, the cells must be read from left to right and from top to bottom. Each table is divided in two: the upper half shows the analysis of the Spanish original and the lower offers an approximate English translation. The column "Id" indicates which participant is speaking. Utterances appear between brackets and are preceded by the letter *u* (in Spanish, *e* for *emisión*) and their number. The letter combination "WF" indicates focus categories (Marchese, 2011, p. 38). Reinforcing resources are marked in bold and mitigating resources are marked in italics. In some examples, the most important columns were highlighted in grey.

TABLE 8 | The transgender sex workers' actions and states (in bold) related to the *Space* category (in italics).

In the television program's discourse		
Process type	**Examples**	**Frequency**
Relational	(. . .) por un mes **van a estar** *aquí* (for a month they **will be** *here*)	40%
Material	Igual se supone que **van a volver** *ahí* (Anyway, supposedly you **will return** *there*)	33.3%
Mental	¿Les **gustaba** *el Rosedal*? (**Did** you **like** *the Rose Garden*?)	20%
Existential	¿Cuántas chicas **son** *acá*? (How many girls **are there** *here*?)	6.6%
In the transgender sex workers' discourse		
Process type	**Examples**	**Frequency**
Material	Nosotras *acá* **trabajamos** con nuestro cuerpo (We **work** *here* with our body)	63.6%
	(. . .) **llegamos a**, bueno **a, a buscar** *alguna solución potable* (we **came to**, well, **to, to look for** *some acceptable solution*)	
Relational	(. . .) *donde* **estábamos** antes nos pusieron cámaras (*where* we **were** before, they set cameras)	36.3%

mitigation affects both the Actor *Work* and its *Value Nexus*: in the first case, the lexical choice *autos* (*cars*), which constitutes a metonymy (the vehicle for the driver), and the use of the neuter pronoun *lo* (*what*) blur the reference to the concrete individual clients; in the second case, the use of the passive voice (*se veía/was seen*), nominalizations (*un cambio/a change*), and existential processes (*hay*, *era/are there*, *used to*) dilute the semantic charge of the actions and states associated with this *Actor*.

The second thing I want to point out are the categorical displacements[17] that lead from the Actor *Work* and its *Value Nexus* to the *Space* category. In utterances 20 and 120, these displacements lead to a halt in the production of discourse, making *Space* the focus category of the utterance (see the "WF" flags). In utterance 160, a subsequent displacement goes "back" from *Space* to the Actor *Work*, which provides the second element of the comparison (*de lo que era/from what it used to*) and becomes the focus category. This illustrates how the Actor *Work* and *Space* become the report's two predominant focus categories, placing cognitive emphasis on the changes in geographical location and their impact on the sex workers' activity.

In this regard, the diachronic observation of the macro-category *Space*—which shows how it is semantically charged throughout the text by the reiteration of items that constitute lexical fields (Pardo, 2011, p. 86)—shows interesting differences depending on the participant. While the journalists' discourse about urban public space contains more "objective," non-evaluative terms, the transgender sex workers use more evaluative terms that explicitly involve subjectivity. This contrast is exemplified in **Table 5**. As can be seen, the semantic construction of the *Space* category in the television program's discourse includes proper names for places, buildings and streets, as well as common nouns like *zona* (*zone*), *barrio* (*neighborhood*) and *destino* (*destiny*), to describe the neighborhood and the park as the setting of the report, and to refer to the alternatives that were discussed during negotiations with the city's government. On the other hand, the transgender women use adjectives like *chiquitito (super tiny)*, *nefasto* (*terrible*) and *horrible* to reinforce negative characteristics of the Planetarium area and its alternatives in terms of their disadvantages for prostitution; but also adjectives like *potable* (*acceptable*) and *positivo* (*positive*), to express their hopes of finding a solution, and constructions like *un orgullo nacional* (*a national pride*), to appraise positive aspects of the Planetarium.

The Socio-Discursive Representation of the Transgender Sex Workers in Relation With Urban Space and Prostitution

The two predominant focus categories, the Actor *Work* and *Space*, have an important role in shaping the socio-discursive representation of the transgender women. In the television program's discourse, this is shown by the categorical displacements that systematically connect those two categories with the *Actor*. Concerning *Space*, this involves verbs that express either *moving* through space, *existing* in space or even *being a part of* space. **Table 6** shows three utterances from MC. Utterance 19 belongs to his opening explanation, while utterances 28 and 158 belong to his conversations with two transgender women. The arrows indicate the displacements from the *Value Nexus 2* towards *Space*, which in all cases is reinforced as the focus category. In utterance 19, the action in *Value Nexus 2* (*empiezan a formar parte/start being a part of*) associates the transgender women with space in terms of identification: their relocation implies that they stopped *being a part of* a particular area of the park and began *being a part of* another. Here the *Space* category is reinforced not only by its focus position, but also by the semantic charge added by lexical choices *zona* (*zone*), *barrio* (*neighborhood*) and *territorio* (*territory*). The repetition of the adjective *este/esta* (*this*), which connotes proximity, also reinforces the *Space* category. In utterance 28, the action in *Value Nexus 2* is expressed by the verb *to be* (*son/are*), associating the transgender women with *Space* in terms of their quantified existence: MC asks *how many* girls are currently in that space.[18] Finally, in utterance 158, the action

[17]The theory of categorical displacements is "a systematized study of the movements made by the speaker within the utterances when passing from one category to another" (Pardo, 2011, p. 99). This theory allows us to observe how a speaker "moves" through different semantic contents and, therefore, what displacement patterns are established between these contents in the unfolding of discourse. In all examples, categorical displacements are illustrated by arrows.

[18]The portrayal of transvestite and transgender sex workers as quantities that occupy urban space has appeared in previous analyses (Soich, 2016).

TABLE 9 | The representation of the Government of the City of Buenos Aires.

ID	ACTOR *TSW*	VN1 (S-P)	SPACE		TIME	VN3 (GOVERNMENT)	PO	S-P
			PLANETARIUM	PALERMO				
MC	e21[Las					***cambiaron***		
			de lugar.]WF					
TSW4								e22[**Nos**
						cambiaron		
			de lugar,	donde				
		estábamos			antes			**nos**
						pusieron **cámaras, reflectores**		**nos**
						pusieron **todo**.] WF		
								e23[**Nos**
						dijeron que era		
					hasta el diecioch o de octubre		pero, evidenteme nte parece que	**nos**
						quieren dejar		
			acá.] WF					
MC						u21[(They) ***changed***		
	your		**place**.] WF					
TSW4						u22[(They) ***changed***		**our**
			place,	where				**we**
		were			before	(they) ***set*** **cameras, reflectors**		(against) **us,**
						(they) ***set*** **everything**.] WF		
						u23[(They) ***told***		**us**
						it was		
					until October the eighteent h		but, evidently it seems that	
						(they) ***want to leave***		**us**
			here.] WF					

TABLE 10 | Mitigating resources that affect the Government of the City of Buenos Aires as an agent.

Resource	Examples (resources in italics)
Erasure of the grammatical subject	¿Les *dieron* un subsidio, les *dieron* algo? *Did* (they) *give* you a subsidy, *did* (they) *give* you anything? (u35) Desde la ciudad me *dijeron* que, cuando terminen los juegos van a volver adonde estaban. From the city (they) *told* me that, when the games are over, they will go back to where they were. (u209)
Nominalizations	¿Cómo cayó *el cambio* de lugar? How was *the change* of place received? (u136) Una de las consecuencias que, colaterales que trajeron los juegos olímpicos, la *reubicación* de las chicas. One of the collateral consequences that the olympic games brought [was] the *relocation* of the girls. (u216)
Passive forms	¿*Se negoció* rápido el lugar? *Was* the placed *negotiated* fast? (u78) ¿En esas tres reuniones en la primera qué *se dijo*? In those three meetings, what *was said* in the first one? (u140) Al Rosedal, ese era el primer destino *pensado*. To the Rose Garden, that was the first *conceived* destination. (u143)
Impersonal forms	Donde antes paraban, las chicas trans, en lo que se llama habitualmente zona roja, *hubo que trasladarlas*, *hubo una negociación* y, por un mes van a estar aquí. Where the trans girls used to be, in what was usually called the red zone, *they had to be moved*, *there was a negotiation* and, for a month they will be here. (u3)
Presenting the reason for the displacement as the agent	Corridas *por los Juegos*. Displaced *by/because of the Games*. (Headline 1) Una de las consecuencias que, colaterales que *trajeron los juegos olímpicos*, la reubicación de las chicas. One of the collateral consequences that *the olympic games brought* [was] the relocation of the girls. (u216)
Use of the *Space* category	¿Y *el Planetario cómo aparece como opción*? And *how does the Planetarium appear as an option*? (u155)

in *Value Nexus 2* is expressed by the more dynamic verb *van a volver* (*you will return*), which associates transgender women to *Space* in terms of physical movement, thus presenting them with a higher degree of agency.

In some cases, lexical items referring to space are used metonymically, to allude to the activity (prostitution/sex work) that occurs in that space. This results in a discursive identification of the Actor *Work* and *Space* categories.[19] In **Table 7**, which corresponds to the closing editorial remark by MC, the items *acá* (*here*) and *en otro lado* (*somewhere else*) have a primarily spatial reference. However, the context shows that these adverbial elements are being used to talk about something more than geographical location: when MC says that the transgender sex workers would rather be *somewhere else*, he is implying that they would prefer having a different type of occupation. In the example, these lexical items were duplicated in the Actor *Work* and *Space* categories[20] to illustrate the resulting discursive identification. An important effect of this is that the transgender women's identities are symbolically defined in the narrow terms of those particular urban spaces and the activities that take place in them.

The transgender women's discourse presents a different approach to the *Space* category than the television program. **Table 8** shows the process types that express the sex workers' actions and states related to urban space. In this regard, there is a significant contrast in the predominant process types: while the television program favors relational processes (40%)—which, as we saw, define the sex workers' interaction with space in terms of mere *being*–, the vast majority of the processes used by the transgender women (63%) are material, describing a more active interaction with urban space in terms of *working*, *looking for* alternative areas, etc. Although the program also uses a significant amount (33.3%) of material processes to talk about the workers' relation with space, these actions are circumscribed to physical mobility, with the workers being presented as *coming*, *going* or *returning* to different areas of the park.

The Socio-Discursive Representation of the Transgender Sex Workers in Relation with the Government of the City of Buenos Aires

The Government of the City of Buenos Aires is represented by an *Actor* with its corresponding *Value Nexus (VN3)*. In the discourses of both the television program and the transgender sex workers, several linguistic resources converge in those categories to produce a socio-discursive representation of the government that is closely related to the representation of the transgender women.

In the television program's discourse, the categorical displacements systematically connect the Actor *Government* and its *Value Nexus* with the categories of *Space* and the *Actor* that represents the sex workers. These displacements reinforce the government's role as an agent that efficaciously controls public space and its occupants. **Table 9** illustrates this with an interview segment. In utterance 21 (a comment made by MC to trigger dialogue), the first displacement goes from the *Actor* that represents the sex workers, instantiated by the object pronoun *las*, to the government's *Value Nexus*, instantiated by the action *cambiaron* (*changed*), and from there to the focus category *Space*, instantiated by the

[19]The use of the *Work* category to allude to different aspects of prostitution and its discursive identification with the *Space* category trigger the question as to whether *Work* could be considered a semantic-discursive category rather than an *Actor*. This is indeed an interpretative possibility allowed by the theory, as, on the one hand, discursive representations can be instantiated in grammaticalized as well as in semantic-discursive categories (Pardo, 2011, p. 82); and, on the other hand, grammaticalized categories can assume semantic features that strengthen their argumentative functions (Pardo, 2015). In this report, the *Work* category assumes specific semantic features and is clearly a central part of the discursive representation of prostitution. However, I have chosen to interpret it primarily as a grammaticalized category –an *Actor*–, because its main argumentative function is to represent the internalized social voices of the clients and their interest, as part of a greater "voice" that embodies the prevailing economic conditions and their influence on the transgender workers' activity.

[20]Duplicated lexical items always appear between brackets, followed by the letter *d*.

TABLE 11 | Reinforcement of institutional violence against transgender women.

Id	Actor *Government*	VN1 (S-P)	Space	VN3 (Government)	PO	Neg	S-P
			Palermo				
TSW4					e26[Y		
			los lugares que				
		podías estar,			**ya directamente**		te
				***llevan* presa**.] WF			
TSW8							e202[Te
				tratan como, como, como			lo que
						no	
		somos,			*supuestamente*,		
	para ellos.] WF						e203 [**Personas**.] WF
TSW4					u26[And		
			the places where				(you)
		could be,					
	(they)				**straight away**		
				throw			you
				in jail.] WF			
TSW8	u202[(They)			*treat*			you
				like, like, like			what we
		are				**not**,	
					supposedly,		
	for them.] WF						u203 [**People**.] WF

prepositional construction *de lugar* (*your place*).[21] The same pattern appears in the first part of the sex worker's response (utterance 22): starting from the object pronoun *nos* in the *Speaker-Protagonist* category, discourse moves towards the same action (*cambiaron/changed*) in the government's *Value Nexus*, and from there to the same prepositional construction (*de lugar/our place*) in the *Space* category. Then, after passing through the *Value Nexus 1* and *Time* categories, the same pattern—an object pronoun in the *Speaker-Protagonist* followed by an action in the government's *Value Nexus*—is repeated twice to indicate governmental vigilance (through cameras and reflectors) aimed at thwarting the return of the transgender sex workers to their usual area in the park. Finally, in utterance 23, the same displacement pattern appears yet two more times (*nos dijeron, nos quieren dejar/they told us, they want to leave us*) and the utterance ends with *Space* as the focus category. The constant repetition of this displacement pattern reinforces the government's agency over the transvestites and transgender women, who in turn are represented as passive recipients of those actions through the reinforcing reiteration of the object pronouns.[22]

The reinforcement of the Government of the City of Buenos Aires as the controller of urban space coexists with several mitigating resources that omit or conceal it as a *concrete* agent. These resources can be observed both in the television program's and in the transgender women's discourse, but they are more frequent in the former, especially in MC's questions and comments. **Table 10** classifies and exemplifies these mitigating resources. First, we have the erasure of the grammatical subject (see utterances 35 and 209 in the table; for additional examples, see all instances of the *Value Nexus 3* in **Table 9**). Unlike English, in Spanish the subject can usually be

[21]In this example, it was impossible to offer an accurate English translation while, at the same time, respecting the Spanish pattern of categorical displacements. For this reason, although that pattern was maintained as much as possible, the arrows in the two halves of the table do not match.

[22]Utterance 22 is an exception, because the object pronouns *nos* (*nos pusieron cámaras*, *nos pusieron todo*) are not functioning there as direct objects but as "datives of interest": they indicate that the actions of *setting cameras* and *setting everything* are (negatively) affecting the sex workers' interest.

TABLE 12 | The *Negation* category in the transgender sex workers' discourse.

ID	ACTOR *TSW*	VN3 (*GOVERNMENT*)	PO	NEG.	S-P
MC	e35[¿Les	dieron un subsidio,	así,		
	les	dieron algo?] WF			
TSW5		→		e36[**Nada**.] WF	
TSW4				e37[**Nada**.] WF	e38[A nosotras
				no	nos
		dieron →		**nada**.] WF	
MC		u35[Did (they) give			
	you	a subsidy,	like,		
		did (they) give			
	you	anything?] WF			
TSW5		→		u36[**Nothing**.] WF	
TSW4				u37[**Nothing**.] WF	u38[To us,
		(they) did		**not**	
		give			us
		→		**anything**.] WF	

omitted because the verbal desinence indicates tense, number and person. Erasing the grammatical subject can thus be used to avoid specifying the identity or nature (in this case, the governmental nature) of the agent. In the second place, we have nominalizations: in utterances 136 and 216, the nominal forms *el cambio* (*the change*) and *la reubicación* (*the relocation*) avoid explicitly stating *who made* the change or *who relocated* the transgender women. The same can be said of passive forms: in utterances 78 and 140, the passive forms with the pronoun *se* avoid specifying *who negotiated* or *who said* certain things during negotiation. In utterance 143, the past participle *pensado* (*conceived*) could be followed by a complement that specifies the agent (conceived *by* . . .); its absence constitutes another mitigating resource. The following mitigating resource is using impersonal forms: in utterance 3, the Spanish forms *haber* and *haber que* allow to present the acts of relocating the transgender women and negotiating with them as impersonal events that simply "take place," as if without any concrete agent's intervention.

So far, these resources affect the *Value Nexus 3*, that is, the category that expresses the government's actions and states. The last two rows in the table show other categories that are used to mitigate the government's agency. In the first headline that appears onscreen (on which the title of the YouTube's video is based), the Spanish preposition *por* in *por los Juegos* can be read both as indicating the agent (*displaced by the Games*) or the reason (*displaced because of the Games*); while in utterance 216, *los juegos olímpicos* (*the olympic games*) are explicitly constructed as the grammatical subject and agent. These constitute two cases of presenting the reason adduced for the relocation as the agent itself, which of course contributes to hiding the actual agent: the city's government. Finally, as we can see in the last row (utterance 155), the *Space* category is used to describe the Planetarium as an option that, during negotiations between the transgender collective and the government, "appeared" as if by itself.

In the transgender sex workers' discourse, the Actor *Government* generally exhibits the same reinforcing and mitigating resources. This is especially noticeable in the object pronouns and categorical displacements that reinforce the transgender women as passive recipients of the government's actions, and in the constant erasure of the grammatical subject that mitigates the government's agency (see all instances of the *Speaker-Protagonist* and *Value Nexus 3* categories in **Table 9**). However, the transgender women also use (a few) reinforcing resources to highlight the government's violence against them. In **Table 11**, utterance 26, the transgender woman explains that they cannot return to their usual working areas because, if they do, the police immediately detain them. Although the action *llevan presa* (*throw in jail*) is mitigated by the erasure of the grammatical subject, it nevertheless closes the utterance, making the government's *Value Nexus* the focus category and thus reinforcing institutional violence. The *Pragmatic Operator* category is also used to reinforce this violence by adding a sense of instantaneity: going to their usual zone amounts to being detained *straight away*. In utterances 202 and 203, another transgender woman describes the treatment they receive from the government in terms of not being regarded as *people*. She focalizes the Actor *Government* and the *Speaker-Protagonist* categories to respectively reinforce the one who denies them their subjectivity (*para ellos*/*for them*), and the denied human condition (*personas*/*people*). This is the only focalization in the

TABLE 13 | The naturalization of social exclusion in the closing editorial remark.

ID	ACTOR *TSW*	ACTOR *GOVERNMENT*	SPACE			TIME	VN2 (TSW)	VN3 GOVERNMENT	PO	S-P	ACTOR *WORK*
			PLANETARIUM	PALERMO	ALTERNATIVES						
MC									e207[Y	me	
							dice,		y		
	todas									me	
							decían lo mismo,		"y,		
	siete ocho chicas (de cada diez)						prefieren estar				
					(en otro lado)d						(en otro lado)d
									que		
							estar				
			(acá)d								**(acá)**d".] WF
									e208 [Que		
							estar				
			a la intemperie			**en el medio de la noche**.] WF					
		e209[Desde la ciudad								me	
								dijeron que,			
						cuando terminen los juegos	van a volver				
				(adonde)d							(adonde)d
							estaban.] WF				

ID	ACTOR *TSW*	ACTOR *GOVERNMENT*	SPACE			TIME	VN2 (TSW)	VN3 GOVERNMENT	PO	S-P	ACTOR *WORK*
			PLANETARIUM	PALERMO	ALTERNATIVES						
MC									u207 [And		
							told			me,	
									and		
	all of them						told			me	
							the same thing,		"and,		
	seven eight girls (out of ten)						prefer to be				
					(somewhere else)d						(somewhere else)d
									rather than		
							being				
			(**here**)d WF								(**here**)d".] WF
									u208 [Than		
							being				
			out in the open sky			**in the middle of the night**.] WF					
		u209[From the city (they)						told		me	
								that,			
						when the games are over,					
	they						will go back to				
				(where)d							(where)d
	they						**were**.] WF				

whole video that personifies the Actor *Government*, even if it does so vaguely, with a third person pronoun.

Finally, the transgender women's discourse also presents a distinctive use of the *Negation* category to reinforce the government's inaction and neglect of their collective. **Table 12** shows how their answers to MC's question reinforce the *Negation* category by repeating the lexical item *nada* (*nothing*, *anything*) which affects the actions expressed in the government's *Value Nexus*. It is worth noticing that here, just like in **Table 9**, all categorical displacements present the transgender women as passive recipients of the government's actions (or lack thereof).

The Control of Discourse

According to van Dijk (1993, 1999, 2001a), social power is directly related with the degree of control that different participants have over the properties of discourse and its context: members of more powerful social groups tend to have more control over textual and contextual aspects of discourse, and vice versa. In the case here under analysis, historical and political factors—such as the history of the Clarín media group and deeply rooted discrimination of non-traditional gender identities in Argentina—make one expect a higher degree of social power from the television program in relation to the transgender sex workers. In that regard, my analysis of this report provides linguistic evidence of this power asymmetry and of its effect on the construction of discourse.

In the first place, I have noted that, although the distribution of focus categories is similar in the discourses of the television program and the transgender women (see **Figure 1**), there were some exceptions. Two of them involved the *Actor* and *Value Nexus 2* categories—which are notably more focalized by the program –, and the *Speaker-Protagonist* and *Value Nexus 1* categories—notably more focalized by the transgender women. As I have explained, in the program's discourse the *Actor* and *Value Nexus 2* categories represent the transgender women; while, in the transgender women's discourse, the *Speaker-Protagonist* and *Value Nexus 1* represent the women themselves. This asymmetry shows that, regardless of who is speaking, the transgender women are always the most focalized participants, coming into the spotlight only to be "talked about" in terms of their quantity, spatial location, and the economic details of prostitution. In contrast, the television program's discursive position remains consistently out of the spotlight.[23] The analysis of information focalization, then, shows the program's greater degree of control over the exposure of the different participants.

The same analysis also shows that the television program controls which discursive categories are emphasized through the editing process. This happens in two ways. The first involves the editing cuts that, during the whole video, truncate what a person is saying, with the presumable purpose of leaving out pauses or interruptions and abbreviating their speech. Whichever the intended purpose, these cuts have a concrete impact on the distribution of focus categories as they create new focuses. There are at least ten of these cuts in the video, and all of them affect the transgender sex workers' discourse. The focuses created by these cuts correspond to the following categories: the Actor *Work* (30%), *Space* (30%), the Actor *Government* (20%), the *Speaker-Protagonist* (10%), and the *Pragmatic Operator* (10%). This means that, in the case of the two predominant focus categories (Actor *Work* and *Space*), the editing cuts account respectively for 5.4 and 6% of the total focuses.

The second way in which the editing process impacts on information focalization involves the short compilation of interview segments that opens the video. These segments are repeated later, resulting in nine utterances that appear twice. Consequently, nine particular focuses are repeated, placing an extra emphasis on certain discursive categories. These are: the *Value Nexus* that corresponds to the transgender sex workers (44.4%), the Actor *Work* with its *Value Nexus* (33.3%), *Space* (11.1%) and *Time* (11.1%). Regarding the first two categories, focus repetition produced by editing accounts respectively for 22.2% and 5.4% of the total focuses. The information thus highlighted is always related to the practical and economic aspects of prostitution. Therefore, by creating and repeating focuses in the editing process, the program shapes the general distribution of focus categories and reinforces the topics of urban space and prostitution as were described in *Prostitution and Urban Space* and *The Socio-Discursive Representation of the Transgender Sex Workers in Relation With Urban Space and Prostitution*.

Finally, in the closing editorial remark by MC and MLS, as is traditional, the program has the final word on the subject. Here, both cisgender journalists bring up the fact that transgender women experience greater difficulty in getting jobs than cisgender people, and that most of them would prefer to leave prostitution. In **Table 13**, utterance 207, MC expresses this view by reporting the transgender women's words. This utterance was already displayed in **Table 7**, to show how urban space and prostitution become discursively identified through the categories *Space* and the Actor *Work*. In the following utterance (208), MC reinforces his assertion about transgender people's exclusion from the labor market by describing their working conditions in the public space. In doing so, he deviates from the program's predominant use of non-evaluative terms in the *Space* category (see **Table 5**) to introduce evaluative terms that reinforce the precarious spatial (*a la intemperie/out in the open sky*) and temporal (*en el medio de la noche/in the middle of the night*) conditions. However, despite these sympathetic remarks, the following and conclusive utterance (209) returns to the discursive identification of urban space and prostitution as the symbolic place where the transgender women will *go back* once the Olympic Games have finished. This way, the complex issue of structural transgender exclusion—which was barely addressed during the interviews—is screened by the "news" that the transgender women will eventually be permitted to return to their previous location. As a result, the *status quo* is naturalized and presented as the end of a conflictive situation.

CONCLUSION

The linguistic analysis revealed some significant traits of the socio-discursive representation constructed in this news report:

- The cognitive emphasis is placed on prostitution and urban public space, with the Actor *Work* and *Space* as the predominant focus categories. These categories highlight different aspects of prostitution, especially the economic (clients and prices), in relation to the changes brought by the geographical relocation.

[23]The only exception is a brief "playful" discussion between MC and two transgender sex workers, about whether MC fits with the average age and physical appearance of the regular client.

Quantitative changes (client frequency, inflation) are reinforced, while the clients' concrete identities and agency are mitigated.

- The television program's representation of urban public space is constructed mainly with non-evaluative terms that refer to geographical location. The transgender sex workers are portrayed merely as circulating bodies or, sometimes, even as another part of public space. In contrast, the transgender women describe their relation with public space not only in terms of circulating and being, but also of working. In this sense, they appraise different places with evaluative terms regarding their safety, appearance, etc.
- The television program uses adverbial elements connected with space and names like "red zone" in an ambiguous metonymical sense that produces a discursive identification of urban public space and prostitution. These ambiguous elements are in close connection with the categories that represent the transgender women, resulting in the symbolical reduction of their identities to the "prostitution/public space" pair.
- The Government of the City of Buenos Aires is represented by the television program as an agent that efficaciously controls the transgender women's occupation of public space. At the same time, the specificity of this governmental agent is systematically mitigated by different linguistic resources that allow concealing or omitting the grammatical subject. This linguistic strategy allows highlighting the effects of governmental control while avoiding any concrete reference to their context, such as the concrete participants, the history and the dynamic of the negotiation behind the relocation, etc. Governmental actions are thus discursively represented as impersonal events.
- Only the transvestites and transgender women focalize the Actor *Government* and *Negation* categories to address institutional violence and the neglect of their work and life conditions.
- Both through the dialogues and the subsequent editing process, the television program exerts a high degree of control over the properties of discourse and the communicative situation. This is signaled by the tendencies found in the analysis of information focalization in relation with the discursive traits described in the previous points.

From these points, I conclude that this news report is pervaded by a discursive naturalization of the *status quo*. While the transvestites and transgender women are presented as passive, consumable bodies that circulate in and make up urban public space, the Government of the City's restrictive actions to order that space—and the bodies that inhabit it—appear as effective yet impersonal events. Although the journalists mention that most transgender women would prefer to have a different occupation, the report's general focus consolidates the idea of prostitution as their "natural place," with the closing editorial remark describing normality as "going back to where they were". To use a theatrical metaphor, the report's discursive stage is crowded with different *Actors* that represent the transgender women, the Government, the clients and even the economic crisis. However, there is no scenery: no semantic-discursive categories are used to provide background or context. The spotlight falls on the geographical relocation, but the negotiation process that led to it, the role of the transgender movement and the structural exclusion are left out of the spotlight and behind the curtains. For this reason, even though this television piece is politically correct and does not display any evident form of gender-based violence, the socio-discursive representation it constructs sustains, through its de-contextualizing and naturalizing effects, a degree of symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1998). This symbolic violence is discursively epitomized by the closing description of the transgender women's displacement as a mere "collateral consequence" of the Olympic Games (see utterance 216 in **Table 10**), which does not only appraise the women's situation as less important than the realization of the Games, but also tacitly bases this appraisal on the fact that, sooner or later, they will return to their "natural place".

These results do not differ essentially from those of previous research into the socio-discursive representation of transvestites and transgender women in similarly themed television pieces from the decades of 1990–2000 (Soich, 2010; Soich, 2011; Soich, 2016). By 2018, the social visibility of transgender issues had increased notably, and much reliable information about transgender people's lack of access to basic human rights in Argentina had been produced. However, the report's lackluster conclusion about the transgender women going "back to where they were" makes one think that it is rather the mainstream media who have yet to depart from their old habits.

DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

The original contributions presented in the study are included in the article/Supplementary Material, further inquiries can be directed to the corresponding author.

AUTHOR CONTRIBUTIONS

MS is the only author of this work; therefore, he alone has conducted all the stages in the research process: corpus search and selection, linguistic and social analysis, graphs and tables design, writing, etc.

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Gender and Environment in the Interior of Santiago Island/Cape Verde: Sand Harvesting From Women Heads of Families**

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Cape Verde is an island country and Sahelian, where the climatic conditions cause a rainfall deficit originating dry periods causing a fragile agricultural development. The rural world is facing various problems such as lack of land for cultivation, lack of water and soil erosion. The "*apanha de areia*" (sand haversting) refers to the extraction of sand and gravel from the sea and rocks. Although it is considered as an environmental crime, the activity is carried for generations and supplies the civil construction business of the country. This study analyze this activity from the perspective of women from the interior of Santiago, in the locality of Charco, in the municipality of Santa Catarina. The research was carried out based on an ethnography of long duration, with spaced field visits, since January 2009 and the monitoring of environmental and gender policies in Cape Verde. As results, we highlight women's agency in the face of a context of growing social inequalities.

Keywords: gender, cape verde, women, environmentalism, development

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INTRODUCTION

Cape Verde is commonly presented in the literature as an island and Sahelian country, in which its climatic conditions cause a rainfall deficit, originating dry periods that persevere and, therefore, impose a fragile agricultural development. As a result, poverty and vulnerability are phenomena that have crossed the archipelago's entire history.

The Cape Verde archipelago is located on the West African coast. It is composed of ten islands, nine of which are inhabited, being its population comprised of 248,280 women and 243,403 men, according to the 2010 population census. (Instituto Nacional Estatística, 2011). Considered as a medium developing country, the percentage of the poor population (people living below the poverty line, based on an income of less than 49,485$00 per year) was 26.6% in 2007, according to Cape Verde's Unified Questionnaire of Basic Wellbeing Indicators, published in the Statistical Yearbook. (Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 2015, p. 63). Regarding the poverty distribution, the same survey

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showed a higher incidence in the rural areas, indicating that "the depth of poverty was 8.1%, whereas in urban areas this value was 3.3%, and in rural areas, it was 14.3%" and, concerning the intensity of poverty, "it reached 3.4% in 2007, while in urban areas it was 1.3%, and in rural areas 6.3%". (Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 2015, p. 63).

However, the poverty concept does not only cover income and consumption. As an institutional category that supports public policies, to beyond the deprivation of elementary needs, the notion of poverty became part of the deprivation of freedom to choose, to outline an earlier situation and, consequently, the non-participation in the policy-making processes. It is a multiple deprivation, that is, a deprivation in several domains. In this case, one can speak of exclusion, even though the two concepts–poverty and social exclusion–present distinct realities that cannot always coexist, although they are often confused and linked to each other.

Pedro Demo, (1995) talks about two different types of poverty: the socioeconomic and the political. In his perspective, when we think about poverty, the material aspect is the first one that comes to mind; it is a deficiency. However, the sociologist recognizes a type of poverty associated with the field of power, that is, a dimension of citizenship, participation, and forms of political organization. All of this is achieved when the poor begin to reflect on their condition and look for solutions to break with this influential logic; when they cease to be mere objects and do not see poverty as something innate.

In the 1990s, the Cape Verdean governments started to include the poverty dimension in their policies. In 1997, the National Program to Fight Poverty (PNLP) was presented as a decentralized and participation tool for the different social actors involved, considering that the fight against poverty also came to be understood as a task for the poor themselves. This effort to reduce and eradicate poverty began to rely on both macro and microeconomic policies, making it clear that the intention was to present "growth with inclusion, growth with a human face", as documented in the Program to Fight Poverty in Rural Areas (2008–2011). These characteristics have been pointed out in Furtado's research (2008) on the development of policies concerning poverty in Cape Verde and in Veríssimo's study (2015) on the implementation of the Program to Fight Poverty in Rural Santiago.

Considering that poverty is constituted and distributed in different ways, depending on the islands and municipalities, and being more predominant among the rural population, it is noteworthy that the islands that mostly comprise rural inhabitants are the most affected, being Santiago Island one of them. According to (Furtado, 2008, p. 21):

> "Natural, technical and social conditions of agricultural production, a land structure based mainly on the indirect exploitation of land and smallholdings, rudimentary production techniques and technologies in rainfed agriculture characterize the world of Cape Verdean agricultural production, making productivity extremely low and the income earned not able to guarantee minimally the survival of families, making more than two thirds of the farm members to have sources of income from extra-agricultural activities."

Thus, the rural world faces several problems related to the lack of land for cultivation, besides other environmental phenomena such as insufficient water for consumption and agricultural use. Regarding the water consumption in Cape Verde, it is mainly from underground sources. Its flow type largely regulates the exploitation of surface water that has a torrential origin. Therefore, its quantity is underutilized due to the difficulties of capturing it.

The water issue is considered of vital importance to overcome barriers to development. This is the result of the countless efforts to build water infrastructures able to solve the problem of water shortage in Cape Verde, such as the dams. (Ferreira, 2016).

In these policies, it is assumed a development that bets on a multidimensional character, on an interdisciplinary approach, in which different dimensions of life are articulated, demanding participatory and empowerment methodologies. As Chambers, (1983) has shown, farmers are expected to become "architects and actors of their own development."

According to the Poverty Reduction and Growth Strategy Document III (DECRP III 2012–2016), poverty in Cape Verde is considered rural and female:

> "Concerning the different impacts in each population group, poverty in Cape Verde has been a historical problem that takes into account the weaknesses and vulnerabilities faced by the nation. Poverty tends to be rural, and a higher proportion of women are poor if compared to men. The same is true for female-headed households compared to male ones. Poverty in Cape Verde is considered then rural and female (DECRP III, 2012–2016)."

In this context, the aim of this study present some reflections from a long-lasting ethnography, which started in January 2009, based on the perspective of women from Charco, located in Santa Catarina municipality. Therefore, we carry out field observations, interviews and informal conversations. All testimonies and narratives collected during fieldwork are using fictitious names to preserve identities (Beaud and Weber, 2007; Fonseca, 2010).

CHARCO'S REGION

Santiago Island is the largest in terms of surface (991 km^2) and concentrates more than half of the country's total population (approximately 54%). Santa Catarina is one of its nine municipalities and, in the past, was the most populous one. Today, agriculture and livestock are still vital activities for the region.

For this research, we chose the Vila de Ribeira da Barca, a coastal region in Santa Catarina municipality, and other zones in its large area, particularly in the Charco, which is a region considered strongly impacted by the "*apanha da areia*" (sand

harvesting). Sand harvesting is a process that consists of the extraction of sea sand and rocks, such as gravel and crushed stone, for the use in civil construction. According to Moassab and Vieira (2016, p. 55),

> "Territorial restrictions added to the water shortage result in high pressure on the main natural resources which, as well as the lack of employment, are at the basis of the economic activities that use aggregate extraction."

The Charco's drainage basin extends over an area of 35.58 km^2 with a perimeter of 32 km. Its annual average rainfall is 400 mm/year in the high-altitude spaces and 150 mm/year in the low. Besides that, it presents climatic extremes that diversify from the sub-humid, semi-arid to the arid, promoting three agroecological zones. The basin areas contiguous to the sea today face problems of marine intrusion. Hence the soil salinization, which, according to Cape Verdean technicians, is the result of the exploitation of aggregates (sand harvesting) by the local and surrounding populations.

Charco's community, which is composed of 266 inhabitants, including 144 women and 122 men, comprises the areas of Figueira Coxo, Covão Dentro, Djangago, Lém Freire, Terra Vermelha, Taberna, and Locale (Dogoule). In them, a total of 51 households were identified, being 30 of them female-headed families, according to data collected from the Third General Population and Housing Census in 2010. (Instituto Nacional Estatística, 2011).

However, at first, this was not what called our attention concerning the Charco's community. It was, on the one hand, the evidence of an intense movement of women dedicating themselves to sand harvesting–something that came from decades ago –, and, on the other, the institutional statements that emerged in this scenario focusing on environmental degradation and, consequently, on the women's culpability. Based on this, the need to (re)convert women to agriculture or to other income-generating activities appears, with government and/or non-government support.

Regarding policies, in addition to the above-mentioned program aimed at reducing poverty, Environmental Action Plans (PANA) were also developed. The first, for the period from 1994 to 2004 (PANA I) and, later, covering the period from 2004 to 2014 (PANA II). The second plan was composed of six volumes, being the first one dedicated to "the impact of aggregates harvesting and extraction". Among other environmental damages, this activity is considered to be responsible for "landscape degradation", impacting the development of tourism. Then, in 2007, the aggregate extraction without authorization was criminalized.

Thus, it is not by chance that poverty and social exclusion have become political problems, since the populations' conditions of existence, as well as their laws and rights, are at stake; they are not only enactments. On the contrary, its effectiveness legitimizes democracy. In a democratic context, decisions must go through the target audience of certain policies or programs and recognizing them as social actors in these environments is the way to guarantee participation in decision-making processes (Oliveira, 2000). This dynamic viability in a Cape Verdean rural community makes us reflect on the concept of *dialogic ethics* of Roberto Cardoso Oliveira, (2000), considering that, for the author, the issue involves a democratic process, a process that must be guided by symmetry, based on the understanding of those who are touched by a discourse. Everyone must be part of the same space of participation and intervention.

What Mr. Sogni, a resident of Ribeira da Barca, assured us is that "out of necessity, there is no more sand, because people took everything to harvest, to sell, to live". This statement allowed us to identify a hierarchy among the residents of these communities. The women who participate in the sand harvesting complain that they are despised, they are insulted of long necks, and are widely criticized. In this case, they insist on showing that, on the one hand, there are women who participate in this process, and for this reason, they show signs of a daily struggle; on the other hand, other people show up, women and men, who do nothing and only expect to receive or simply wait for the others to give them something.

In this context, sand harvesting reveals agency and contestation dimensions in relation to the situation of social and economic inequality of women and families in rural areas.

More recently, in 2015, the non-governmental organization *Renascença Africana*: West African Women's Association (RAMAO) in Cape Verde held public sessions to create awareness in the population of several islands where extractive activities were manifested. It is a project that involves other countries in the African subregion and aims at "preventing risk in coastal areas". The first action was in Santiago Island north side, comprising the municipalities of Tarrafal, São Miguel, Santa Cruze, Santa Catarina, therefore, covering women from the Charco's community.

A television news broadcast about this awareness-raising action presented the perspective of women who participated in this meeting. A group of women who are in the sand harvesting made a manifest entitled "*lenço branco na cabeça*" (white scarf on the head). One of the ladies said that sand harvesting "harms our health first, then it harms the environment; but as we have no other option, we keep going there". Another lady talked about the difficulties of supporting her family–one of her children was disabled, so the extraction was what was left to her.

We participated in RAMAO's second action, held on July 11, in the Old City, contemplating Santiago Island south side. The meeting entitled "Risk Prevention in the Coastal Areas of Santiago Island" was attended by women from different locations, many accompanied by their children. The event took place during the morning and ended in a community lunch and a presentation of *batuko*[1]. It was also present authorities in gender

[1]*Batuko* is a traditional Cape Verdean manifestation, especially from Santiago Island. According to (Semedo, 2009, p. 14), "*Batuko* is mainly a feminine space, in which women, *batukadeiras*, through lyrics talk about men and women (about themselves and others), talk about the local and Cape Verdean space".

policies, representatives of the Cape-Verdean Institute for Gender Equality and Equity (ICIEG) and UN Women in Cape Verde, researchers from the Center for Research and Training in Gender and Family at the University of Cape Verde (CIGEF), as well as government representatives from the environmental field. The event started with two technical training courses on environmental protection and risks arising from extractive practices conducted by the population. Participants were given sheets of paper and pens for taking notes. In the end, RAMAO's president opened the floor to the women: "Now, you tell us what to do. How can we find another solution together, so that in the future we won't be without beaches, without agriculture? Now, it's up to you. Speak up, please."

After an initial silence, many and many testimonies from women who have been in the sand harvesting for 6, 15, and 34 years have emerged in sequence: "I'm over 23 years in the sand, my life is in the sand"; "In our life, it's that sand that is worth it; there's nothing we can do"; "We have to extract it, otherwise we won't survive"; "I'm the mother and father of my children"; "I'm the head of my family"; "I've been working in this since I was fifteen and I had a child"; "I'm 34 years in the sand, my husband died 29 years ago and left me with six children."

Lastly, when asked about possible alternatives to stop the sand harvesting, a lady did not hesitate to criticize palliative measures, referring to income generation programs from animal husbandry. She said: "I have to do it to feed the piglets![2]."

These events make the women's place of speech explicit, highlighting the overload of work to which they are exposed for their family reproduction, the State's fragility for the provision of care services, as well as job opportunities with decent conditions for the survival of their families.

Maré Ta Kunpanha Lua[3]: Nature, Gender and Work

> The first house we visited was close to the sea, on the slope where it starts the Lém Rocha area. Next to the entrance door, there is a square space filled with sand. We didn't ask, but afterward talking to Tê, she explained that after January 8, they could no longer extract sand. However, the sand that was off the sea edge, which was already extracted, could be used. In this way, we saw some piles close to the residences. It was interesting to see its usage; it didn't seem to be for sale. House repairs, maybe? Many were under construction.
>
> In front of the house, there was a boat built by Mr. Davi, a 70-year-old fisherman that only worked in fishing from time to time. We talked to him over lunch.
>
> From the house, we saw children playing in the sea, young people playing football, small trucks heading to Charco with some people on the top, and many women and children passing towards the Charco, with buckets on their heads and water–what Eufémia designated as a Pilgrimage (Field notes, Ribeira da Barca, 02/20/2010).

When we talked to some young women about the pace at which they filled the *galuchos*, name locally used for the vehicles that transport aggregate materials, they said that everything depended. It would not be possible to know, since it was the sea that mainly dictated the rules. Per day, they could fill one *galucho*, or even more, if the tide was good. When the sea was rough, it was too dangerous; they avoided going into the sea and going further to not run the risk of getting hurt on the slippery rocks or even suffering other accidents. Therefore, the best time for the sand harvesting was when the tide was going out. It was then when we observed the pilgrimage, a women's group moving together, carrying their bucket and other utensils–scarf, *sulada*[4], *unheira*[5]– towards Djangago beach, in the Charco, with some heavy vehicles. Women who once were children and even in this life cycle experienced the sand harvesting, as Beta insisted, referring to the fact that they dedicated themselves to this activity as children, during their school vacations and holidays: "each one has its own weight, each one gets what they can!" (Field notes, Ribeira da Barca, 02/2010) (See **Figure 1**, **Figure 2** and **Figure 3**).

Mr. Sogni, Beta's father, made a point of explaining to us about the moon's interference in the sea. They followed each other. When the moon was high above our heads, it meant that the tide was dry or low. When the moon was rising or setting, the tide was full or high. He also said that the sea changed every 40 or 45 h.

This relationship between the sea and the moon was significant for the construction of their fishing boats, given that cutting the wood for this purpose was closely related to the tide, i.e., the wood would be good and dry for cutting and manufacturing the boat if the tide was, likewise, dry.

Therefore, the rhythm of work is intertwined with the rhythms of nature, that is, the sea is an important guide on how the work will be conducted and allows a greater autonomy in its management. Sand harvesting depends not only on the sea conditions but also on domestic tasks, illness, and/or other situations that may come into play. As Beta explains, a young woman who is dedicated to this activity of extracting sand and gravel, these women constitute societies. Her 56 year-old mother and her, along with two other women, are partners; they all live in Ribeira da Barca and go to the Charco to work.

Ane, Beta's sister, exemplified to us that among her sister, their partners, and her there are no conflicts in general, but in other groups there are. Sometimes, a partner may not go to work one day, and the others determine, by mutual agreement, whether she will be paid for that day or not. In their case, she says: "I may not go one day, I may have clothes to wash, to iron and I know that Beta will work for me. I know I can get sick and they will work for me, but we will share the money. But I know that in other groups

[2]The same criticism appeared in protected areas of Cape Verde, on Santiago and on São Nicolau Islands, among women who joined empowerment programs, and sought for credit to pig breeding; however, these women found themselves in debt since they went through this experience of not being able to feed the pigs, which made them displace family and the children's education resources to keep up the enterprise and pay off the debts (Moassab and Vieira, 2016).

[3]"The tide follows the moon", Mr. Sogni told us on March 7, 2010.

[4]Very common large scarf or cloth used among women to overlay clothing, but which can have multiple uses, such as tying on the hips to increase balance, to give strength, to protect from the sun, etc.

[5]Shovel used to extract sand.

it doesn't work like this, that is why the discussions begin "(Field notes, Ane, Ribeira da Barca, 2010). For this reason, we observe changes and adjustments in the composition of the teams. These tensions, however, did not arise only between women, but also between them and the vehicle drivers, who usually buy the aggregates. This happens for different reasons: 1) they can take months to pay; 2) they may not pay; and 3) if they have a specific clientele, they are loyal enough to buy sand only from a few teams, making the rest of them unhappy.

In this perspective, these arrangements seem to be more flexible in relation to the labor market, presenting agreements between the team members, agreements between the teams themselves, with the flexibility to manage the working hours and to support work in networks in which the presence of families, mainly female-headed, is the base.

This flexibility also arises in other situations, when, for example, Mr. Sogni told us that his youngest son, who attended his first year at the University of Santiago, did not obtain a subsidy to support his studies through the Cape Verdean Foundation for Social Action in Schools (FICASE) and had to work in the sand since only fishing was not enough to support all his education expenses. Until the end of 2015, we learned that this young man finished his degree, but, because he did not get a job, he remained working with fishing and sand harvesting.

Although the sand harvesting is recognized locally as a work that involves more women than men, men are also increasingly present in this activity, but only in some circumstances, as two partners who were on their way to the Charco explained to us. These 22 and 27 year-old young men identified themselves as fishermen; they said that they prefer to go fishing, but as the sea was rough, they would have to go sand harvesting because they needed some money to endure until the end of the year and it would not be possible to wait for the sea conditions to improve.

However, it is not just the nature conditions that sets up the pace of Charco's life. Mr. Sogni regrets that "today there is no more fish!". He explains to us about the Cape Verde government agreements with foreign countries that allow the entrance of fishing vessels and about the impotence of traditional fishing techniques compared to theirs: "we caught a tuna, chewed it and spit in the sea, it was a bait! Fishing was done using line. But foreign boats have greater capacity, fishing is in a greater quantity, so there are no fish in Cape Verde!" (Field notes, Sogni, Ribeira da Barca, 02/2010)[6].

This phenomenon was also observed by Gonçalves, (2016) in a study on artisanal fishing in Cidade Velha, in a context of restrictions faced by the patrimonialization of the space, as well as environmental regulations and international agreements in this field.

Regarding the participation of young people in the sand harvesting, the current President of the Association of Fishermen of Ribeira da Barca[7] stated that even with the secondary education completed, due to the lack of work, people still dedicated themselves to this activity. Recognizing that this problem should be addressed by the government, he considered that the Association should encourage awareness-raising actions against the sand harvesting since it is better for the general population, which can achieve greater benefits from tourism. However, he pointed out some difficulties at this moment: first, he explained that, as this activity progresses, it makes more difficult for turtles to spawn on the beaches and, consequently, the possibility of these animals disappear from the marine biodiversity increases. Second, he says that the extraction also affects fish reproduction, given that women go into the sea and stop when the water reaches their necks. Third, that there are numerous complaints in the Capitania dos Portos by the Charco's residents and farmers, portraying their land salinization and the infiltration of seawater itself into fresh/drinking water springs or wells, making it unhealthy. Fourth, he mentions the invasion of the sea to the point of jeopardizing the houses and properties closest to the beaches since sand and gravel are no longer there to play their natural protective role. Finally, he criticizes the authorities for not exercising its functions, i.e., there is a bad control regarding this issue because there is no inspection concerning the sand harvesting.

However, over the years, we have observed the increase of discourses and actions by state institutions in regard to the extraction of aggregates through the press, on Santiago Island, and in other islands of the archipelago. As an example, on May 15, 2010, the online vehicle *A Semana* reported: "The General Directorate for the Environment (DGA) manifests against the sand harvesting on São Filipe beaches" on Fogo Island. For this reason, it would be proposed to the government to suspend the aggregates extraction on these beaches to avoid an "environmental disaster" (Centeio, 2010). More recently, in 2014, this phenomenon was seen on São Nicolau Island (Pina, 2014), as well as resistance by extractors on São Vicente Island.

Similarly, studies on the impacts of the extraction of aggregates and legal provisions for their regulation became recurrent. We highlight, in this regard, a news from the beginning of 2016 that points out the need for a new instrument to regulate the extraction activity and the inspection intensification in some parts of the country, including Ribeira da Barca. This municipality is alluded to as "a special case" for some of the reasons set out by the associative leader above-mentioned, but this time through the words of the current National Director for the Environment, who pointed out the following:

> "Only dialogues are not being enough and within the short term, we will have to take more radical measures. In the near future, we will have to articulate with the National Police and eventually with the Armed Forces to enter the community and

[6]These fisheries agreements with the European Union started in 2007 and continue being renovated. They allow vessels from Spain, Portugal, and France to fish in Cape Verdean waters. Based on an online news, it was possible to follow several demonstrations against the agreement renewal, among them: "Slavery continues, we are tired of working and we don't gain anything from these Europeans here stealing our wealth"; "Europeans and China are destroyers of the seabed and trees. Then, in their land, Cape Verdeans are treated like thugs and slaves"; "Later on, we will start to buy tuna cans from the European Union". See in: http://www.asemana.publ.cv/spip.php?article93865.

[7]Interview conducted in February 2010.

make people comply with the legal obligation. Sand extraction in Cape Verde is prohibited by law and it makes no sense for people to be making excuses of any kind (RETOMA, 2016)."

Land and Water Seen as Male References

These women are "in the middle" of two large property families, who are also frequently in a dispute over land and water. Therefore, considering that these families have been exploiting these assets in the area since before the country's independence, the priority remains theirs at these women's expenses. According to the Brianda Norte Association's president, who has been helping the community and these women in an attempt to make their pieces of land profitable in these cases, these ladies are always at disadvantage.

> The advantage always remains on the strongest side, and despite the changing situation, they remain the strongest. Exactly, this is a problem that we essentially have, that water, as you could see, falls into the tank up there flooding It is very deep; it consumes more than 4 tons of water. So, today we do not have water for this type of [flooding] agriculture, that is the only problem that we have, the only one. It is two things; [more] the sand harvesting, but there is no policy for that. Those people who have the water, even if the water is there they don't want you to mess with it. Water has become like an asset, but theirs [because] they inherited it, it is private. (Field notes, Donan, Charco, 04/2015).

Over the years that we have been following these women in the Charco's community, the water issue became increasingly present. Due to the lack of this good, in 2015 these women were already starting to lose hope that one day they would be able to work in the piece of land they had won, as a policy of converting sand harvesting to agriculture. Even considering that they had so far failed to install a modern irrigation system, they said that they could at least carry the water on their heads. However, the two large landowners did not allow them to do even this.

This associative leader showed us during the different meetings and dialogues we had that this is a dispute that does not dissociate one good from another. Considering that large landowners have always exploited these lands, water ownership has never been called into question. It was also part of the "package".

We visited the community at different moments, and sometimes the panorama was bleak. Lots of water wasted on lands that were not even in use, using flooding, a traditional system in the agriculture practices of Cape Verde, which has fallen into disuse but that is still used daily in this location. People complained that some men from these families, and managers of these goods, wasted water only as a sample of what they could do, as a demonstration of power. Even if they did not use it, they were not willing to share.

In this sequence, one of the strategies that they want to implement is the introduction of a management and, consequently, a payment system for water usage in an attempt to show that the water is a public good, not private, even in the case of spring water, which is the Charco's case. Hence the most recent negotiations with the National Water and Sanitation Agency (ANAS), which places on the horizon of these women the possibility of agricultural production.

Loide, a 58 year-old woman, has always shown herself strong and willing to work on her land. She tells us that she started to work from a very young age – "a child"; her parents did not enroll her in school, so she grew up in the daily toil. The rainy season was about to start, and there she was, coming and going, every day until the harvest. Even today, when the harvest period starts, she works on someone else's land and pays rent; and about half of the products harvested go straight to her tenant. She has the support of her husband and two of her seven children in this day-to-day life.

As Loide says, it would be enough to give them work for them to work. But at the same time, she asks: "Is it because we are women?". And she replies: "But we have someone to work with, we have children, we have a husband too. We are looking for work. To have water, it is the water ,that is missing!"

Loide's testimonial is interesting to understand how the logic of concentration and exploitation of goods–land and water – , and the consequent power exercised, is masculine, making women live in inequality. An inequality that, at first glance, affects not only gender because it calls into question the women's ability to make decisions regarding their subsistence means, but because it seems to run through social classes and hit men. Even when it is not them that are directly working, or being represented by their sons and husbands, who are also men, they recognize that there is no room for them.

Along the way, there are more women and families from the Charco in a similar situation, which instigates countless reflections. They express an immense desire to work and overcome difficulties, to have means, and to produce on their piece of land, losing the dependence on both their homes and their large landowners and tenants:

> If they [the landowners] make *grogue*[8] it is for us to buy, if they make honey, we must buy, even the children cannot have a tip of cane! My children were raised and didn't go near the *fornadja*[9]; I wouldn't let them go because when they did, they would censure them saying that they would punch us. So, I raised them so that now they are grown, and are already someone. (Field notes, Loide, Charco, 04/2015).

However, this community resident raises, in addition to water, her concern and anxiety to install an alternative system to access water through a hole that needs an extra mechanism to work. In the medium and long term, the effects would be positive, but it was too expensive to install the drop by drop irrigation system, even though her share was small. Other women and her expected the help from the former Ministry of Rural Development, now the Ministry of Agriculture and Environment. Loide explains that,

> They say they are going to help us, that they are going to install a pump in a hole to draw water, and that this will be used for irrigation, allowing us to work. Because if we find water, we will work even a little bit, piece by piece, and when we realize, we will have already finished. (Field notes, Loide, Charco, 04/2015).

[8]*Aguardente* made from sugarcane.

[9]Space for the *grogue* production, *aguardente* made from sugarcane.

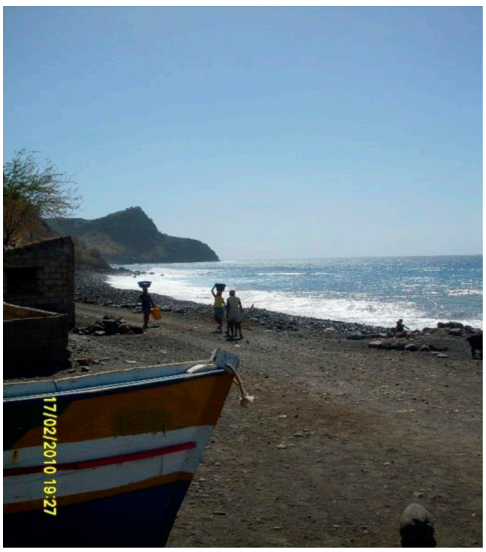

FIGURE 1 | Pathway from Ribeira da Barca to the Charco. Source: Images taken by the researchers, February 2010.

Thus, Loide talks about a modernization scenario concerning agriculture which was put into motion some time ago, as mentioned by Victor (Reis, 2015, p. 152):

> "The Cape Verde government has been allocating important resources to agriculture since the early years of Independence. To this end, it has counted on international help in both financial and technical fields.
>
> The National Agricultural Investment Program, initiated in 2010, based on a six-year execution plan, foresees investments, some already underway, worth US$ 250 million to modernize agriculture. The expected funding is supported either by the Government (15.5%) or by external sources, namely the Portuguese Line of Credit (11.7%) and the BADEA[10] (10.5%).
>
> About 61% of this amount is intended to improve water management, being 52% used for the construction of dams, drilling holes, wells, dikes, pumping systems, desalination units, reservoirs, and 9% for the promotion of irrigation, in particular, micro-irrigation. Another important part (23%) is aimed at changing agricultural, forestry, and pastoral practices."

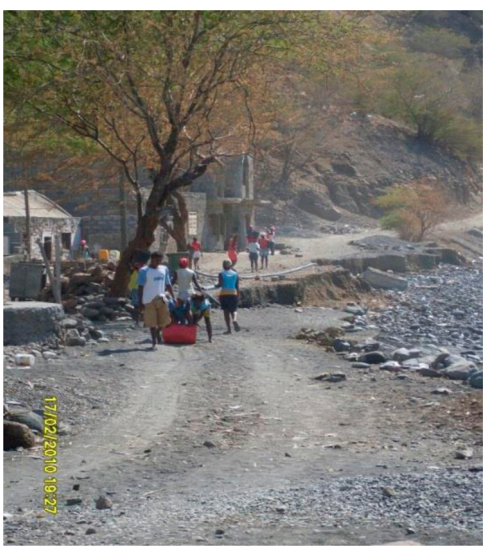

FIGURE 2 | Pathway from Ribeira da Barca to the Charco. Source: Images taken by the researchers, February 2010.

The water above-mentioned by Donan, from the Brianda Norte Association, came to fall in reservoirs spread across the Charco. This water flowed through the rocks and poured into a gallery, built for this purpose in the colonial period. It was a disputed water and, as Loide reinforced to us, a water that the former landowners believed to own. Thus, Loide and the other women would have to wait for the pump installation to be able to access it through the hole that had been opened recently, even though against the will of the large landowners.

> They have always had their water here [since] ancient times. It is older than my father, than my grandparents. So, now for us to get water from there, it's tiring. Their water doesn't work anymore They think that because they had vegetable gardens at first, they are the owners. And us, who had just recently received these installments of land, had received it against the landowners will So, there is nothing left to us at all.
>
> They are the greatest people of ancient times, and their water cannot be irrigated to this side and shared with us. They can't share it with us, so they don't do it. (Field notes, Loide, Charco, 04/2015).

In effect, the message sent by the Charco's great landowners to these women was that they would always live without water and would get used to it. Unlike them, who always had their pots full and whose pots would always remain that way.

From these women's perspective, not even the pieces of land distributed by the Ministry were subject to any satisfaction on behalf of the landowners–once landless, forever, then, they should be. Even if these women lands had been in the riverside, a space in which traditionally these landowners would never be interested in, either because it was a rainy path or because it was considered a State property. In their perceptions, they would have greater rights over both land and water, insofar as everyone, from those who live to those who had died, based on their circumstances and histories, was testimonies of their heritage antiquity.

At this moment, while waiting to see some outcome for their situation, these women looked at the sky willing to read the signs that could indicate a good agricultural year. The volcanic eruption on Fogo Island, in November 2014, was a good omen for the community, since, according to oral memory, in the years of eruptions there was always harvest in abundance. Although *azágua*[11] did not provide

[10]Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa.

[11]Water time, i.e., the rainy season in which irrigated agriculture is dedicated and runs from July to September.

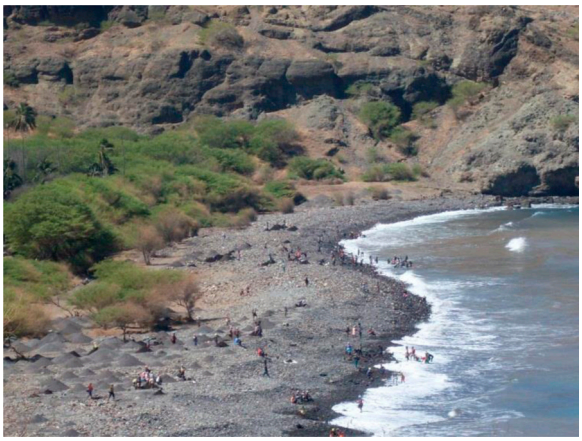

FIGURE 3 | Sand harvesting, Djangago Beach/Charco. Source: Images taken by the researchers, March 2010.

them with much food, at least there would be a lot of straw for their animals. Basically, what they had to do was dedicate themselves to plant every year, without losing hope, and counting that, if that year *azágua* was weak, God would allow that in the next it would be better.

Final Considerations

The objective that led us to Ribeira da Barca and the Charco was to understand the women who worked in the sand harvesting, known for being blamed for the environmental degradation. According to Roberto Cardoso Oliveira, (2000), regarding the State's actions, the ethical commitment to guarantee a symmetrical dialogue is a responsibility of the dominant pole, in this case, the State itself. Following the ethnicity proposal concerning an interethnic dialogue, as presented by Oliveira, (2000) when analyzing the State's actions directed at indigenous peoples in Brazil, we were guided by the commitment and the need to look at the sand extraction phenomenon from the women's point of view.

While in the field immersion, we learned that the sand extraction is not a simple natural resource available or an occasional job, as one of the young men on the way to the Charco warned us; it is part of the Cape Verdean rural environment and is related to different dynamics, temporalities, memories, and interactions, considering human and non-human. We deliberate here based on Tim Ingold (2012, p. 32) idea of a "mutual permeability and connectivity" that shows the environment as an "open world" made from practices that are in constant movement or fluidity. For him, "things are alive, because they leak" (Ingold, 2012, p. 32), i.e., the boundaries between nature and culture are blurred. This is how we understand Mr. Sogni's knowledge regarding the sea and the rhythms of life in Ribeira da Barca and the Charco, but also regarding the hope of a good harvest, based on the message delivered by the volcano in Fogo, or concerning a sense of human limitations, from the recognition and sense of justice credited to the divine. Would this intimate dialogue with nature (and with non-humans) be a space cultivated and made possible by the colonial experience?

Concerning the sand harvesting, we observe that women are blamed, without, however, problematizing the inequalities structure in terms of gender and class. The ownership and control of resources–land and water–being a male domain demonstrates that this rural community inspires and exhales inequalities.

The "white scarf on the head" manifest, mentioned at the beginning of this text, establishes some historical links in the field of gender relations in Santiago. Wives of men who emigrated and remain in the country, maintaining a long-distance relationship, are recognized as "white scarf widows", in opposition to the black scarf widows that precede a mourning state. This is shown in a study carried out by Veiga (2016) in the community of Pilão Cão, in São Miguel municipality. The author concludes that these women are fundamental pieces to the migration project of absent husbands, either due to the burden of social and economic maintenance of families, or because they are a link with other family members. Her study presents us with the social burden carried by these women who remain and are constrained to live as "white scarf widows". Could the "white scarf on the head" manifest, organized by these women who are in the sand harvesting, be taken as a criticism to the gender system presented as a form of social organization and also in the body of the State?

DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

The raw data supporting the conclusions of this article will be made available by the authors, without undue reservation.

ETHICS STATEMENT

The authors have the consent of the interlocutors in the field. The Ethics Committee waived the requirement of written informed consent for participation.

AUTHOR CONTRIBUTIONS

The text results from research and data analysis in co-authorship between MV and ER.

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Between the Urgent and the Emerging: Representations on Sex Education in the Debate for Abortion Legalization in Argentina

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The aim of this article is to analyse, within the framework of discourse analysis, the social representations that circulated about the sex education in the parliamentary debate on the bill for the Voluntary Interruption of Pregnancy that took place in the Chamber of Deputies, on June 13, 2018, in Argentina. To do this, we review the functions attributed to sex education by both legislators who voted in favor of the bill and those who voted against. In turn, we analyze the topics that were related to this issue, as well as the social actors involved and those who were legitimized to address the problem. We aim to establish if the feminist discourse that was constituted and consolidated in Argentina from the *Ni Una Menos* march, in 2015, managed to impose its agenda on the political sphere. Specifically, we are interested in investigating whether the representations that were put into circulation about sex education were retaken in the parliamentary debate on the voluntary termination of pregnancy bill, a space in which sex education constituted a preponderant topic.

Keywords: sex education, abortion, parliamentary debate, discourse analysis, Ni Una Menos

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INTRODUCTION

In the year 2018, a historical event took place in Argentina: the bill for the Voluntary Interruption of Pregnancy (*IVE* by its Spanish initials[1]) was debated for the first time in the National Congress. Although the bill had already been introduced by the National Campaign for the Right to Legal, Safe, and Free Abortion (henceforth *the Campaign*) on seven occasions, it had never before received sufficient support from legislators to be debated in the parliamentary chamber. Unlike previous years, the support for the bill by 71 deputies and the subsequent authorization of its discussion by then President Mauricio Macri (2015–2019) allowed the debate for the legalization of abortion to be included on the parliamentary agenda of that year.

As a result, the matter circulated widely at the social level in Argentina, not only in the political and media spheres, but also in educational and religious institutions -mainly Catholic and Evangelical- and even in the intimate family realm (Felitti and Prieto, 2018). In fact, the issue of

[1]IVE stands for "Interrupción Voluntaria del Embarazo" in Spanish. In this article, we have decided to employ the acronym in the original language.

abortion was addressed in spaces where it had never before been dealt with, both in the public and private domains, ranging from major television programs to family and friend gatherings. Different people, performing very diverse social roles and from a wide range of political and ideological orientations, felt they ought to express their position on an issue that, until that moment, had remained undisclosed for the vast majority of society (Felitti and Ramírez Morales, 2020).

The massive march called "Ni Una Menos" (Not One Less)[2], in June 2015, changed the situation in Argentina in the matter of gender (Faur, 2020). This new situation inspired different feminist movements, grouped under the Campaign that originated in 2005[3], who managed to have the content of the IVE bill addressed, in the first place, in a plenary of commissions of the Lower House of Congress. In the course of 2 months, 15 sessions were held in the Health, Family and Criminal Legislation Committees, in which 738 representatives from different disciplines defended their positions from a large variety of perspectives.

On June 13, 2018, the bill obtained the majority of votes in the Lower House of Congress, with 129 votes in favor, 125 against and one abstention. However, almost 2 months later, on August 8, it was rejected in the Senate, with 38 votes against the bill, 31 in favor of it, two abstentions and one absence. Despite the defeat, the treatment of the bill in parliament and the wide circulation of the issue at the social level made a series of problems visible that strictly exceed those related to abortion. Thus, this bill could be included within a larger set of measures that have been passed in Argentina since 2005 and that tackle gender and sexuality matters (Báez and Fainsod, 2018)[4].

The slogan formulated by the Campaign for the promotion of the debate was "Sex education to decide, contraceptives not to abort, legal abortion not to die," which puts the importance of sex education in schools in the spotlight. Paradoxically, this argument was also taken up by groups and sectors of society that opposed the passing of the bill (Dvoskin and Estivalet, 2020), which makes it clear that, beyond the fact that the Comprehensive Sex Education (*ESI* by its Spanish initials[5]) law was passed in 2006, in Argentina there still exists a dispute over what functions such law should fulfill, what modalities it should adopt, and what effects its implementation is expected to generate.

In this article, we analyze, by means Discourse Analysis tools, the representations that circulated about sex education in the debate on the IVE bill that took place in the Lower House of Congress, on June 13, 2018. To do this, we look at the functions attributed to sex education by both legislators who voted in favor of the IVE bill and those who voted against it. In turn, we analyze the topics that were related to this issue, as well as the practices and social actors involved and those who were constituted as legitimate speakers to address the matter.

Therefore, we aim, on the one hand, to investigate which are the different discourses on sex education that have coexisted in Argentina since the change of socio-historical conjuncture established after the "Ni Una Menos" march in 2015. We are particularly interested in addressing the disputes that have arisen around this issue, as well as the points of agreement among the different sectors. In addition, based on this analysis, we problematize what regularities remain and what changes have taken place in the representations on sex education in Argentina since the passing of the law in 2006, through the debate about the IVE bill in 2018.

The general objective of the article is to determine if the feminist discourse[6] that is consolidated in Argentina from 2015 onward managed to establish its agenda in the political sphere. Specifically, we are interested in investigating whether the topics that were put into circulation at the social level in relation to ESI and the signs and evaluations that were used to address them were taken up again in the parliamentary debate on the IVE bill, a space in which sex education constituted a key theme.

We have organized the article into four sections. In the first one, we present the theoretical assumptions and the methodological tools that guide our research. In the second section, we characterize, on the one hand, the historical, social and political conjuncture in which the ESI law was enacted in 2006, and we mention the controversies that were created around its implementation at the first stage. On the other hand, in this same section, we describe the subsequent situation established by the *Ni Una Menos* march, in 2015, which broadened the panorama in matters pertaining to gender and sexuality on the public agenda and in relation to ESI. Once the different conjunctures have been characterized, in the third section we present the analysis of the representations that circulated on ESI in the parliamentary debate about IVE. We reserve the final section of the article for the discussion of the results obtained from the analysis and for our final remarks.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

Our research emerges from considering discourse analysis as a way to access social analyses (Raiter, 2008). This assumption is derived from conceiving the use of language as a social practice (Fairclough, 1992), a characteristic that presents language use not only as a reflection of the world it names, but also as a constitutive element of that reality, to which it grants values and meaning. This property is evidenced by the fact that every political regime, economic measure or social movement needs to be accompanied by a discourse that sustains and legitimizes it (Angenot, 1989),

[2]Regarding the name of the march, we have also decided to refer to it in the original language, i.e., "Ni Una Menos."

[3]To learn about the track record of the National Campaign for the Right to Free, Legal and Safe Abortion and the bill presented, see Available online at: http://www.abortolegal.com.ar/15-anos-de-campana/.

[4]We can include in this set the laws of *Educación Sexual Integral* (Comprehensive Sex Education) (2006), *Protección Integral de las Mujeres* (Comprehensive Protection of Women) (2009), *Matrimonio Igualitario* (Same-sex Marriage) (2010), *Identidad de Género* (Gender Identity) (2012), *Fertilización Asistida* (Assisted Fertilization) (2013) and *Micaela* (2019). For a detailed description of these laws, please visit the website of the Argentine Congress. Available online at: https://www.congreso.gob.ar/leyes.php.

[5]ESI stands for "Educación Sexual Integral" in Spanish. In this article, we have decided to employ the acronym in the original language.

[6]We are aware that feminist discourse is not homogeneous, but rather several strands coexist within it, not necessarily compatible with one another. However, for the purposes of this paper, such heterogeneity is not significant.

which is why discourse constitutes a tool for the reproduction of the social order, but also for its questioning and transformation.

Its analysis demands, therefore, to take into account the socio-historical conditions in which discourses circulate, which include factors that go beyond the strictly linguistic aspects and involve knowledge of other social disciplines, such as History, Philosophy, Sociology, Anthropology, Politics, Psychology or Economics, a fact that makes Discourse Analysis an eminently interdisciplinary field. The intersection between Linguistics and the rest of the Social Sciences has as a meeting point the semantic dimension of discourses, which entails the focus of this type of research.

Addressing the question of meaning obliges us, as analysts, to leave aside the intentions and wills of the speaking subject and to focus instead on the effects that the text generates (Verón, 1986), which do not constitute an inherent property of the text as a product, but rather of the types of relations (solidarity, complementarity, confrontation, rejection) that it establishes with the rest of the discourses that circulate in a given social formation (Pêcheux, 1975). It is the universe of the sayable, the discursive network, which accords value to the signs and expressions that appear in a specific text, so we must problematize how the text is inserted in that network. Analyzing the realm of possible meaning effects of a given text allows us to observe which ideological contents circulate in a society, which are the discourses that, with greater or lesser preeminence, are enabled and define the historical limits of the sayable and the thinkable (Angenot, 1989).

Now, a text generates, in parallel fashion, a set of interpretations that are not possible: there is a whole series of meanings that cannot be attributed to texts, either because they are considered absurd, utopian, humorous, or because they place them on the plane of the unthinkable or the impossible. Both the possible and the not possible interpretations are established by their reference to the *dominant discourse* (Raiter, 1999), an axis that includes the most widespread, most accepted meanings of a given sign or expression. It is from the dominant discourse that qualifications are made possible, that value is attached to the rest of the discourses circulating on the network: statements are read, heard, and interpreted according to the distance they maintain from the dominant discourse. This makes it unnecessary to exclude or censor certain discourses, for these discourses will be deemed (true, fictional, marginal, pornographic, etc.) by their reference to the dominant discourse.

From this approach, there is a pre-existing referentiality to every individual text, which establishes not only the values of the signs that appear in it, but also legitimizes what issues it can address, what can be debated, what is controversial, what can be said and who can do so. This discursive initiative gives the dominant discourse the power to contain (topics, signs, values), while the other discourses will limit themselves to responding: beyond that which they deny, reject or criticize, the other discourses will constitute themselves *as opposing discourses* to the dominant discourse (Raiter, 1999), so that they will be integrated into the latter, confirming, and reinforcing it.

A discourse that seeks to leave this merely dissenting role must constitute itself as a discourse opposing the dominant discourse: questioning its axis of references, criticizing the values imposed by it and imposing new signs and topics of discussion. Only in this way will the dominant discourse be unable to qualify it and will be forced to respond to it, a fact that will make it lose its discursive initiative. A discourse that achieves this type of relationship would constitute itself as an *emerging discourse* (Raiter, 1999), defined as one that changes the existing references and then forms a new dominant discourse.

In this article, we investigate whether the feminist discourse that was put into circulation in Argentina, as of 2015, was constituted as an emerging discourse, that is, whether it managed to impose the topics of debate and the signs and assessments with which to deal with issues related to gender and sexuality. Or if, on the contrary, it was permeated by the axis of references already established by the dominant discourse, so that it was configured as an opposing discourse within the prevailing order. We focus our research specifically on the representations built around sex education, a topic that has become a subject of controversy especially since its sanction as a national law in 2006 (Dvoskin, 2015), and whose implementation has been put forward as an argument not only by those who supported the IVE bill but also by those who were against it, a paradox that highlights the dispute that revolves around this measure.

To that end, we have analyzed the deputies' presentations that problematized the implementation of ESI at the debate over the IVE bill by establishing a thematic path (Zoppi Fontana, 2005) defined by the appearance of the ideological sign (Voloshinov, 1929) "sex education," which allowed us to delimit the corpus with which to work. The methodology employed is of a qualitative type, given that what interests us is the characterization of the different discourses—with their own signs and evaluations—that were put into circulation in relation to ESI in the parliamentary debate. Beyond the vote for or against the bill or the predominance of some discourses over others throughout the presentations, our research is centered on reconstructing the argumentative logics (Angenot, 2015) that were mobilized around ESI. That is, we are interested in revealing what contents appear to be formulated as premises on this topic—and are, therefore, exempt from any kind of debate or questioning; and what are the more or less explicit *topoi* or discursive guarantors (Ducrot, 1988) that allow for the enchainment that lead to attributing certain meanings and functions to sex education.

We propose the concept *discursive scene* (Dvoskin, 2017) as an entry point for approaching the texts, which refers to the configured identities of the participants in a given conjuncture and of the discursive positions evoked, including those of the speaker (Ducrot, 1984) and those of the addressee(s). Thus, we analyze the images that the deputies construct for themselves and the social roles from which they position themselves to develop their arguments, what practices they associate with sex education, what social actors they connect with these practices and what roles they play in the actions they mention, from what linguistic resources they bring to the fore the voices they include and what attitudes they adopt in the face of the various positions they evoke.

The analysis of the discursive scene configured in the IVE parliamentary debate in relation to sex education allows us, on the one hand, to establish which are the different discourses that coexist in Argentina today with respect to ESI: which are the points of agreement on the subject and in which axes the controversy resides. And, on the other hand, to determine the regularities and ruptures that it presents with respect to the scene constituted on this topic in the situation prior to 2015. Thus, we will problematize the extent to which the discourse promoted by the feminist movements at a social level managed to be inscribed in the political sphere.

A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF ESI

In this section, we will briefly characterize the path taken by ESI in Argentina, from its sanction as a law, in 2006, to the IVE debate, in 2018. We follow Faur (2020) in the division of this trajectory into two stages according to two discursive conjunctures (Choulariaky and Fairclough, 1999): the sanction of ESI as a national law in 2006, and the "Ni Una Menos" march in June 2015.

The first stage that we will characterize begins in 2006, with the sanction of the law, which marked a break from previous experiences in the field of sex education (Faur, 2012) and includes the period of ESI institutionalization, which covers the curricular guidelines established in 2008 and the modalities adopted for its implementation at an initial moment. The second stage, on the other hand, begins with the situation that was inaugurated with the "Ni Una Menos" march, in June 2015, which broadened the agenda on gender and sexuality at a social level and in relation to ESI in particular (Morgade and Fainsod, 2019), by putting into circulation new topics and new perspectives from which to approach them and by bringing to the fore the voices of social actors that until that moment had been silenced or had had a marginal status.

The Institutionalization of ESI—Comprehensive Sex Education

On October 4, 2006, Argentina passed National Law 26,150, known as the "Comprehensive Sex Education Law," *ESI* by its Spanish initials, which made it compulsory to provide sex education in all schools in the country, both state-run and privately-run, from the initial to higher levels of teacher training and non-University technical education. The broad consensus that was reached in parliament (with only one vote against in each of the Houses) was mainly because the bill was presented in response to a series of demands that had already been on the public agenda for some years (Wainerman et al., 2008). The demands expressed by various social movements, representing different ideological backgrounds[7], found the necessary echo in the mass media to raise issues such as the increase in cases of sexual abuse[8], teenage pregnancy, clandestine abortions, maternal mortality, sexual violence, the rise in the number of people infected with HIV-AIDS or other sexually transmitted infections, as well as the advancement of the age of sexual debut.

However, beyond this support to the bill in Congress, once the law has been sanctioned, the controversy moved to the realm of the media and had as its main axes the contents and modalities of its enforcement. The debate about who should provide this education, what should be the content to be taught or the school period from which these matters should begin to be addressed brought to light dissimilar conceptions not only—nor necessarily—about sexuality, but also about the formal education system. In addition, this debate highlighted the great influence that the Catholic Church exerts not only on civil society, but also on political decisions (Felitti, 2011).

The presentation of sex education as a right[9] in the curricular guidelines gave the State a leading role in dealing with the subject, a fact that challenged the limits between the public and the private, mainly when it came to those related to students' education. The then Archbishop of La Plata, Héctor Águer, became the main spokesman for the Catholic Church and criticized the law for violating parental authority by relegating the family to a secondary position in the inculcation of values in children[10] (Esquivel, 2013).

The other main reason of attack on the law by the Catholic Church was the gender perspective that the proponents of the measure intended to imprint on it (Morgade et al., 2018). These criticisms of the law led to a negotiation whose result was the introduction, in the guidelines, of a notion of gender that entails a revision of stereotypes about the masculine and the feminine (Faur, 2020), thus maintaining a binary character in its conceptualization, but incorporating elements that exceed the strictly biological facets in its characterization.

In addition, in this first stage of the enforcement of ESI, we observe a considerable distance from the content of the law in relation to its comprehensive nature and its transversal

[7]Only in order to simplify the presentation, and being aware of the error entailed in considering these ideological formations as homogeneous groups, we can place the different social movements in a *continuum* whose poles would be "Catholic Church" and "Human Rights." We will simply mention some of these movements and social groupings, which have had more significant social repercussion in Argentina: GLTTB (gays, lesbians, transvestites, transsexuals and bisexuals), the CHA (by its Spanish initials, *Comunidad Homosexual Argentina*) (Argentinean Homosexual Community), MADEL (by its Spanish initials, *Mujeres Autoconvocadas para Decidir en Libertad*) (Self-Convened Women to Decide in Freedom), *Familia y Vida* (Family and Life), *la Marcha del Orgullo* (the Gay Pride Parade), and *Encuentros Nacionales de Mujeres* (National Women's Forums) (Pecheny et al., 2008).

[8]In 2006, two emblematic cases of abuse were reported in the mass media because they involved disabled women who were victims of rape and who were denied authorization by the justice system to have an abortion (see the digital edition of *Página/12*, August 12, 2006).

[9]In the *Lineamientos curriculares para la Educación Sexual Integral* (Curricular Guidelines For Comprehensive Sex Education), the following right is asserted: "people's right to receive information and acquire knowledge, duly validated by the scientific community, with regard to the care, promotion and prevention of risks and damage to one's own health, the respect for one's own body and that of others, the prevention of infectious diseases and all knowledge that contributes to the exercise of a healthy, responsible and full sexuality" (Curricular Guidelines For Comprehensive Sex Education, Ministry of the Nation, Buenos Aires, April 17, 2008, p. 9).

[10]Despite the fact that the law explicitly establishes that the definition of the content on sex education is at the discretion of each educational community (Law 26,150, article 5), whose members include parents.

application[11], two of the fundamental aspects that differentiate this policy from previous experiences in sex education (Faur, 2012). At a first moment in the upholding of the law, the focus was put on the "evils" that sexual practice can cause, and therefore a "medicalized" view of bodies was brought to the foreground. Such view conceives of bodies as objects of care and prevention. As a result, a biological approach predominated at the time of addressing the contents (Felitti, 2011), which brought with it the persistence of patriarchal and heteronormative values (Lopes Louro, 2018), while the responsibility of teaching them fell on Biology or Natural Sciences teachers or on external specialists in the area of health. This fact is also evident in the materials produced by the Ministry of Education during this period (Dvoskin, 2016).

We can classify this first stage of ESI as a "(scientific) education for the prevention of the consequences of sexuality" (Wainerman et al., 2008). This approach declares as its main objective the prevention and promotion of adolescents' psychophysical healthcare, and therefore restricts its scope to purely medical aspects of control and potentially risky practices. This program is articulated from the premise, more or less explicitly present, that there exist authorized disciplines to address these matters, so it should be the "specialists" who outline the content to be taught and who ought to be consulted. Their status is acquired by the scientific character of their knowledge, framed in a positivist paradigm (Giroux, 2015), so the teaching is done within a hierarchical expert-layperson scheme (doctor-teacher/patient-student).

The outlook on health from which this perspective starts is strongly associated, in its negative sense, with risk, and, in its positive sense, with physiological and psychological well-being, therefore, it is a matter of avoiding potentially morbid situations or conditions:

> In more or less subtle ways, care is prescribed "as a couple," in which stability is equated with "seriousness" and the latter with responsibility [...]. The exercise of sexuality ends up being normatively inserted in an "adequate" scenario (Wainerman et al., 2008, p. 62).

The notion of responsibility is not expressed in moral terms, but it is employed with a preventive sense (either of unwanted pregnancies or of sexually transmitted infections), which is why the main audience to which these recommendations are directed is made up of female adolescents.

The information provided by this program is fundamentally oriented to raising awareness of the risks that sexual practice entails, while other reflexivity elements, such as desire, self-determination or will, are not part of the central axes of this "responsible" sexuality based on "accurate" information. Many of the values and precepts of Christian morality remain in this approach, such as the stable relationship, in which both members are mutually committed and heterosexual.

The Mobilization of Comprehensive Sex Education

The massive mobilization that took place on June 3, 2015 under the slogan "Ni Una Menos" in different cities of Argentina and that had as its epicenter the National Congress Square, in the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires, revealed the sensitivity of a large part of society to issues connected to gender and sexuality. This awareness was the result of years of activism by feminist and LGBTQA movements, one of the most notorious impacts of which is the "Encuentros Nacionales de Mujeres" (National Women's Forums), which, although held annually since 1987, they have become, since 2010, more relevant for both their large attendance and the dissemination of the activities and debates that take place there (Felitti and Prieto, 2018).

In addition, society's heightened awareness of gender and sexuality matters is also due to the sanction of a series of laws during the governments of Néstor Kirchner (2003–2007) and Cristina Fernández de Kirchner (2007–2011 and 2011–2015), which made visible issues that until then had been silenced in the public sphere (Tabbush et al., 2020). We can mention the Same-sex Marriage Law, enacted in 2010, and the Gender Identity Law, passed in 2012, which deepened the path that the adoption of ESI had already begun in 2006. The Same-sex Marriage Law and the Gender Identity Law employed ESI as a source of support and legitimacy, and they both built on the contents of ESI and the approaches with which to address such contents (Morgade and Fainsod, 2019).

The great impact of the "Ni Una Menos" march in 2015, which brought together a variety of social movements and actors, managed to introduce a series of topics that were not present on the public agenda, especially those related to male violence, in its physical, economic and symbolic dimensions, and also to other matters linked to the pleasure entailed in sexual practices and the freedom to decide on one's own body and identity[12] The circulation of new topics brought with it the use of new signs with which to address them, such as "forms of sexual dissidence," "femicide," "gender violence" or "inclusive language," as well as the staging of voices of social actors who were absent prior to this conjuncture or whose presence was restricted to very specific realms. In fact, the leaders of feminist and academic movements with a long history in the study of these topics became more important. The field of Social Sciences and Humanities managed to enter the public debate thanks to the criticism of the "patriarchal" biomedical paradigm (Maffía, 2016), the historicization of gender issues (Barrancos, 2017; Segato, 2018) or the employment of non-sexist language (Kalinowski and Sarlo, 2019), among the most outstanding themes. As a result, although the triggering axis of the movement and the march were the feminicides, the treatment of these issues in new spaces and by innovative speakers enabled the circulation of representations that not only put the focus on women's bodies as objects of care, but also on their emancipatory character (Morcillo and Felitti, 2017).

[11] Law 26.150, *Programa Nacional de Educación Sexual Integral* (National Program of Comprehensive Sex Education, article 1).

[12] The manifesto can be read Available online at: http://niunamenos.org.ar/.

Moreover, the new conjuncture inaugurated by the "Ni Una Menos" march evidenced the irregularities that were unfolding in relation to the implementation of sex education in different institutions of the country. In fact, it highlighted the difficulties entailed in enforcing the law, which reflects a complex interweaving of public policies, institutional policies and social movements (Morgade and Fainsod, 2019).

The criticism aimed at the enforcement of the ESI law brought to the fore, in the first place, the voice of teachers, who in the initial stage had remained hidden behind external specialists coming from the health sector. Although the law stipulated that new issues related to sexuality should be addressed and new perspectives to deal with the issues should be introduced in the classroom, teachers denounced their lack of training to do so and the few pedagogical tools with which the training courses they did provided them (Felitti, 2011). In fact, it was only in 2015 that a subject on this topic was included in the programs of tertiary teacher training institutes, while in Universities—another main source of teacher training in Argentina—this topic still does not enjoy a formal status in their degree programs (Morgade, 2017).

Furthermore, the new agenda established by the feminist movements enabled the emergence of a new social actor, which until then had not been in the spotlight: young people and adolescents. Not only did they play a leading role in the "Ni Una Menos" march and in the "Encuentros Nacionales de Mujeres" (National Women's Forums) (Bidaseca, 2015), but they also voiced their own criticism of ESI enforcement by including this matter among their demands in student centers, both at the secondary and University levels (Dvoskin, 2002), while they even became speakers by producing their own materials on the subject, which were widely distributed in schools[13]. Their first-person narrative marked a sharp contrast with the materials produced by the Ministry of Education during the first stage of the law enforcement, in which students appear predominantly as patients of the action performed by another actor—usually their teacher or their parents—which constitutes students as an object of care, i.e., a passive role that silences their opinion on these topics (Dvoskin, 2016).

In addition to the "Ni Una Menos" march, 2015 was a turning point in Argentina in terms of gender and sexuality, also because of the change in the political party that won the November presidential elections, after which Mauricio Macri became president of the country. The departure of Cristina Fernández de Kirchner from the presidency put an end to 12 years of governments characterized by the extension of people's rights in this area (Tabbush et al., 2020). The government that came to power with Macri as president in December 2015 gave way to a neoliberal model that had a strong impact on the field of education and, in particular, on the enforcement of comprehensive sex education due to the lack of funding for teacher training programs[14].

This type of policy was characteristic of the Macri government, which gave primacy to a series of discourses that had been relegated during the previous stage (Flax, in press). Specifically in relation to ESI, a resistance movement to this law appeared with great force in Argentina, which had also been developing in Paraguay, Colombia and Brazil: "Con Mis Hijos No Te Metas" (CMHNTM[15] by its Spanish initials–Do Not Mess With My Children). (Faur, 2020) points out that this movement's opposition to the enforcement of ESI took two forms. On the one hand, in the cultural field, it urged the mobilization of citizens and disseminated messages through social media, whose main target of attack was the "gender ideology,"[16] a concept that is framed within a biology-oriented paradigm (Dvoskin and Estivalet, 2020). On the other hand, at the institutional level, it developed strategies to prevent the teaching of ESI in schools, especially evidenced in the campaign "No autorizo" (I do not authorize), which consisted in sending parents a model letter that argues for the fact that ESI law is illegal, and deploys arguments that refer to the Argentine national constitution. We see here that the opposition to ESI, in this second moment, moves away from the religious discourse and takes up a legal and scientific perspective.

In the next section, we will present the analysis of the parliamentary debate on the IVE bill, in the Lower House of Congress, and we will present an account of the representations on sex education that were put into circulation there.

RESULTS

The debate on the IVE bill in the Lower House of Congress began in the morning of June 13, 2018 and ended the following morning, with the result of the half-sanction. A total of 256 deputies expressed their position on the issue, out of which only one abstained from voting. A striking feature of the vote dynamics was that it broke with political party logic: except for the "Frente de Izquierda" (Left Front) bloc that voted entirely in favor of sanctioning the bill, the rest of the party blocks voted both in favor and against.

The social relevance of this problem and the fact that the debate was made public to a mass audience gave way to extremely elaborated and well-argued presentations. This evidences how much consideration the deputies gave not only to the direct addressee of their presentations[17], i.e., the rest of the participants

[13]The most emblematic case was a manual produced by students from *Carlos Vergara* High School N°. 14, in the city of La Plata (Province of Buenos Aires), together with their teachers Andrea Beratz and Jesabel Agüero. The material can be downloaded for free. Available online at: https://www.comisionporlamemoria.org/jovenesymemoria/wpcontent/uploads/sites/21/2019/03/donde-esta-mi-esi.pdf.

[14]Báez and Fainsod point out that "while in 2015 the budget [for comprehensive sex education] was 55 million pesos, in 2016 it was reduced to 27 million and, in 2017, it was 43 million, which is still much less than what was allocated in 2015 if inflation is taken into account" (2018, p. 4).

[15]The genesis of this movement can be seen in the documentary *El género bajo ataque*, Available online at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PjJZQGjs9ck.

[16]In Argentina in August of 2018, through social networks, the *CMHNTM* movement disseminated information in a material that had mass circulation. It was called "Ideología de género. Mitos y verdades" (Gender Ideology. Myths and truths), and it can be found at www.conmishijosno.com.

[17]García Negroni (2016) distinguishes between the direct addressee, who shares the interlocution relationship with the speaker and to whom the message is explicitly addressed, and the indirect addressee, who is not part of the interlocution

present in the parliamentary chamber, but also to the indirect addressee, the ordinary citizen who followed the debate through some means of communication and whom the deputies are tasked with representing (Pérez, 2005). As we mentioned in Section Materials and Methods, our analysis of the debate privileged the qualitative dimension, since what interests us is to give an account of the different discourses that circulated on sex education, regardless of the degree of predominance that each of them had.

In the following sections, we will present the representations that circulated about sex education in the debate on IVE. We will begin by outlining the representations generated in the presentations of the deputies who voted against the IVE bill, and then, we will do the same with the presentations of those who were in favor.

Sex Education Against IVE

The main argument advanced by the deputies who opposed the IVE bill is based on the idea that human life begins with fertilization:

1. Si vamos a dar ese debate de buena fe, hay dos cuestiones liminares que no podemos obviar, que son neurálgicas y constituyen el punto central de todo esto. La primera es a partir de cuándo hay vida, y la segunda, a partir de cuándo existe una persona, un sujeto de derecho. La primera cuestión sólo puede ser respondida desde la ciencia, que hoy nos dice de manera indudable que desde la fecundación existe una vida, un individuo, una vida diferente a la de la madre, con su propia carga genética y su propia secuencia de ADN. Después viene el ordenamiento legal, reconocer que, en esa vida en gestación, en ese sujeto por nacer, hay una persona humana, y el Estado le debe reconocimiento y protección a sus derechos. Es lo que dice el artículo 19 del Código Civil y Comercial (Sr. Incicco: 157)[18].

If we are going to have this debate in good faith, there are two liminal issues that we cannot ignore, which are neuralgic and constitute the central point of all this. The first one pertains to the moment when there is life, and the second one is connected to the moment when there is a person, i.e., a subject of rights. The first question can only be answered from science, which today tells us in an unquestionable way that, since fertilization, there is a life, an individual, a life different from that of the mother, with its own genetic load and its own DNA sequence. Then comes the legal system, to recognize that, in that life in gestation, in that subject to be born, there is a human person, and the State owes him/her recognition and protection of his/her rights. This is what Article 19 of the Civil and Commercial Code states (Mr. Incicco: 157).

As we observe in the first example taken from the corpus, this argument is supported by two institutions that have a great influence on the behavior of Argentine society: science and law. The appeal to these institutions by Deputy Incicco grants credibility and legitimacy to his words, a discursive strategy that, in turn, places scientific and legal discourses in a position of authority to address the issue of abortion.

From this position, science is assimilated into the positivist paradigm, which presents data as natural phenomena, devoid of any relation to the social conditions in which they take place (Habermas, 1982):

2. Desde el momento de la concepción hay un nuevo ADN separado del de los padres, hay un nuevo ser humano, único y concreto. Este es un hecho biológico y no una opinión subjetiva. Desconocerlo, agregando motivos culturales, es negar un hecho científico (Sr. Zamarbide: 138).

Since the moment of conception there is a new DNA separated from that of the parents, there is a new human being, unique and concrete. This is a biological fact and not a subjective opinion. To ignore it, adding cultural reasons, is to deny a scientific fact (Mr. Zamarbide: 138).

Science is thus configured as a true, objective and transparent discourse, in opposition to ideology, which is associated with subjectivity and totalitarianism:

3. Está claro que legalizar el aborto no debió plantearse como una cuestión ideológica ni política ni de derecha o de izquierda ni mucho menos subjetiva. Tampoco necesitamos en este debate a los guardianes ideológicos, que siempre están y que no soportan a quienes piensan distinto (Sra. Vigo: 175-176).

It is clear that legalizing abortion should not have been raised as an ideological or political question, neither from the right nor from the left, much less subjective. Nor do we need in this debate the ideological guardians, who are always there and who cannot stand those who think differently (Mrs. Vigo: 175–176).

This conception of human life closes off any possibility of debate on the legalization of abortion by implying that it is a form of murder. However, the practice exists in Argentina and entails the main cause of maternal mortality[19], so this argument is insufficient to silence the debate. This demanded that those who opposed the IVE bill also put forward less extreme arguments, which would allow them to lay the groundwork for discussion of the issue (Angenot, 2015).

Consequently, beyond the condemnatory aspect that the practice of voluntary abortion encompasses, a second argument that we found in this group of deputies was that abortion, whether clandestine or legal, is a traumatic and distressing experience for the person who goes through it, so its legalization cannot constitute a solution to a health problem, but on the contrary, it would function as an aggravating factor. This representation attributes to the sign "abortion" an inherently negative evaluation, so that it is presented as a practice that no person wants to experience:

relationship, even when their presence is planned by the speaker, something which usually leaves traces on the text surface.

[18] All the examples were taken from the stenographic version of the session journal of the Lower House of Representatives, Meeting 8 (13/6/18), Available online at: https://www.diputados.gov.ar/secparl/dtaqui/diario_sesiones/index.html. After each fragment, we include, in parentheses, the gender and the name of the deputy responsible for the presentation and the page number of the journal.

[19] It is estimated that around 450 thousand clandestine abortions are performed in Argentina every year and that, since the country's return to democracy in 1983, approximately three thousand women have died due to unsafe abortions (Mario and Pantelides, 2009).

4. Es innegable que todas las mujeres, sin distinción de clase social, sufren el aborto. Nadie celebra un aborto. Entonces, ¿por qué hablamos de abortar y no de educar (Sra. Hummel: 240).

It is undeniable that all women, without distinction of social class, suffer from abortion. No one celebrates an abortion. Then, why do we talk about abortion and not about education? (Mrs. Hummel: 240).

5. El aborto –digámoslo con todas las letras– es el fracaso de nuestra política pública en prevención y educación sexual (Sra. Scaglia: 178).

Abortion—let us say it in full—is the failure of our public policy on prevention and sex education (Mrs. Scaglia: 178).

In both examples 4 and 5, the intrinsically negative nature of the practice of abortion is presented as presupposed due to its association with suffering or failure. The use of the verb "ser" (to be) in the present tense in the indicative mood gives both assertions a value of timeless truth (Lavandera, 1985), and therefore they are exempt from any kind of questioning, which places their speakers in a position of knowledge. From this perspective, abortion is not a contingent problem inasmuch as its problematic nature does not lie in the socio-historical conditions in which it is performed or in the characteristics of the woman who goes through it.

In fact, the focus of the discussion on how to guarantee the conditions for a safe abortion is shifted, which, from this logic, would constitute an oxymoron, given that what is a cause of suffering cannot be safe. Instead, the question of how to avoid reaching that situation is posed, regarding which education appears as the main tool:

6. La educación integral es la forma más sincera de ocuparse de las problemáticas existentes en nuestra sociedad, es una forma concreta y real de prevenir situaciones que afectan a los más vulnerables y de construir una sociedad igualitaria, donde la eliminación de una vida no sea una práctica lamentablemente aceptada (Sr. Olivares: 103).

Comprehensive education is the sincerest way to deal with the problems that exist in our society, it is a concrete and real way to prevent situations that affect those who are the most vulnerable and to build an egalitarian society, where the elimination of a life is not a regrettably accepted practice (Mr. Olivares: 103).

More or less explicitly, in examples 4, 5, and 6, formal education is presented as a method to prevent unwanted situations, such as a pregnancy. The solution to the problems generated by the practice of clandestine abortion lies mainly, from this argumentative logic, in the correct enforcement of the ESI law:

7. Estamos fallando como legisladores, porque no estamos controlando la aplicación de las leyes de salud y educación sexual integral (Sra. Rosso: 106).

We are failing as legislators, because we are not controlling the enforcement of health and comprehensive sex education laws (Ms. Rosso: 106).

8. Tenemos que comprometernos todos a trabajar en la implementación de la ley de educación sexual en aquellas escuelas donde aún no se imparten los contenidos obligatorios y capacitar a nuestros docentes para que dicten estas temáticas en las aulas (Sr. Arce: 218).

We must all commit ourselves to working on the enforcement of the law on sex education in those schools where the compulsory content is not yet taught and to train our teachers to teach these topics in the classrooms (Mr. Arce: 218).

The use of first-person plural subjects (which, in Spanish, are elided) by the speakers in examples seven and eight groups together all the legislators in the same collective, regardless of their respective position on the ESI law. The exhortation to the rest of the legislators to enforce an already sanctioned law characterizes this actor as one of the culprits of the poor implementation of sex education in Argentina and, therefore, insinuates that they are responsible for the occurrence of clandestine abortions. At the same time, legislators are given a leading role in reversing this situation, since the correct upholding of the law would generate the conditions so that these practices—and their consequences—do not continue to occur:

9. Una forma de protección debe partir de la educación sexual y de los diversos mecanismos y medios para incorporar conocimientos y valores sobre los procesos de concepción y embarazo. Sin duda, es responsabilidad del Estado asumir este rol protector, poniendo al alcance de todas las mujeres distintas herramientas que garanticen su protección (Sr. Baldassi: 207).

A form of protection must start with sex education and the various mechanisms and means to incorporate knowledge and values about the processes of conception and pregnancy. Without a doubt, it is the responsibility of the State to assume this protective role, making available to all women different tools that guarantee their protection (Mr. Baldassi: 207).

10. [Las mujeres] Morimos porque no recibimos una verdadera educación sexual integral (Sra. Bianchi: 70).

We die because we don't receive truly comprehensive sex education (Ms. Bianchi: 70).

Sex education is presented as a realm for the provision of information to students, who must internalize this knowledge in order not to experience the suffering or condemnation that the practice of abortion entails. Thus, it is implied that unwanted pregnancy is a product of the ignorance of adolescents. In addition, women are configured as the main addressee of this measure and are constituted as a subject of care, who must be protected.

From this position, the predominant function of sex education is to prevent the unwanted consequences of sexual practice (such as abortion or sexually transmitted infections), so that the issue of sexuality is reduced to its biological content. In this way, the representation of sex education as an argument against the IVE bill configures the scientific discourse—specifically, the biomedical one—as the only one that is legitimized to address this problem. Sexuality becomes a risk

practice and education appears as a method of prevention and protection.

Sex Education in Favor of Abortion

The debate on IVE reached Congress after the bill had been rejected seven times, so its discussion in the parliamentary chamber was presented as an achievement by those who voted in favor:

11. Por primera vez en 35 años de democracia este Congreso trata la legalización del aborto. Esto tiene que ver con una lucha que un colectivo de mujeres comenzó hace muchos años bajo el lema "aborto legal, educación sexual y ley de procreación responsable" (Sra. Ocaña: 172).

For the first time in 35 years of democracy, this Congress deals with the legalization of abortion. This has to do with a struggle that a group of women began many years ago under the slogan "legal abortion, sex education and responsible procreation law" (Ms. Ocaña: 172).

12. Las mujeres nos hemos convertido en impulsoras y protagonistas de un proceso de resistencia. El feminismo es una respuesta política organizada, popular y diversa que se ha construido colectivamente. Es una revolución, porque implica un completo cambio de paradigma. Esto no es casual, ya que somos hijas y nietas de las Madres y de las Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo [. . .]. Somos también las que aprendimos de las mujeres piqueteras, que fueron aquellas primeras mujeres que salieron a resistir el ajuste y la privatización cuando sus maridos se quedaban sin trabajo. Al mismo tiempo, somos las compañeras de Cristina Fernández de Kirchner, que se atrevió a cometer un pecado mortal: ser mujer y enfrentarse al poder. Eso le valió un embate machista y misógino contra su persona sin antecedentes, salvo el de la querida Evita (Sra. Volnovich: 188).

We, women, have become the promoters and protagonists of a process of resistance. Feminism is an organized, popular and diverse political response that has been built collectively. It is a revolution, because it implies a complete paradigm shift. This is not accidental, since we are the daughters and granddaughters of the Mothers and Grandmothers of *Plaza de Mayo*[20] [...]. We are also the ones who learned from the *piquetera*[21] women, who were the first women to go out and resist adjustment and privatization when their husbands were out of work. At the same time, we are the companions of Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner[22], who dared to commit a mortal sin: to be a woman and to confront power. That earned her a *machista* and misogynist attack against her person with no background except that of our beloved Evita[23] (Mrs. Volnovich: 188).

As shown in examples 11 and 12, this achievement is attributed primarily to women. The reference to the feminist movements, to the Mothers and Grandmothers of Plaza de Mayo, to the women *piqueteras* and to leaders such as Eva Duarte de Perón and Cristina Fernández de Kirchner, characterizes women as a social actor who is the protagonist of the social changes produced, so that their voice holds a value of differential legitimacy in the debate. Thus, the legalization of abortion is presented as the conquest of a new right, a characteristic that relates it to the ESI law:

13. En el 2006 hemos sancionado la ley de educación sexual integral, que aún hoy continúa con dificultades para su aplicación por los mismos sectores retrógrados y conservadores, que se niegan a garantizar el derecho que hoy estamos debatiendo (Sra. Mendoza: 51).

In 2006 we passed the law on comprehensive sex education, which even today continues to face difficulties in its enforcement caused by the same backward and conservative sectors that refuse to guarantee the right we are debating today (Ms. Mendoza: 51).

14. He escuchado que algunos diputados proponen educar, como si se pudiera reemplazar a la política con pedagogía. Es nuestra primera consigna. Por eso impulsamos desde el primer día la educación sexual integral en los colegios, porque sabemos que previenen los embarazos no deseados. Pero si bien es ley desde octubre de 2006, también sabemos que es una norma que no se cumple [. . .]. Y la verdad, para que la educación tenga sentido, hace falta que las mujeres estemos vivas (Sra. Álvarez Rodríguez: 204).

I have heard some Members of Parliament propose education, as if politics could be replaced by pedagogy. This is our first slogan. That is why we have been promoting comprehensive sex education in schools from day one, because we know that it prevents unwanted pregnancies. But even though it has been a law since October 2006, we also know that it is a rule that is not followed [...]. And the truth is that for education to make sense, women must be alive (Ms. Alvarez Rodriguez: 204).

Although the position shown in example 14 shares the representation of sex education as a method for preventing unwanted pregnancies, which we observed in the previous section, education is not presented as a measure that can reverse, at least in the short run,

[20]The Mothers of Plaza de Mayo is an Argentine association that was created during the last dictatorship in that country (1976–1983) to recover the disappeared detainees alive. After the dictatorial regime ended, its objective was to establish who were the people responsible for the crimes against humanity and promote their prosecution. On the other hand, the Grandmothers of Plaza de Mayo is an Argentine human rights organization whose purpose is to locate and restore to their legitimate families all the babies and children appropriated by the last military dictatorship, create the conditions to prevent this crime against humanity and obtain the corresponding punishment for all those responsible.

[21]The name "piquetera" comes from the form of protest carried out by certain movements of the unemployed, which consists of the installation of pickets in strategic places, to totally or partially make it impossible to circulate on streets, roads or routes.

[22]Cristina Elisabet Fernández de Kirchner is an Argentine politician. She was President of the Argentine Nation (2007–2015) and currently, she serves as Vice President of the Argentine Nation.

[23]María Eva Duarte (1919–1952), better known as Evita, was an Argentine politician. She was the First Lady of the Argentine Nation during the presidency of her husband Juan Domingo Perón between 1945 and 1952 and president of the Peronist Feminine Party and the Eva Perón Foundation.

the problem of abortion. The death of women due to clandestine abortions represents an urgency that, from this argumentative logic, sex education cannot address, making the latter a necessary but insufficient condition to combat the former.

Moreover, the ineffective enforcement of the law is not attributed to the group of legislators as a whole, as the deputies opposed to IVE maintained, but only to a sector of such group: precisely those who oppose the sanction of IVE. At the same time, the cut in the budget produced by the Macri government is mentioned as another fundamental factor that makes the correct upholding of this ruling impossible:

15. Los recursos destinados a la educación sexual integral han disminuido en trece mil millones de pesos, los fondos destinados a las capacitaciones son menores porque de cincuenta y cinco mil docentes capacitados en 2015 pasamos lamentablemente a mil cincuenta (Sra. Siley: 192).

The resources allocated to comprehensive sex education have been reduced by 13 billion pesos, the funds allocated to training are less because from 55,000 teachers trained in 2015, we have unfortunately gone down to 1,050 (Ms. Siley: 192).

Moreover, in the presentations of the deputies who voted in favor of IVE, sex education does not have the sole function of making information of a preventive nature available:

16. Espero que se desarrolle la educación sexual integral con la capacidad de oír y de habilitar escenarios que permitan lograr un verdadero diálogo que dé a las pibas y los pibes herramientas suficientes. Además, se requiere una educación integral para que puedan valorarse como personas, como mujeres en la construcción de su género, con el respeto a la identidad autopercibida, otro derecho ganado en esta democracia (Sra. Horne: 168).

I hope that comprehensive sex education will be developed with the capacity to listen and to set up scenarios that will make it possible to achieve a true dialogue that gives young women and men sufficient tools. Furthermore, comprehensive education is required so that they can value themselves as persons, as women in the construction of their gender, showing respect for their self-perceived identity, another right earned in this democracy (Ms. Horne: 168).

17. En esa tarea de todes está la responsabilidad del Estado, de la planificación familiar de cada uno de los proyectos de vida de hombres y mujeres, de mujeres gestantes, de poder llevar adelante, en el momento que quieran, la planificación de su familia con educación sexual y teniendo a disposición todos los medios para llevar adelante la salud reproductiva como lo dispongan [...]. Además de la batalla cultural estaríamos avanzando en dar la posibilidad a la mujer y a la mujer gestante que quiera practicar [...] la interrupción voluntaria de su embarazo si no fue planificado o deseado. Esto tiene un complemento que ya está sancionado por ley, gracias a la batalla cultural que llevó adelante el movimiento feminista, que es la educación sexual con una mirada federal e integral (Sr. Cleri: 220).

In this task of all[24] it is the responsibility of the State, of the family planning of each one of the life projects of men and women, of pregnant women, to be able to carry out, at the moment that they want, the planning of their family by having access to sex education and having available all the means to enjoy their reproductive health as they see best [...]. In addition to fighting a cultural battle, we would be making progress in giving women and pregnant women who want to do it [...] the voluntary interruption of their pregnancy if it was not planned or desired. This has a complement that is already sanctioned by law, thanks to the cultural battle fought by the feminist movement, which is sex education with a federal and comprehensive approach (Mr. Cleri: 220).

In example 16, we observe that the idea of dialogue appears in relation to sex education, a notion that opens the possibility for the circulation of not only teachers' voice but also that of the students (Freire, 1969). In addition, in both examples, sex education is related to identity, desire, and the possibility of making decisions, a concept that does not restrict it to a public health issue and, therefore, sexuality is not reduced to the unwanted consequences of sexual practice. Both statements are formulated from a notion of volition, a fact evidenced in the verb "I hope" in example 16 or in the conditional nuance of example 17, a modality that does not express what it is, but what could be (Palmer, 1986). Therefore, the speakers do not place themselves in a position of knowledge or authority, but rather establish a dialogical opening toward other voices and alternative meanings.

This representation of sex education enables an evaluation of the sign "abortion" that does not presuppose its negative character, but presents this practice as constitutive of people's sexual life:

18. La ciencia tampoco explica el aborto. Ninguna de las ciencias lo explica; ni la biología, ni la medicina, ni la sociología, ninguna. Solamente sabemos que hay algunas mujeres que quieren tener familia y otras mujeres que no quieren tenerla. Y cuando uno pregunta cuál es la razón, la razón aparece como un deseo: deseo de ser madre, deseo de tener un hijo, deseo de querer, deseo de amar (Sr. Del Cerro: 241).

Nor does science explain abortion. None of the sciences explains it; neither biology, nor medicine, nor sociology, none. We only know that there are some women who want to have a family, and other women who do not want to have a family. And when one asks what the reason is, the reason appears as a desire: a desire to be a mother, a desire to have a child, a desire to want, a desire to love (Mr. Del Cerro: 241).

The introduction of desire as a criterion for deciding in place of reason implies a cultural paradigm shift. Consequently, scientific discourse is displaced from the position as the sole authority for addressing the issue of abortion.

[24]In the Spanish original text, there is the use of the pronoun "todes," instead of the normative "todos" or "todas." The replacement of the masculine morpheme "o" or the feminine morpheme "a" with the morpheme "e" is in line with a non-binary employment of language, driven by, to a great extent, feminist movements in Argentina.

Although prevention remains one of the values associated with the sign "sex education" in the presentations given by the deputies who expressed themselves in favor of the IVE bill, the function of this measure is not reduced exclusively to it. The incorporation of other contents, such as desire, identity, or the possibility of making decisions, gives legitimacy to other social actors to pronounce themselves on the subject beyond health specialists.

Rationality is no longer the only parameter to determine who are the authorized speakers to address these issues, a fact that implies a cultural change with respect to the hegemonic discourses that prevailed in modern Western societies (Giroux, 1997). Consequently, the characterization of women as the protagonists of social struggles in Argentina casts them in a central role in this process.

DISCUSSION

In the previous section, we characterized the representations on comprehensive sex education that were put into circulation by both the deputies who voted in favor of the IVE bill and those who voted against it. Both presented the enforcement of ESI as an argument to support their positions, a paradox that makes it clear that there is a dispute over the meaning attributed to this measure.

Thus, we have showed that the deputies against IVE conceive of sex education exclusively as a method for preventing the unwanted consequences of sexual practice. This representation reduces sexuality to its biological aspects, so that the biomedical discourse is the only one that is authorized to address this problem. Education is then presented as the spread of knowledge (neutral, transparent, and objective) from a specialist-speaker to an ignorant-student who must internalize this knowledge in order to become aware of the risks that sexual practice entails.

The deputies in favor of IVE, in contrast, ascribe other values to the sign "comprehensive sex education." The presentation of this measure as a right allows for the incorporation of such themes as identity, desire and the possibility of choosing, i.e., contents that bring to the fore the voice not only of health specialists, but also of young people and women, both protagonists in the new situation established by the "Ni Una Menos" march in 2015.

However, we have observed that some values are shared by both positions. The preventive nature of the measure is asserted by both groups, a dimension that highlights the biomedical paradigm that frames the debate on these issues and maintains its initiative in the valuing of the sign "science":

19. Nosotros, que sí luchamos por la educación sexual, laica y científica mientras acá algunos acaban de descubrirla, cuando la han obstaculizado (Sra. Del Plá: 82).

We, who do fight for sexual, lay, and scientific education, while here there are some who have just discovered it, even when they have only hindered its provision (Mrs. Del Plá: 82).

20. Si no tenemos en cuenta a la ciencia, quedaremos atrapados en una política ideológica, de descarte del ser humano (Sra. Martínez Villada: 115).

If we do not take science into account, we will be trapped in ideological politics of discarding the human being (Ms. Martínez Villada: 115).

This evaluation of the sign "science" as objective, transparent and neutral is corroborated in the contrast that is made with respect to the pejorative value ascribed to the sign "ideology," a value that appears both in the presentations of the deputies opposing IVE, as evidenced in example 20, and in those of the deputies who voted in favor, as is observed in the following example:

21. Estamos tratando un tema de salud pública que no puede ser abordado con anteojeras ni morales ni éticas ni ideológicas ni, mucho menos, religiosas (Sra. Mendoza: 51).

We are dealing with a public health matter that cannot be addressed with moral or ethical or ideological blinders, much less religious ones (Ms. Mendoza: 51).

The concept of ideology as false consciousness (Marx and Engels, 1932), which appears in example 21, has a pejorative character since it conceives of it as a veil that does not permit "seeing" reality, just as an obstacle to truth. Thus, the representation of scientific discourse as transparent and objective, typical of the positivist paradigm (Giroux, 1997), is reproduced, and, in the field of sex education, such discourse emerges in the guise of biomedical discourse. This discourse puts in the foreground the urgent problems that must be addressed in relation to sexuality, that is, the ills that sexual practice can entail—such as unwanted pregnancies, clandestine abortions, or sexually transmitted infections, but it leaves in oblivion the emancipatory character that this type of education can have if questions related to identity, desire, or freedom of choice are problematized.

In addition, both discourses denounce the failures observed in the enforcement of ESI. However, as we showed in the previous section, the causes of these failures are different for each group of deputies. In fact, those who voted in favor of IVE allocate the opposition deputies the responsibility for having obstructed the implementation of this policy and position such opposition deputies as spokespersons for the Catholic Church:

21. Si algo ha distinguido al oscurantismo de la cúpula de la Iglesia Católica durante todos estos años es oponerse a leyes como la que hoy estamos discutiendo aquí. Por esos motivos, se han opuesto a la independencia nacional, al fin de la esclavitud, a la ley 1.420 –de educación común, laica, gratuita y obligatoria–, a la reforma universitaria, al divorcio, a la educación sexual, al matrimonio igualitario, al voto femenino y ahora al derecho al aborto legal (Sr. Del Caño: 123).

If there is anything that has distinguished the obscurantism of the Catholic Church leadership during all these years, it is its opposition to laws such as the one we are discussing here today. For these reasons, they opposed national independence, the end of slavery, Law 1,420—on common, secular, free and obligatory

education -, University reform, divorce, sex education, same-sex marriage, women's suffrage and now the right to legal abortion (Mr. Del Caño: 123).

Although this institution had expressed its opposition to the sanction of ESI, in 2006, through its most representative members—as is the case of the then Archbishop of La Plata, Héctor Aguer—the deputies who voted against IVE, in 2018, not only demanded the enforcement of ESI, but also moved away from the religious discourse to pronounce themselves on the subject. Instead, they appealed to scientific and legal discourses to support their positions:

22. No hay ninguno de los argentinos que quiera producirse un aborto [. . .]. En la Argentina el concepto no pasa por la Iglesia Católica, pasa por la importancia que tiene la vida y, cuando se habla de la vida, no se habla de cualquier cosa (Sr. Ramón: 79).

No Argentine wants to have an abortion [...]. In Argentina the concept has nothing to do with the Catholic Church, but it is connected to the importance that life has, and when we speak about life, we do not just speak about a minor thing (Mr. Ramon: 79).

23. Estos proyectos de ley legalizarían una violación a la Constitución Nacional y a sus tratados internacionales (Sr. Pereyra: 94).

These bills would legalize a violation of the National Constitution and its international treaties (Mr. Pereyra: 94).

Unlike what happened in the first stage of ESI, in which the opposition to the measure was expressed by means of a religious discourse while those who defended it adopted a stance that adhered to a biomedical discourse, in this second moment, the discursive scene has changed. The legal and scientific discourses emerge as the main stances in opposition to IVE, although the deputies who support this bill continue to configure the Catholic Church as their counteraddressee (Verón, 1987), that is, as the actor that must be defeated in order to achieve the legalization of abortion and the correct enforcement of ESI.

Perhaps it is this dialogue of the deaf (Angenot, 2015) that prevents abortion from being a legal practice in Argentina or sex education from being correctly imparted in schools from a gender perspective. Or maybe it is part of an ongoing process that is slowly shaping feminist discourse as an emerging, emancipatory discourse that will remove patriarchal discourse from its hegemonic place.

DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

The raw data supporting the conclusions of this article will be made available by the authors, without undue reservation.

AUTHOR CONTRIBUTIONS

All authors listed have made a substantial, direct and intellectual contribution to the work, and approved it for publication.

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Linguistic Traces of Subjectivity and Dissent. A Discursive Analysis of Inclusive Language in Argentina

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In Argentina, the so-called "inclusive language" aims at avoiding the bias for a particular sex or gender and objects to a grammatical binary system (feminine – masculine). Although in most Spanish-speaking countries, inclusive language has been limited to the realms of activism, gender studies and a certain type of public administration, in Argentina, its use has been extended to different social spheres, mostly urban. Considering such context, this work aims to investigate the inclusive language in Spanish and characterize its most relevant resources in a series of public texts that circulated in Argentina between 2018 and 2020. On the one hand, its origin is explained, differentiating it from non-sexist language and the different theoretical positions around inclusive language are exposed. On the other hand, from the Dialogical Approach to Argumentation and Polyphony, this paper proposes to address inclusive language resources as subjectivity and polyphony marks which evidence certain aspects of the discourse of patriarchy, with respect to which there is dissent; therefore, inclusive language resources show viewpoints that were once silenced and rejected. For this, a corpus of various speeches is addressed, made up of outdoor urban inscriptions, flyers (advertisements), audiovisual informative speeches and digital press, written in inclusive language, between 2018 and 2020. Throughout the paper it is warns that the inclusive language marks, such as *–e* and *x*, are traces of the "heterogeneity shown marked" that object to grammatical binarism and convey comments by the subject about their own enunciation, alluding to the image of previous sexist and patriarchal discourses with whom they disagree. The analysis reveals that the words or expressions in which inclusive language resources are employed *(-e* and *x*) work as traces of harassed identities and manifest comments by the speaker on their own enunciation. This way, this research shows that gender inclusive language holds conflict linguistic marks which point to historically denied dissidence forms, linked to gender identity and the assertion of collective rights. Finally, this article aims at, on the one hand, contributing to the description of Argentinean Spanish, and on the other, promoting reflection in favor of linguistic education. Undoubtedly, opening instances of debate on the subject can have an impact on the deepening of linguistic reflection and the training of speakers who contribute to forging a more egalitarian society, one which is inclusive and respectful of differences.

Keywords: inclusive language, gender, identity, sexual dissidence, polyphony, argumentation

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INTRODUCTION

For several decades, studies with a gender perspective have questioned the androcentrism and the patriarchal character of language. If we refer to the Spanish language, it has been deemed *sexist*, insofar as it gives men a central position in the world, making women and sexual dissidence invisible. Among the sexist forms attributed to the Spanish language, morphological aspects are usually mentioned, such as the generic or universal masculine gender, and also lexical forms are noted, together with the asymmetrical employment of address forms and the use of the masculine variant for professions and titles.

Then, from the postulate that the use of the masculine to refer to the two sexes does not manage to show the woman, and that this comes from the lack of symbolic representation of women in the language (Alario et al., 1995: 4), various guides–especially since the 90s–proposed alternative ways to tend toward a non-sexist language that evidences women, such as doubling or double mentioning ("chicos and chicas"), and the use of bars ("chico/as"), as will be explained in the work. Later, as of 2000, the so-called "inclusive language" emerged, promoted by studies with a gender perspective, that aims at gender equality and the visibility of dissident identity groups. With the aim of avoiding bias toward a particular sex or gender[1] and objecting to the binary system of the Spanish language (feminine-masculine), the numerous guides to inclusive language[2] bring into play different resources, such as the use of generic nouns without determiners, collective nouns, abstract nouns, nominalizations, paraphrases, and graphic resources that are put forth as an alternative to the generic masculine: @, x, *el **, and *la –e*.

It is worth mentioning that, despite the fact that, in most Spanish-speaking countries, inclusive language has been limited to realms of activism, studies with a gender perspective and certain public administration sectors, its use in Argentina has extended to various social areas, especially urban ones. Starting with the activist movements of *Ni Una Menos* (Not a Woman Less) (2015) and those that supported the *Interrupción Voluntaria del Embarazo* (Voluntary Interruption of Pregnancy) Bill (2018), inclusive language broke into the voices of the protesters and made long overlooked identities visible.

Based on previous works (Tosi, 2019, 2020; Sardi and Tosi, 2021), and employing the Dialogical Approach to Argumentation and Polyphony framework (García Negroni, 2018, 2019), the present article addresses inclusive language and characterizes its resources as linguistic marks of conflict that point to historically denied dissidence identities. The hypothesis I present consists in that inclusive language marks, such as –y and x, are traces of the heterogeneity shown marked (Authier-Revuz, 1984) that object to grammatical binarism and convey comments by the subject about their own enunciation, alluding to the image of previous sexist and patriarchal discourses with whom they disagree. The article is structured as follows. First, the methodology and theoretical framework used are explained. Second, studies are presented that examine the impact of language on gender identity, on the one hand, and the sexist uses of Spanish, on the other. Third, the proposal of inclusive language is explored and some theoretical perspectives that interpret it are laid out. Then, the analysis of the corpus is carried out and the results obtained are presented. Finally, the discussion and conclusions are included.

BACKGROUND AND METHOD

Methodology

The design of the research carried out for this analysis was based on qualitative methodology, since qualitative approaches are better suited to investigate "delimited and focused groups and segments of social histories from the perspective of the actors, of relationships, and for the analysis of discourses and documents" (De Souza Minayo, 2009: 47). This type of method allows for the unveiling of social processes related to particular objects of study and motivates the construction of new studies and the creation of concepts and analytical categories. As it is known, the qualitative method is usually employed in the humanities and social sciences, because it is the method that best responds to their objectives and needs, because it is characterized by an empirical and progressive systematization of knowledge, which leads to the understanding of the internal logic of the group or process under study (De Souza Minayo, 2009). Therefore, we have applied a qualitative methodology, since it has allowed us to approach, in a systematic and progressive way, the phenomenon of inclusive language in certain discursive practices that unfold in urban spaces mostly. Regarding the latter aspect, we have verified that inclusive language enjoys wide circulation in Argentinean cities, and therefore it is usually characterized as a predominantly urban phenomenon (Moure, 2018).

A *discursive corpus* (Courtine, 1981) has been employed, made up of discourses that have marks of inclusive language, and which have been generated in the last 2 years (2018–2020) in different cities of the Province of Buenos Aires and the City of Buenos Aires. The decision regarding the temporal segment was made because, in 2018, inclusive language gained notoriety when it was used among the demonstrators who supported the *Interrupción Voluntaria del Embarazo* (Voluntary Interruption of Pregnancy) Bill. Its circulation was commented on in the mass media covering the event, and on many occasions, there were heated debates about the novel linguistic phenomenon. Finally, in order to obtain a representative sample, we extended the corpus collection period until September 2020.

As for the types of discourse that make up the corpus, we include a wide variety of genres, formats and media, ranging from urban outdoor inscriptions (Gándara, 2002), ranging from non-institutionalized practices, that is, those not regulated by

[1]Sex implies the physiological and sexual characteristics with which women and men are born. While gender refers to ideas, norms and behaviors that society has established for each sex, and the value and meaning assigned to them.

[2]The inclusive language guides are documents prepared by specific purpose institutions and human rights organisms, with the aim of promoting a non-discriminatory use of language, both in written and oral communications (Tosi, 2020). These are alternative documents to the decisions made by RAE that "in addition to providing style guidelines and recommendations on the use of resources in certain areas (legislative, labor, trade union, etc.), they usually contain sections that make the links between gender and grammar explicit, and explain the use of inclusive language" (Tosi, 2020: 173). For further information on guides to inclusive language, see Tosi (2020), Sardi and Tosi (2021).

an institution, made in some cities of Buenos Aires, by subjects anonymously and even texts that present a controlled writing and correction process, such as texts circulating on social networks and the virtual space, such as flyers, audiovisual informative discourses and the digital press. We selected these discourses because they make up diverse discursive practices in terms of their enunciative, generic, and material characteristics, as well as because they have a large circulation and a wide audience. However, as we will report throughout the article, it is possible to find a certain systematization in the use and appearance of inclusive language that accounts for the dialogical properties that constitute the statements, which transcend the heterogeneity related to the characteristics of the different discursive genres and media. On this occasion, we leave the pedagogical and academic discourses aside, not only because they have already been analyzed in depth in previous works (Tosi, 2019, 2020; Sardi and Tosi, 2021), but also because the objective that guides this study is to investigate non-institutionalized practices that are founded as alternative spaces, prone to linguistic/discursive innovation and that produce different meaning effects. The corpus is made up of 50 discourses, produced between 2018 and 2020, although for this work, due to writing space limitations, we will refer only to some cases, which function in an exemplary manner. Following Courtine (1981), the constitution of the corpus responded, then, to demands of *exhaustiveness*, that is, "not to leave in the shadows any discursive fact that belongs to the corpus, even if it 'disturbs the researcher'" (Courtine, 1981: 23), and of *representativeness*, that is, "not to extract a general law from a fact ascertained only once" (Courtine, 1981: 23).

Theoretical Framework

Next, an approach to inclusive language is proposed from the Dialogical Approach to Argumentation and Polyphony (*EDAP* by its initials in Spanish) (García Negroni, 2018, 2019). This approach follows the epistemological assumptions of dialogism (Bajtín, 1982), of the theory of argumentation in language (Anscombre and Ducrot, 1983; Anscombre, 1995; Carel and Ducrot, 2005, among others), of enunciative polyphony (Ducrot, 1984) and of enunciative heterogeneities (Authier-Revuz, 1984 and 1995). As it is known, such theoretical approaches refute some of the most relevant axioms of the formalist linguistic research that was dominant in the 20th century. On the one hand, they question the assumption that the function of language is to represent reality and, therefore, that the meaning of propositions has a truth value. On the other hand, they object to the postulate of the uniqueness of the speaking subject, according to which, per statement, there is only one subject, that is, one individual responsible for everything that is communicated in it.

On this basis, the *EDAP* conceives of statements as answers or anticipations of discourses with respect to which a subjective positioning is always constituted dialogically (Bajtín, 1982). In addition, the *EDAP* views the statement as a response to a framework of preceding shown discourse, which has to be recovered so as to access its meaning; it incorporates dialogic-causal instructions; it analyzes the argumentative chains in a dialogic manner and the dialogic facet in an argumentative manner; it not only assumes a non-unicist take on the subject but also a non-intentionalist and non-voluntary one: in spite of their intension, the subject is not the owner of their own saying; *EDAP* rejects the idea of the enunciator and instead proposes the existence of points of view expressed in the statement and conceives of the speaker, S, responsible for the enunciation, as the trace of the subjective positioning as an answer to other discourses (adherence, irony, criticism, refutation, etc.), captured in the statement. Thus, by understanding the statement as a link in the discursive chain (Bajtín, 1982), *EDAP* analyzes the different subjective positionings that are argumentatively manifested in the discourse as always dialogical responses to the "frameworks of discourse" that are presented as the cause of the enunciation (García Negroni, 2018, 2019).

In this approach, we refer to Authier-Revuz's (1984 and 1995) perspective on heterogeneities. On the basis of Bajtin's works, which have already been cited, Authier-Revuz studies the status of certain enunciative notions that account for discursive or textual linguistic forms that dilute the image of monodic discourse:

> Enunciative complexity is in vogue: distancing, degrees of commitment, enunciative unevenness or mismatch, polyphony, splitting or division of the enunciative subject... such a number of notions [...] serve as evidence of linguistic, discursive or textual forms that alter the image of a monodic message (Authier-Revuz, 1984: 1).

According to the author, there are two great enunciative heterogeneities: the constitutive one and the shown one. The former demonstrates that discourse, despite the subject's pretension that they are an autonomous source of meaning, is constituted by other discourses; the latter alters the apparent unicity of discourse by incorporating other voices with explicit or non-explicit signals. Within this latter group, we can distinguish between unmarked forms, where the presence of *the other* appears without explicit marks, such as free indirect speech, irony and imitation[3], and marked forms, where the presence of *the other* is univocally distinguished by means of certain linguistic resources: inserted in the thread of pre-existing discourses, the "I" delimits the zones of contact that create the illusion of it being the owner of the words. Some examples of this type of marked shown heterogeneity are direct speech, words between quotation marks or in italics, and glosses. In fact, the use of words between quotation marks and special typography (bold and italics), which are recorded in the textbooks of the different periods under analysis, breaks the neutrality, evidences the inherent polyphony and produces different meaning effects.

In this regard, Authier-Revuz (1995) argues that words marked at a graphic level by means of quotation marks or their equivalent, i.e., italics, consist in a procedure that points to the speaker's judgment about their own enunciation ("autonomic modalization"), although, if the gloss is not explicit, the addressee must assign a meaning to such words. Thus, by locating and exhibiting a heterogeneous element, such graphic

[3] *EDAP* analyzes the allusive points of view as traces of unmarked shown heterogeneity (García Negroni, 2019).

marks indicate that the speaker distances themself from, and issues a commentary on, them, which may be about adherence, strangeness, controversy, etc.

To give an example, in Tosi (2018), we showed that, in school textbooks, certain quotation marks express the speaker's reservations about the inadequate or unfortunate character of the denomination in terms of its ideological dimension. By means of the term between quotation marks, there emerges the valuation of S, even when there is no revelation of the one who is responsible for the discourse of others, from which the speaker distances themself (cf. 1). This use allows S to issue a warning about the meaning of the term "Asian barbarism."

(1) The Huns, dark men with bony faces, small eyes and depressed noses -so strange to European types- lived on horses or in carts, dominating villages in the exercise of what some have called "Asian barbarism." However, seen as a rebellion against the imperial corruption of the Romans, their struggle could be felt as an executioner of a primitive but destructive justice.

Thus, S refutes the meaning, or the scope, of "Asian barbarism." In fact, the speaker disagrees with the veracity of the semantic content of this nomenclature and proposes a counterargument by means of the inclusion of the adversative connector "however." In this way, the speaker refutes the premise that the "Huns were barbarians" and puts forward their own point of view by proposing the following premise: "the Huns executed a primitive justice."

Also in Tosi (2018), we observe that the special typography (bold, italics, and colored typography) passes comments on the highlighted expression. In this case, S alerts the reader-student to the disciplinary terms or concepts considered important, to which attention should be paid (cf. 2).

(2) Although the driving force behind the economy was rural production, **economic and demographic growth** and the **expansion** of **transport, trade, and industry** led to an important urbanization process, regarding which Buenos Aires was its leading exponent.

Taking into account what has been presented so far, the most characteristic resources of inclusive language are addressed below as marks of marked shown heterogeneity (Sardi and Tosi, 2021), evidencing that they are linked to certain discourse/s to which they allude. Thus, the graphic mark *x* or the morpheme -*e* indicate that the speaker distances themself and makes a comment on such marks, and they produce different meaning effects, as the analysis will show.

SEXIST USES OF SPANISH

Studies with a gender perspective make up an interdisciplinary field that takes the notion of gender as a central category. Although the topics have been diverse, since its inception, the studies have expressed the need to problematize linguistic uses in relation to feminisms and sex-gender identities.

If we refer to pioneering work, we must mention Judith Butler's in the 1990s, which promoted the idea that language constitutes a determining factor in the construction of gender. For Butler, the subject is constituted as such by entering language norms, therefore, when not included in the dominant forms, the subject is excluded. The author maintains that placing oneself outside the realm of the enunciable endangers the status of a person as a subject. From such an approach, it can be argued that language impacts on social perceptions and, thus, it is possible to operate on it to make women visible and to show an openness to sexual dissidence forms.

Linguistic studies on gender are profuse, and the relationship between grammatical gender and social gender has been thoroughly examined in several languages, including Spanish (Hellinger and Bussmann, 2001–2002–2003; Pauwels, 2003; Alvanoudi, 2015, 2016, 2020). In this sense, non-sexist and inclusive language would be staging the tension between two types of gender: grammatical and sociocultural. As Ramírez Gelbes (2018a) explains, the grammatical gender corresponds to certain classes of words (the noun, the adjective, the pronoun) and in Spanish it can be feminine or masculine. Due to the same duality, when the grammatical gender refers to sexed beings, it places them in a binary category. Sociocultural gender, for its part, refers to the sociocultural category that is related to the identities of the subjects, and that would object not only to linguistic androcentrism, but also to the binarism given by grammar.

With respect to Spanish, since the 1980s, there have been feminist movements that have promoted actions to eradicate sexist uses. Some of these movements worked for the creation of the *Instituto de la Mujer* (Women's Institute) in Spain in 1983 and the publication of the first guides to non-sexist language, which were employed in public administration. From then on, there began to emerge multiple groups that objected to sexism in language and proposed alternative resources. Among them, we can mention the *NOMBRA* group, *No Omitas a las Mujeres, Busca Representaciones Adecuadas* (NAME: Don't Omit Women, Seek Adequate Representations), created in 1994 and linked to the Advisory Commission on Language of the Women's Institute (Spain), which is responsible for much of Spain's academic production on the subject. Among its members are Carmen Alario, Mercedes Bengoechea, Elira Llendó, and Ana Vargas, who support the thesis of women's lack of symbolic presentation in language. In this regard, they state that the use of the generic masculine to refer to the two sexes does not manage to represent them, since it hides or excludes women, to the extent that it is based on an androcentric way of thinking that configures men as reference subjects and women as subsidiary subjects (1995).

At this point, it should be made clear that, according to Spanish grammar, when things are designated, there is no relationship between grammatical gender (feminine and masculine) and sex; for example, "la cuchara" (the spoon) and "la espumadera" (the skimmer) are feminine; "el cuchillo" (the knife) and "el tenedor" (the fork) are masculine; however, as we know, this categorization has nothing to do with extra-grammatical aspects. Now, as for the words that refer to women or men, there is a match between grammatical gender and the sex of

the person ["médic**o**, médic**a**" (doctor, physician); "voluntari**o**, voluntari**a**" (volunteer)]. In addition, when reference is made to nouns pointing to animate beings, the masculine designates the class that corresponds to all individuals, without distinguishing between the sexes. For example, in the sentence "A nivel mundial, unos 18 000 voluntarios fueron inoculados con vacunas experimentales dentro del programa de pruebas para luchar contra el Covid-19" (Worldwide, some 18,000 volunteers were inoculated with experimental vaccines within the testing program to combat Covid-19), the phrase "los voluntarios" includes both men and women because the masculine is the unmarked gender, which refers to the member of a binary opposition and can encompass both members. According to Spanish grammar, this makes it unnecessary to mention the marked term, i.e., the feminine one.

In light of this, academic movements that label Spanish as a sexist language claim that the use of the masculine to refer to both sexes not only causes women's lack of symbolic representation in the language and hides or makes invisible the presence of the feminine gender (Alario et al., 1995: 4), but can also produce ambiguities or misunderstandings. For example, in the case we mentioned of "los voluntaries," it could generate confusion regarding its meaning: are the volunteers only men or does the noun also include women? In this respect, Ramírez Gelbes (2018b, online) argues:

> in many contexts the masculine-understood-as-generic is ambiguous. That is, it is not clear whether one is talking only about men or about men and women. However, there is a point that should be considered: in society today, one does not always speak of binary genders, since the masculine that is said to encompass the feminine also admits representatives who, feeling they belong to other genders, are not represented by the said masculine. This matter also appears to be resolved with the use of "e" as a truly generic and neutral form.

Several guides Spanish and Latin American -especially in the 90s and from 2000 onward- have proposed alternative ways to tend toward a non-sexist language. The following ones serve as exemplification:

- Resources that make the feminine gender visible, such as the split or double mention: "Los voluntarios y las voluntarias" (The volunteers) and the use of bars and parentheses: "Los/las médico/as" y "Lo(a)s medico(a)s" ("The doctors").
- Mechanisms for gender non-visibility. On the one hand, paraphrase and use of pronouns without a gender mark and employment of abstract nouns: "grupo voluntario" (volunteer group), "el voluntariado" (the volunteer), "quienes se ofrecieron" (those who offered themselves), "personas voluntarias" (volunteer people), among others. On the other hand, certain graphic resources, such as the *at* sign, @, ("l@s voluntari@s"), the asterisk ("voluntari*s"), and *x* ("lxs voluntarixs"), which are exclusive to written texts.

In this regard, Ramírez Gelbes (2018a, online) states:

About 15 or 20 years ago, "@" emerged to break with the generic distinction. "Alumn@s," "chic@s," or "maestr@s" were used. Sometime later, around 2010, "x" was introduced. Then, we saw words written as "todxs," "compañerxs," and "afiliadxs." However, both forms - which are still seen - collide with the barrier of verbalization. The advantage offered by "e," is that it can be put into practice in oral language.

However, we must take into account that sexism in language is not limited to morphological aspects, but can also manifest itself at the lexical level (for example, the use of "capitana" (woman captain) to refer to the wife *of* the captain's-, apart from the asymmetrical use of address terms). In the public sphere, women were identified by their marital status ("señora" (madam), "señorita" (miss), by their relationship with a man ("señora de" (Mrs) or "mujer de" (X's woman) and with the use of the masculine form or the explicit use of the noun "mujer" for certain professions and titles: "la presidente" (the woman president) and "la gasista mujer" (the woman pipe fitter).

In short, there have been many academic works and style guides that have been produced in Spain since the 1980s, but in Argentina the debate was established a few decades later, as is analyzed in the following section. In fact, in Argentina, non-sexist language began to emerge massively in social discourses thanks to the "Ni una menos" (Not One [Woman] Less) actions, a feminist collective formed in 2015, which opposes violence against women in all its forms. In their discourse, one of the most frequent mechanisms to make women visible and to refer to the feminist struggle is the use of the feminine variant of nouns, pronouns and adjectives. This mechanism affects the evident configuration of a specific gender collective: "Ni **una** menos"; "**Vivas** nos queremos" (We Want Us [Women] Alive), "Si nuestras vidas no valen, produzcan sin **nosotras**" (If our lives are not worth it, produce without us [women]), among many other phrases (Sardi and Tosi, 2021).

Gender Inclusive Language

Thanks to the struggle of the LGBTTTIQ+[4] collective, the so-called "inclusive language" was configured as an alternative to account for sexual dissidence forms and to escape from Spanish binary system: feminine-masculine.

Inclusive language proposes resources for the non-visibility of gender - which we mentioned in the previous section, but rejects the use of the feminine variants, since it objects to binary forms. In addition to the graphic resources already addressed -the *at* sign, the asterisk and *x*, there is the *e* morpheme, which began to circulate widely in 2018, with the marches and discourses that supported the *Interrupción Voluntaria del Embarazo* (Voluntary Interruption of Pregnancy) Bill (2018), as we have already mentioned.

According to Martínez (2019), in the case of inclusive language, speakers are proposing a change, which points to the language paradigm, insofar as the use of the *-e* phoneme acquires the status of a morpheme, since it becomes filled with meaning. Thus, the choice of this morpheme is the matrix of a

[4]With respect to the acronym LGBTTTIQ+, its meaning refers to L, lesbian; G, gay; B, bisexual; T, transgender; T, transsexual; T, transvestite; I, intersexual; Q, queer; and the + sign refers to other identities, such as pansexual, demisexual, asexual, and antrosexual.

possible reconstruction of the gender paradigm which, as stated by Martínez (2019: 11), is constituted as follows:

MASCULINE: -O (S)
FEMININE: -A (S)
OTHERS: -E (S)

Therefore, "the semantic substance that categorizes the plural paradigm would be: 'different from one + gender' and the gender type categorized as masculine, feminine, and others" (Martínez, 2019: 12). But as the specialist points out, "the category others would correspond to what is neither masculine nor feminine because, either they are both at the same time or it is a different option" (Martínez, 2019: 12). However, in this description it does not consider, the option that the morpheme "-e" could include not only "both [female and male] at the same time" or "a different option," but also those two options at the same time: women, men, transgender, transsexual, intersex, lesbian, gay, etc. Considering that Martínez's classification does not take into account the problem of the universal/generic masculine gender, in this article it is proposed that the "-e" could be not only "others" but also "all."

Let's see, as an example, the following posts on social networks, which circulated in 2020:

(1) Les vecines de Adrogué aplaudimos al personal de salud que atiende a les enfermes contagiades de COVID-19.
The neighbors of Adrogué applaud the health personnel who take care of COVID-19 infected people (Publication on the Facebook wall of a neighbor of the town *Adrogué*, located in the province of Buenos Aires, August 23, 2020).

(2) ¡Feliz día a los maestros, las maestras y les maestres!
Happy Teachers' Day! (Publication on Instagram of a message from a children's literature publisher on September 11, 2020, the day that Teacher's Day is celebrated in Argentina)

Accordin to Martínez, in example (1) the use of the *-e* morpheme is detected as a neutral gender replacing the established binary genders. The morphological changes are applied throughout the phrase, on articles, nouns and adjectives: "Les vecines" and "les enfermes contagiades."

Here *-e* is neither feminine nor masculine, because it is others, or it makes no difference, according to Martínez. But, in reality, "vecines" and "enfermes" could be saying that they are people with different gender identities, or even that the speaker does not know their gender identities. We really don't know if the "vecines" or "enfermes" are only men and women, or if they are, for example, transgender people and men. With respect to (2), an alternative can be observed in the use of the *-e* morpheme. Although, as we saw in the previous example, *-e* replaces the generic masculine variant, here a splitting into three genders is produced: masculine, feminine, and one that encompasses the gender dissent not included in those two options. That is, the two binary genders are distinguished ("los maestros y las maestras") and a third one of a dissident type is included, which objects to such binarism ("les maestres"). This last case corresponds to the interpretation of *-e* as a different option from masculine and feminine.

As for the *-e* morpheme, in its beginnings, its use was limited to informal contexts, both in oral and written discourse. However, it is worth pointing out that, in the last year, inclusive language has begun to be legitimized in more formal discursive practices and institutions, such as schools, teacher training courses and universities. Gradually, in Argentina, books are also being published employing inclusive language, corresponding to different discourse genres: literature, cookbooks, journalistic reports, etc.[5]. In the last few years, teacher training institutions and universities have even recognized as valid the use of inclusive language by students in their writing of evaluation productions[6].

In this work, as we have already mentioned, we analyze texts written in external inscriptions of the urban environment and in certain discourses that circulate in virtual space. In them, besides the *-e* form, we have found uses of *x*, but we did not find any of @ and *, so we propose that the latter be resources falling into disuse.

Language academies, among which is *Real Academia Española* (RAE), object to non-sexist uses of language, due to their ungrammaticality in the case of @, *x*, and *-e*, or because they deem them artificial and unnecessary, regarding the employment of gender-form splitting, paraphrasing or abstract nouns. With respect to RAE's position, Ramírez Gelbes (2018b) states that it is a very conservative institution, whose purpose and function is to maintain the uses and customs of the Spanish language: "It is only logical that it rejects the imposition of a language that creates a third gender that does not exist in Spanish" (Ramírez Gelbes, 2018b, online)[7].

Without a doubt, there are conflicting aspects around inclusive language that are linked to theoretical and methodological matters, and, at this point, the conceptualization of language that is upheld and the theoretical framework that is adopted are vital. One of the most recurrent objections to inclusive language is that it is consciously put forth and planned by a minority group, usually characterized as educated, middle class and urban. For Moure (2018), it is not "a change 'from below,'" that is, originated as a progressive and generally slow expressive need of a considerable number of speakers, but rather, it is a proposal "from above," springing from a numerical minority, born of a middle class group that seeks to impose, by means of a mark on the language, a value around a social claim." Likewise, Company Company (2019) expounds that, by nature, language is inclusive and that speakers are free to use it and no one should force them to speak in a certain way. "Any imposition on how to use language is an authoritarian act" (Company Company, 2019: online). In turn, Escandell Vidal (2019) points out that it is not acceptable for a group to unilaterally arrogate to itself the representation of, for example, "all women" and

[5]To access examples, see Sardi and Tosi (2021).

[6]For example, the Board of Directors of the *Facultad de Ciencias Sociales* (School of Social Sciences) of the University of Buenos Aires decided, through Resolution (CD) N°1558/19, to admit and recognize as valid the use of inclusive language in academic productions at the undergraduate and graduate levels. This measure applies to exams, monographic papers, theses and dissertations. For further information, see Sardi and Tosi (2021).

[7]See Alvanoudi (2015, 2016) and Sardi and Tosi (2021) for a discussion of grammatical gender through the lens of linguistic relativity.

to feel legitimized to create a division, which she characterizes as "Manichean and exclusive." Furthermore, she warns about the danger entailed in attacking the language system. In this regard, Lauría and y Zullo (2018): 2) state that the "problem" is that this time the variation is not the result of a spontaneous or unconscious process, but rather a *glotopolitical* intervention on the public use of language, which implies a conscious and deliberate action and, in many cases, an "activist gesture." The new linguistic and discursive pattern, then, is not provided by the school, the university, the academy, or the mass media, but by certain activisms born on the margins of groups with power over language, such as the feminist and the LGBTTTIQ+ collectives. According to Lauría and y Zullo (2018), language undergoes continuous innovations, such as the introduction of neologisms or the emergence of phonological variants, without causing great controversy or social debate, but inclusive language is different, because it is managed in a planned way and by minority groups that have been historically marginalized.

Another position that objects to inclusive language refers to the arbitrariness of grammar. For example, Company Company (2019) states that grammar does not necessarily reflect the world and its binary organization consists in an arbitrary fact of secular sedimentation and millenary legacies. In contrast, Martínez argues that grammar (morphosyntax) is ideologically and communicatively conditioned and is shaped in accordance with the communicative needs of its speakers. Thus, linguistic change occurs when certain successful communicative uses, accepted by the community, crystallize into grammar. In this way, "The values of a culture -its social biases- are often reflected in language: not simply in what language has produced as lexicon, but simply in what we are talking about and how we are doing so" (Martínez, 2019: 6). At this point, we consider it relevant to state that our research moves away from thinking of inclusive language as a reflection of society, or as a linguistic or grammatical change. As we make it evident in the analysis, we conceive of it as part of the discursive order; in other words, it is a discursive intervention that introduces implicit comments on the enunciation made and produces certain meaning effects.

In addition, several specialists focus on the fact that inclusive language leads to a system-induced complication, which would result in evident failure. In this regard, Moure (2018) explains that such an intervention would affect the linguistic structure itself and this would represent a much more serious interference. Undoubtedly, inclusive language affects the morphological level and can give way to great changes in the syntax of a text, since it produces modifications throughout the phrase.

In another vein, there is a tendency to state that inclusive language implies a linguistic change. In this regard, Ramírez Gelbez points out that it is not possible to talk about a linguistic change, because "to think that inclusive language will be imposed in 3 months seems a fantasy, since if it is really imposed it will be a matter of decades" (Ramírez Gelbes, 2018b). Although Martínez (2018) recognizes that one cannot speak of change - perhaps it is an "embryo" of change (Martínez, 2018), what is relevant is that the debate exists and makes a "social wound" visible. Martínez makes it clear that the linguistic changes do not determine social transformations, but, in general, it happens the other way around: when societies are transformed, those changes impact on language and new forms begin to be used. In relation to this aspect, what this article seeks to do is to show that the interventions enunciated in inclusive language exhibit a patriarchal discourse from which they dissent, while they formulate new representations. What will happen in the future with inclusive language is unknown: it cannot be predicted whether morphological changes will be systematized in language, that is, if, from a phenomenon linked to discourse, it will become cemented as a linguistic phenomenon. It is a possibility, but it will take decades before we know it.

To conclude, it is relevant to highlight Kalinowski (2018, 2019) position, which states that inclusive language is an eminently political discursive-rhetorical phenomenon. On the one hand, it is a public language phenomenon, that is, it is used in an interview, in an advertisement, in a tweet. On the other hand, every time someone decides to use an inclusion formula, they are making a political statement. In this regard, according to the author, it is not possible to restrict people's freedom to make political statements, but trying to impose inclusive language on those who do not decide to use it is equally authoritarian, because it forces people to adopt a position they did not take due to their own conviction and initiative (Ramírez Gelbes, 2018a,b). Therefore, this paper proposes to think of inclusive language as a discourse phenomenon, not a language phenomenon. In other words, inclusive forms can be understood as discursive traces, put into play by a group of speakers, but which are not considered elements that have been systematized and incorporated into the language, as it has happened, for instance, with *voseo* ("vos" instead of "tú," for example, instead of "tú vienes," "vos venís"), whose use was fought against for decades by the Argentine State without any success. Let us bear in mind that the Argentine State tried, for decades, to eradicate the use of *voseo* through different regulations in school, radio, and written language in general, etc., but without achieving any success. Thus, we see that, when it comes to a language phenomenon, already systematized, impositions do not work and end up failing. Let us remember that, according to Arnoux (2006), discourse is understood as a social practice and, in this respect, the objective of discourse analysis is to focus on the link with the social universe that is evident in these texts in order to investigate the discursive practices connected to social environments. As we have already mentioned, discourse consists, then, in a space that exhibits the traces of the exercise of language left by subjects in a specific discursive genre, which is understood as a "discursive institution" and which implies verbal features associated with a social practice that, in turn, it defines (Arnoux, 2006). In what follows we investigate the resources of inclusive language, inasmuch as they are traces of the exercise of language in concrete discursive practices.

ANALYSIS

Inclusive Language in Urban Inscriptions

The inscriptions on resistant surfaces that can be found in the urban space are classified into *indoor and outdoor inscriptions* (Gándara, 2002). While the *indoor inscriptions* are found in

FIGURE 1 | A square in the City of Mar del Plata.

FIGURE 2 | Facade of Facultad de Filosofía y Letras (School of Philosophy and Literature), University of Buenos Aires, City of Buenos Aires.

bathrooms, universities, walls and transportation seats, the *outdoor* ones are located on public roads: on walls, on posters on light posts or on advertising posters, on bus stops, on square floors, on the asphalt, among other possibilities, and therefore *outdoor* forms are more visible than *indoor* ones.

If we refer to outdoor inscriptions, these can be iconic (images) or predominantly verbal (text). The latter, which are our object of study, usually have, according to Chiodi (2008), the pretension of acting on the addressee, sometimes with artistic intention and other times, to inform and/or persuade the addressee. To achieve this, they deploy ingenious, playful or poetic legends, often related to social denunciations (Chiodi, 2008).

Below, we analyze a series of inscriptions in public spaces that employ inclusive language resources. As it can be seen, they are all short statements that can be easily read by a passer-by. The six inscriptions, presented as examples, are constituted as affirmative clauses, but with nuances that give rise to different meaning effects. Many of them are anonymous; the empirical author of the texts is not made explicit.

In **Figure 1** we can see an inscription, which has been acted upon, in a square in the city of Mar del Plata (Buenos Aires, Argentina) in 2019. As is evident, the word "todos" has been corrected and rewritten as "todes." That mark clearly shows a discrepancy with respect to the use of the generic masculine form in the original. Thus, two speakers coexist: one who has produced the legend and another who has corrected it and imposed themself on the first one. Hence, it can be argued that the struggle for ways of saying emerges in the enunciation in such inscriptions in the public sphere and dissent is manifested in the discursive materiality.

In turn, **Figure 2** shows an inscription on one of the walls of *Facultad de Filosofía y Letras* (School of Philosophy and Literature) of the University of Buenos Aires, in Caballito neighborhood, in the city of Buenos Aires, where it reads: "Les estudiantes ya elegimos." It is a graffit that was made in reference to gender intersectionality in the political realm of the school. In 2019 (November) by the representatives of the Commission for Women and Sexual and Gender Diversity of the Student Center of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters (CEFYL).

Although both inscriptions are made up of declarative sentences, **Figure 1** conveys a maxim that has an implicit exhortative character. In effect, "Cuidar la plaza es obligación de todes" (Taking care of the square is everyone's obligation) can be interpreted as an appeal to the neighborhood community as a whole: "Todes tenemos la obligación de cuidar la plaza" (We all have an obligation to take care of the square). This is a deontic statement, insofar as it poses the formula "*A* is obligatory," where *A* replaces a statement that describes an action that is obligatory (taking care of the square). In addition, **Figure 2** expresses an assertion made through inclusive "we" and carries the adoption of a stance: not only on carrying out an action (having chosen *X*), but on the construction of a collective S "nosotres les estudiantes" (we, the students),

FIGURE 3 | Facade of a house in Lanús, province of Buenos Aires.

FIGURE 4 | Painting on a wall in Avellaneda, province of Buenos Aires. Photo taken from a bus.

ratified by means of the exclusive plural verb ("elegimos"/we choose). Let us remember that inclusive "we" implies the use of the first person plural which includes the listener ("I, you and possibly" others as opposed to the "I and others, but not you" of exclusive "we"), as is the case that we have just analyzed.

Moreover, in **Figure 3,** we observe the statement "Ellxs mueren," which refers to an image of low-income boys and girls not meeting basic essential needs, located at the top of the wall. It is a stencil made in the facade of a house in Lanús neighborhood, in the Buenos Aires conurbation[8]. The stencil technique, as explained by Chiodi (2008), consists in making a mold or openwork template, supporting it on a surface and covering it with aerosol. In this way, it can be quickly reproduced on different surfaces. Like all street expressions, stencil requires, in many cases, an addressee who shares the codes that are employed (Chiodi, 2008).

Here, unlike the previous cases, what is displayed is an expression of denunciation of child death due to poverty. In this case, the personal pronoun "ellxs," which is the object of the enunciation and what is predicated about ("mueren") is acted upon with *x*.

The three examples show how the "inclusive" act is placed in different elements of the phrase and thus causes different meaning effects. If, in the first case, the relevance was placed on the configuration of the addressees to whom it referred in order to provoke an action involving care and responsibility over the square, in the second, the emphasis is placed on the identity construction of the speaker of the inscription, while, in the third one, the focus is on the object of the enunciation, that is, on what is being predicated. The comments that operate on the introduced inclusive resource can be the following ones:

1) *-e/x is what is convenient/must be done*
2) *-e/x with a broad, non-binary value*,
3) *-e/x in opposition to the sexism of Spanish*,
4) *-e/x instead of -o*.

Undoubtedly, these comments, raised here in a broad or general way, with the aim of laying the foundations for the analysis, may have a different hierarchy, or they may be different, in each future example according to their meaningful effects.

In contrast, the murals of **Figures 4**, **5**, with poetic tints, are made up of a text and a much larger image. On the one hand, **Figure 4** corresponds to a mural on a wall, signed by an artist. It reads: "Crecen como dientes de león les jóvenes que aman" (They grow like dandelions, the young people who love). It is worth mentioning that dandelion is a common herb in Argentina that grows in vacant lots. Without a doubt, it is a statement that vindicates and defends the spirit of youth.

In **Figure 5**, one can see a very colorful mural, made on Brazil street, in front of Lezama Park, in San Telmo, Buenos Aires City. The mural, which advocates for the defense of equality and identity, is dedicated "PARA TODES LES NIÑES Y ADOLESCENTES" (For all children and adolescents). There, the image plus the nominal phrase in inclusive language ("les niñes"), besides being a clear political and ideological gesture, has a very powerful aesthetic and poetic character that reinforces the gesture of inclusion and respect for diversity. The two examples define the object on which they enunciate from the -e mark. In both cases, glosses 1 to 4 could be applied.

But if we look in detail at the last mural, i.e., **Figure 6**, we notice that the *-e* morphemes are acted upon with some gray spots. In this way, we observe a form of intrusion on a public message, which is contrary to what we saw in **Figure 1**. Here, the spots show the inclusive resources used, conveying a form of repudiation or discrepancy before them.

Considering the theoretical framework established, we see that the outdoor inscriptions that display inclusive language

[8]We do not include that drawing due to poor image quality. Unfortunately, the painting was deteriorated and hidden with advertising posters.

FIGURE 5 | Mural in front of Lezama Park, in San Telmo, Buenos Aires City. Photos: Mercedes Pérez Sabbi.

FIGURE 6 | Mural in front of Lezama Park, in San Telmo, Buenos Aires City. Photos: Mercedes Pérez Sabbi.

resources can be considered discursive practices that emerge as a space of disruption and interpellation to the passer-by and that interfere in urban space meaning processes. They can also be thought of as spaces of dispute for the meaning and the right to make sexual dissidence forms visible in the public sphere. From such an approach, we think of the city in Orlandi's terms [Orlandi (2001)], as a *symbolic signifying* space, which allows the subject to situate themself in the world because they are located in "the world of significations," that is, they recognize themself and circulate among the diverse subject positions. Following Zoppi Fontana (1998), regarding her study on urban statements, we can consider these inscriptions as symptoms of the confrontation between different subject positions, from which identification processes are produced, processes which the subjects of social practices in the city constitute. This entails, without a doubt, the emergence of new instances of circulation and legitimization of forms of saying.

Inclusive Language in the Digital Realm

As it is known, several communicative contexts, which emerged with the advent of new technologies, have given rise to new formats or discursive genres, such as flyers on social networks and informative audiovisual forms, etc. Similarly to what happened in the urban outdoor inscriptions recently analyzed, the texts circulating on social networks appeal to the inclusive trait to configure the different discursive subjects. Some employ *x* to build an identity collective, sustained by the exclusive plural. For example, in (7), S is constructed as part of "trabajadorxs freelance y monotributistas organizdxs" (freelance workers and organized autonomous workers). In turn, "artesanxs, emprendedorxs, productorxs músicxs y maestrxs" (craftspeople, entrepreneurs, music producers and teachers) are the addressees of the other flyers (cf. 8–10), while the configuration of the addressee through the inclusive resources contributes, in addition, to the construction of the image of S (S as publishing house, S as workers' organization, etc.) as more inclusive, open and egalitarian.

(7) Reunión de trabajadorxs freelance. Vamos a discutir sobre los problemas de trabajadorxs freelance e independientes para sumar nuestras demandas a la lucha de Monotributistas Organizadxs. 31/1/2020.
(8) Día Nacional del Músicx. ¡Feliz día a todxs los músicxs! 23/1/2020.
(9) Feria del Faro. Feria colectiva de artesanxs, emprendedorxs y productorxs locales. 15/2/2020.
(10) ¡Feliz día, queridxs maestrxs! Editorial Riderchail. 11/9/2020.

As we have already mentioned, inclusive language generates strong reactions. For example, some of the comments regarding these flyers questioned the use of *x*, some very aggressively. Cases like this set up the discussion about what strategies to take if one wants to convey a message to a wide audience. In relation to the journalistic realm, Ingrid Beck, journalist and director of *Barcelona* (a biweekly Argentine magazine of satirical journalism), asks herself: "When we want to reach other people: what do we do?, do we use inclusive language, which distances us from many?, or do we try to use, for example, neutral words like "las personas," "la gente" (people)?" (2019). For now, Beck chooses to use some other resources, such as paraphrases or non-gendered pronouns, to resolve such a dilemma, but at the same time trying to reach those audiences who, if they see or hear *e* or *x*, will not read or listen. This is the current trend in mass media: not to use inclusive language, except to provoke some meaning effect, as we see in the following headlines of *Página/12*.

(11) La organización de los nietos de los desaparecidos
Les Nietes llegaron para tomar la posta
Más de 70 jóvenes de todo el país empezaron a reunirse para "mantener viva la memoria" y también para reconstruir sus propias historias. Enlazan la militancia por los derechos humanos con la lucha por la violencia institucional y por los feminismos y las disidencias sexuales (*Página/12*, August 29 of 2020).

(12) La inteligencia ilegal alcanzó parroquias, comedores y festejos por el día de las infancias.
El espionaje macrista no respetó ni a les niñes
El Proyecto AMBA de la AFI que conducía Arribas se enfocó, como anticipó Página 12, en control a los partidos políticos y en investigar la actividad de los movimientos sociales en sus locales (*Página/12*, September 27 of 2020).

The headlines in both pieces show inclusive language marks ("les nietes," "les niñes"), but in the rest of the news text, the generic masculine form is used, as it is possible to observe in the header of (11) ("los nietos de los desaparecidos"/the grandchildren of the disappeared). Why is the *e morpheme* used only in the headline then? Without a doubt, to produce a certain meaning effect and to call the addressee. The use of the *-e morpheme* challenges the reader and calls their attention, besides the fact that its use implies a more "progressive" stance. At the same time, it represents an ideological wink to the target audience of the newspaper, which is usually configured as a "progre" (progressive) reader, open and sensitive to social and gender matters.

To conclude our analysis, in (13) we have transcribed an explanatory video about COVID-19, made by Paula Bombara and Luciano Nieves. It is an informative-educational text for children that has circulated on the networks during 2020.

"¿'Qué es el coronavirus?"
Hola, soy Paula Bombara, soy escritora y bioquímica. Y él es Luciano Nieves, bioquímico y docente de la Universidad de Buenos Aires. Queremos explicarte qué son los virus.
Los virus son parte de la naturaleza pero, pero, los virus no respiran, no están vivos. Por eso no son ni animales, ni plantas, ni bacterias ni hongos. Tampoco están muertos porque tienen la capacidad de reproducirse, claramente, no son como las piedras. No son animales, no son vegetales, no son minerales, son virus. Interesante, ¿'no?
Básicamente, lo que hacen es reproducirse cuando encuentran materiales para lograrlo. No son ni malos ni buenos. No nos enferman a propósito, tampoco son seres imaginarios, no son monstruos. Los virus no pueden verse a simple vista, se necesita un microscopio especial porque son muy, muy pequeños. Están formados por una molécula de material genético, en la que está la información que necesitan para reproducirse, y proteínas que protegen esa información.
Es gracias a esas sustancias, las proteínas, que pueden entrar a nuestras células. Y es en nuestras células donde encuentran todos los materiales para reproducirse. Para ellos, encontrar una célula, es genial. Pero para nosotres, eso no es una buena noticia. Si sucede en nuestro sistema respiratorio, en nuestros pulmones, como pasa con el coronavirus, lo más común es que entre por la nariz, por la boca o por los ojos. Al principio no vamos a darnos cuenta. Pero luego de unos días comenzaremos a toser, a producir mocos, a estornudar, tener fiebre, temblar. Todas estas son reacciones positivas del cuerpo para sacarnos al virus de encima.
Si nuestro estado de salud antes de la llegada del virus no es bueno, puede que nos provoque alguna complicación mayor. Pero, en la gran, gran mayoría de los casos, después de un tiempo, lograremos superar la infección.
Quedate en casa, para cuidarte a vos y cuidarnos entre todes.
#Quedate en casa
Gracias por las ilustraciones a Viviana Bilotti, a Rosario Oliva a y a Eugenia Nobati.
"What is the coronavirus?"
Hi, I'm Paula Bombara, I'm a writer and biochemist. And this is Luciano Nieves, biochemist and professor at the University of Buenos Aires. We want to explain to you what viruses are.
Viruses are part of nature but, but, viruses do not breathe, they are not alive. That's why they are neither animals, nor plants, nor bacteria, nor fungi. Nor are they dead because they have the capacity to reproduce, clearly, they are not like stones. They are not animals, they are not plants, they are not minerals, they are viruses. Interesting, isn't it?
Basically, what they do is reproduce when they find materials to do so. They are neither bad nor good. They don't make us sick on purpose, nor are they imaginary beings, they're not monsters. Viruses cannot be seen with the naked eye, you need a special microscope because they are very, very small. They are formed by a molecule of genetic material, in which there is the information that they need to reproduce, and proteins that protect that information.
It is thanks to these substances, the proteins, that they can enter our cells. And it is in our cells where they find all the materials to reproduce. For them, finding a cell is great. But for us ("**nosotres**"), that's not good news. If it happens in our respiratory system, in our lungs, as it happens with the coronavirus, the most common thing is that it enters through the nose, through the mouth or through the eyes. We won't notice it at first. But after a few days we will start coughing, producing mucus, sneezing, having a fever, shaking. These are all positive reactions of the body to get rid of the virus.
If our state of health before the arrival of the virus is not good, it may cause us some major complication. But, in the great, great majority of the cases, after some time, we will manage to overcome the infection.
Stay at home, to take care of yourself and each other ("**entre todes**").
#Stay at home
Thanks for the illustrations to Viviana Bilotti, Rosario Oliva and Eugenia Nobati.

(13) Transcript of the video: "What is the coronavirus?" by Paula Bombara and Luciano Nievez. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lmtWGaa9TPM.

As we can see, the first-person plural pronoun and the indefinite adverb are enunciated with the *-e* morpheme. Thus, "Nosotres" and "todes" refer to an entity that includes the addressee, and is reinforced with other pronominal and verbal marks corresponding to the inclusive we ("nuestros pulmones" (our lungs), "no vamos a darnos cuenta" (we won't notice), "comenzaremos a toser" (we'll start coughing) "cuidarnos" (we'll take care of ourselves etc.). The use of the –e in those cases "agrees and corresponds," as it refers to a broad and non-binary audience, which can be brown, female or the LGBTTTIQ + collective, an audience that is not always considered in the school environment.

As in the previous cases, inclusive language provokes strong reactions and, on many occasions, there is a great resistance to reading or listening to it. In fact, several school principals decided that the video should not be show in their institutions due to, exclusively, the use of inclusive language.

In these virtual spaces, also, the use of inclusive marks points to a configuration of a certain dialogical positioning, which presents an image of patriarchal discourse that gives way to it and from which it dissents: *-e/x is what is convenient/must be done, -e/x with a broad, non-binary value, -e/x in opposition to the sexism of Spanish, -e/x instead of -o*. The same discourse reveals, thus, a sexist, patriarchal image of the Spanish language, which it comments on and refutes, while at the same time proposing new subject representations.

DISCUSSION

As we have already pointed out in the previous sections, for various researchers, inclusive language is a proposal that seeks to impose a value around a social claim (Moure, 2018), or a Manichean and exclusive proposal (Escandell Vidal, 2019). For all these reasons, it would be unfeasible and its use, unacceptable.

In contrast to this position, other researchers argue that language accounts for social reality and therefore transformations take place and are necessary. In this respect, Cartín (2010) maintains that language is a reflection of society and that the changes that occur in it respond to the social changes that are gradually unfolding. From this perspective, then, inclusive language can be conceived of as a social transformation mechanism. In turn, Martínez (2019) makes it clear that the changes made in language do not determine social transformations, but that, in general, the opposite is true: when societies are transformed, those changes impact on language and new forms are generated.

In contrast to these positions, and according to the analysis performed, in this work we consider, as do other specialists (Minoldo and Balián, 2018; Glozman, 2019a,b)[9], that language does not reflect society nor does it have a referential function, that is to say, not because one speaks with "inclusive" features will society be more inclusive, nor the opposite. Hence, we propose that each statement in which inclusive language is used can be understood in dialogical terms since it arises as a response to a previous patriarchal discourse that S refutes and comments on.

Considering this framework, we propose that *x* and *-e*, the characteristic resources of inclusive language, be considered as marks of marked shown heterogeneity (Sardi and Tosi, 2021). From this perspective, the words or expressions used with some of these elements express a commentary by the speaker on their own enunciation, which manifests: (1) dissenting from the generic masculine variant, or rather, from grammatical binarism (feminine-masculine), (2) proposing a new variant that breaks with binarism, and (3) evoking other related discourses that support the speaker's saying (i.e., gender theories and guides to inclusive language). As we have already pointed out, the comments of S (among others) can point to the following: (1) *X/-e is what is convenient/must be done; (2) X/-e in the absence of other options/resources are not present; (3) -o and -a are not valid, thus, X/-e; (4) X/-e instead of -o; (5) X/-e, as gender studies dictate, or as inclusive language guides recommend, among others.*

In each one of the texts analyzed in the Analysis section, it was possible to notice the positions of S in the face of other discourses, as a way of accepting political movements of gender or social demands of gender and inclusive language guides, or as a form of criticism or rejection of generic use of the masculine in Spanish grammar and legitimized by society.

By way of illustration, a note from a thesis written entirely with the *x* mark is added, in which the commentary on the enunciation is made explicit. The use of *x* is explained in the following terms:

> The way we conceive of sex and gender is not independent of the way we name them, and therefore, represent them. Given that in this thesis I take up an explicit position against gender binarism (the belief that there are only two sex-gender possibilities, masculine and feminine), in order to reflect that position in my writing I have opted, among other possible forms, for the selective use of the x-ending, understood as the indicator of a diversity that goes beyond or transcends the masculine/feminine binarism. In some cases, the use of a masculine grammatical gender was intentionally maintained, to refer to historically patriarchal actors and institutions (Footnote in a doctoral dissertation)[10].

Undoubtedly, the characteristics of a doctoral dissertation demand the inclusion of a note that explains the editorial decisions made and the reasons behind departing from the conventions and the legitimized language norms.

Moreover, inclusive language forms point to the construction of a certain discursive *ethos*, that is, in Amossy's (dir.) (1999) terms, the image that S constructs of themself in a text. Let us bear in mind that the *ethos* is inscribed in language, and does not

[9]We recommend reading Glozman's research (Glozman, 2019a,b).

[10]PhD thesis defended at the *Facultad de Filosofía y Letras* (School of Philosophy and Literature) of the University of Buenos Aires. The title of the tesis was "Los devenires y la identidad de género: hacia un análisis lingüístico-crítico y conceptual de la construcción de representaciones discursivas sobre la identidad de género en Historias de vida de personas trans de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires (2013–2015)" by Soich (2017).

correspond to real individuals that are external to the discursive activity (Amossy, 1999). In other words, the *ethos* is configured in the discourse itself by means of linguistic choices. In this respect, inclusive language resources can contribute to the construction of a more egalitarian, flexible and open *ethos*, with certain variations in line with each particular discourse, as we saw in the cases of the publishing house, the newspapers and the informative video.

The *x* and *-e* can be seen in those cases as discursive interventions that show a certain dialogical positioning of S before a discourse framework alluded to in that enunciation. In effect, they evidence a dispute against the use of the generic masculine form and, therefore, they raise an objection to the discourses considered sexist and patriarchal that circulate and are legitimized in different social realms. Such resources show positioning spaces and the configuration of collectives and of subjects of saying.

Taking into account, then, that the dialogical-polyphonic dimension cuts through the different inclusive language mechanisms, it can be argued that its resources are linguistic marks of dissent, insofar as they function as spaces for the staging of generic otherness and emerge as traces of historically denied diversity. Undoubtedly, all these inclusive language forms generate meaning effects that challenge us as speakers and therefore also make us uncomfortable and destabilize us.

BY WAY OF CLOSING

As we have argued throughout this work, inclusive forms are subjectivity marks, which shape discourses that are positioned and differentiated from others. Thus, the words or expressions acted upon with some of the elements of inclusive language (*x, -e*) carry a commentary by the speaker on their own enunciation. The forms of inclusive language point to the image of previous discourses that they present as sexist and patriarchal and with which they disagree. They are forms that object to grammatical binarism, propose new rupture variants and evoke other discourses that have been forbidden up until now. And therein lies the strength and novelty of the so-called "inclusive language": its marks make room for a questioning, offer new meanings and evoke traditionally silenced voices. Where an *e* or an *x* appears, instead of a masculine mark, there is a commentary that emerges and questions. In line with Zoppi Fontana (1998), we understand inclusive language marks as symptoms of the confrontation between different subject positions, from which identification processes are generated. We hope that the outlined analysis will serve as the basis for future discursive investigations focused on heterogeneities and dialogism.

To conclude, it is worth mentioning that the driving force behind this article has been the desire to contribute to the description of Spanish today and to offer a discursive analysis that puts the focus on the subjective and dialogical dimensions of a linguistic phenomenon enjoying a wide circulation and exerting a great impact in Argentina. We believe that approaching inclusive language can open spaces for debate and discussion. In addition, it can have an influence on the deepening of linguistic reflection and the promotion of respect for diversity from a gender perspective that advocates for a more egalitarian and inclusive society, one which is respectful of differences.

DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

The original contributions presented in the study are included in the article/supplementary material, further inquiries can be directed to the corresponding author.

AUTHOR CONTRIBUTIONS

The author confirms being the sole contributor of this work and has approved it for publication.

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Necropolitics and Diffuse Violence: Critical Reflections on Social Discourses About the LGBT Body

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This article aims to discuss the state's function and the speeches about the LGBT body from the theoretical concept of necropolitics, defended by Achille Mbembe, which apprehends that this is a sovereign state that subdues, oppresses, and acts for the management of politics of death and applies them on bodies and populations, determining who is subject to live or die. The concept of necropolitics will be enunciated with diffuse violence as a systemic concept that demarcates social relations, and forms of sociability in contemporaneity as defensive behaviors that can legitimize human rights violations. Diffuse violence recognizes the increasing criminal rates, especially homicides and patrimonial offenses, as the main factor in producing diffuse fear, connoting a generalization of the feeling of insecurity. However, this dynamic also points out which types and social groups are most vulnerable to violence. Based on these theoretical and methodological contributions, we will seek to understand how social discourses and their implications are transversal to the LGBT body and how they manifest through oppression.

Keywords: city, necropolitics, diffuse violence, LGBT body, resistance

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INTRODUCTION

The cities are a social and historical phenomenon verified on all continents. These materially constructed spaces throughout human existence have represented a transformation of sociability and civility. The circulation of goods, people, and ideas has constituted the symbolic and historical aspects of cities, which varied from place to place. They indicate cultural, economic, and legal features that form social cohesion, which unfolds in certain collective norms, values, and rules. In this sense, these "order" dynamics, specific or universalized, demonstrate the asymmetric power relations *in* and *of* the city.

We identified that these urban asymmetries have functional, material, and symbolic characteristics, and they determine the territorial segmentation of cities. The functional and material aspects can be understood as directly connected, indicating the social division of labor in the urban space. In these aspects, we observe the infrastructure for the circulation of goods and people for leisure, production, consumption, among other actions, as well as housing and territorial qualification issues. The symbolic aspects produce the sense and the meaning of the territories, understanding the territory as a category that is not restricted to the geographical dimension but that can also denote affective, social, and historical aspects. Thereby, these articulated dimensions produce and categorize individuals, collective identities, and subjectivities, which can catalyze social conflicts.

At first, the city is characterized as a place of conflict. The proposal for urban universality perhaps can be circumscribed in an ontological conflict with the notion of plurality, considering that

universality suggests a hegemonic thinking, that is, an ideal way that emerges as real to a certain extent, while plurality admits the possibility of conflict but also the coexistence of distinct and even antagonistic social groups. When we take subjection as a variable for territorial segmentation of cities, we note the modes of population administration and management, alluding to forms of social control based on behavioral issues and diffuse components, such as race, class, and gender. Thus, these dynamics compose the types of existence in the city and define who is a "*citizen*" from a homogeneous and universalized standard, which can marginalize social groups that do not fit in it.

Based on these foregoing arguments, the present article aims to analyze the social control policies of these marginalized social types. Our unit of analysis is the LGBT body as a dissident body. In this sense, our theoretical premise is the social policies applied to these historical individuals, based on the articulation between the theoretical concepts of necropolitics and diffuse violence. Thus, our intention was to understand the forms of oppression and the mechanics and strategies of claiming the LGBT population in the urban space.

WHO DOES EXIST IN THE CITY?

When dealing with the city theme, we are considering that it does not fit into a universal conceptualization. Considering the conceptual complexity, it is important, at this moment, to problematize how urban planning welcomes or does not welcome its "city dwellers" (Agier, 2011). During the different historical configurations, we verify the implementation of ordered rationality about the organization of the public space that advanced in the technical and technological dimension and disregarded the existence of heterogeneous lifestyles. This ordered reality shapes a city without residents, that is, a city geared toward the desires of the global real estate complex and away from the local reality that pulsates in the territories of existence.

So, the central question is Who exists in the city? This question invites us to problematize what city we are talking about and to whom this city is directed. Therefore, it is first a matter of verifying the advancing processes of financialization of urban territory, which is presupposed to be the financialization mechanism of the bodies of the city. There is a type of city management that legitimizes the use of the public space as private property, and this form of management "*is shared between the State and the private sector*" (Tietboehl, 2015:26). Thus, the construction of the city takes place without people—what matters are the financial investments destined to produce a city as a product for speculation.

In the book *Direito à cidade*[1] (the right to the city) by Henri Lefebvre (2011), it is possible to comprehend the dimension of defending the ways of existing in the urban space as the right to inhabit in the city and therefore as a "right to urban life"[2] (Lefebvre, 2011: 118). However, the theme of urban space evidences that there is a distance between the urban planning of cities and the assuring of quality of urban life for their inhabitants. Why does this distance exists? The rationality of planning is strengthened in the perspective of control from the regulation of the use of public spaces, which aims to make the city more favorable for the private sector. As Maricato argues, "*the disputes over the appropriation of real estate rents determine, to a large extent, the fate of cities and their development*"[3] (Maricato, 2013: 83).

From the previous statements, it is possible to question whether there is a city or there are multiple cities in the same urban space as it is also possible to think about reinventing another nomenclature that could comprehend the heterogeneous modes of existence denied by public administrations and their planners. However, the problematic that is established has its origins in the defense of private property, in which the agrarian issue is central to understanding that the current city exists for those who are property owners. Cities are the result of an intense historical process of concentration of land in rural areas. Since the promulgation of land law in Brazil, in 1850 (Silva, 1999), we will legally experience the denial of the right to exist for the sake of the right to property. According to Foucault, "the law does not originate from nature [. . .] the law rises from burned cities, from devastated lands; it rises with the famous innocents in agony while the day dawns" (Foucault, 2018: 43).

As Raquel Rolnik affirms about Brazil's Statute of the City, despite the promises of decentralization and extension of the right to the city included in the document, the signs of the predatory and discriminatory model of the city remain in full force (Rolnik, 2015: 266). Therefore, returning to the initial question about who exists in the city, we realize that the city is driven by strategic technicality and existence is negotiable or disposable.

"*The plans produce norms destined to not be carried out, thus creating an abyss between the 'real city' and the 'legal city'*"[4] (Ribeiro and Cardoso, 1996: 65). This reality is the result of the colonization constituted in the use of urban land, in the denial of the social function of the land, and therefore in the right to property at the expense of the right to life. In this sense, Milton Santos argues that global money is a hard and relentless tyrant, never seen before in this intensity throughout the history of humanity. (Santos et al., 2011: 17).

So, the existence in or of the city depends on the regulation imposed by urban planning, through the control mechanisms of society. In other words, this dynamic presents rationality based on the imposition of marking bodies of "errant" heterogeneity. But, who are these heterogeneous bodies? For instance, they are the ones who suffer from segregation processes or from some kind of "normalization" for social "coexistence." These institutionalized codes in social relations are the result of the patriarchy and structural racism that have been perpetuated in the current system. Thus, the evidence of these codes is established in public speeches, socially produced and shared (by media and Internet, e.g.), that reinforce stigmas and that can fuel violent practices. Those discursive and interventional

[1]Brazilian/Portuguese version. Original title from french: Le Droit à la Ville.
[2]Translated from portuguese language.
[3]Translated from portuguese language.
[4]Translated from portuguese language.

practices are strengthened by the social imaginary about what sexuality is and how it should be treated in the "planned" city.

THE DEATH POLICY ON DISSIDENT BODIES AND SEXUALITIES

The binary difference about sexuality and bodies serves to determine the issues concerning the reproduction of the species, as well as a regime of sexualities and their modes of enjoyment. This includes, above all, the universalization of heterosexuality as a social and reference model for any and all forms of sexual diversity.

Therefore, to stand before sexuality understood as dissident, sinful and perverted by moralizing, religious, and cultural speeches is to understand that discursive action has power over the body of another. Those speeches that launch into the social, political, economic, and scientific techniques of knowledge are a contiguous attempt to discipline, heal and/or regulate behaviors, bodies, and thoughts considered antagonistic to the imposed norms, being a power system that regulates practices (Foucault, 1987: 9). In this perspective, Foucault led us to infer that it is through the discourse that all individuals produce themselves materially and there is no escape from this premise. The discursive formations influence the social practices of individuals inserted in power relations, in order to produce hegemonic positions in which both individuals and institutions act.

Foucault (2013) argues that the discourse takes place in a set of invisible practices in the economic, political, linguistic, and social spheres, for example, but always in a given temporal space. In other words, in the enunciative function of each period, the discourse can remain or fade away. The speeches understood as practices of a given power can operate and be perceived as continuous or discontinuous techniques, which can intersect at times or be ignored or eliminated (Foucault, 2013). Therefore, when we think about the foundation of modern society, it was made on clerical, political, and economic concepts about the universalization of bodies, pleasures, and ways of existing that are based on the perspective of white, elitist, and heterosexual men. From this framework, "truths" are constructed about sex, gender, ethnicity, and sexuality, as well as about those bodies whose differentiation have always occurred with the ultimate intention of maintaining hegemonic interests, whether of the state or of institutions such as schools, universities, and hospitals.

Foucault reaffirms that the discourse production selects, controls, and dominates its random event, evading its heavy and fearsome materiality (Foucault, 2013: 9). It means that the mark of difference aligns with indifference, exclusion, and maintenance of stigmatizing discourses. It is not just about bodies demarcated by difference or diversity but about the stratification of ways of existing. Thus, LGBT bodies, for example, are distinct by apathy and by material and subjective death because they are considered to have transcended sexual binarism.

However, Foucault's thinking based on discourse analysis and the concepts of biopower and biopolitics teaches us, *a priori*, that discourses emanate from power relations to exclude or include a given individual in the social field, as well as to construct truths about them. In another point, the policy mentioned by Foucault is presented as a possibility of life regulation and population control, where bodies are regulated by the state when there is an implementation of an anatomy policy of the body.

In other words, the former discursive action is put into effect in the materiality of the entire population that is now presented in a dyad: incorporation versus disincorporation. More than launching universalizing individuals, biopolitics assembles, in the same logic, individuals who maintain relationships, behaviors, sexualities, and ways of living that are common among themselves. The public body is put on display to be regulated by a sovereign state, whose power lies in deciding which lives are liable to live or die. Life extension is made feasible by medical knowledge, through practices that allow the managing of birth rates, the detecting and controlling of epidemics, the increase in longevity, among others. On the other end of the spectrum, there are punishments for bodies and individuals that violate legal norms, rules that are enforced by incarcerations. The state also has hold in the discipline of time and the sustaining of an economic extrapolation of the working class, as well as in the enrichment of those who have economic power. All of the above are examples of how biopolitics develop (Foucault, 1999).

Thinking about the colonized and usurped territories by the image of the European colonizer, the philosopher Achille Mbembe (2011) goes back to a Foucaultian notion to point out that the policy on bodies where there are marks of difference and disincorporation is not regulated by biopolitics, but by necropolitics. Mbembe says that the sovereign state and the entire institution that derives from it, more than universalizing bodies, seek to disincorporate them, erase their differences and their singularities through the bias of death (material, subjective and institutional). For this, the philosopher uses colonial historicity to explain how these processes occur in the enslaved body; the same logic can be used when analyzing the LGBT body.

Mbembe (2018) notes that there are bodies in contemporary times that suffer from hostility and persecution. The state advocates death zones, social disparities, and the annihilation of the bodies of LGBT, black people, women, and other minorities through the systemic and structural violence presented by LGBTphobia, racism, sexism, and other forms of oppression that have taken root since the colonial process. The operationalized violence in the colonized lands is resignified in modern societies through thoughts, attitudes, and behaviors that are intertwined with the state apparatus in order to exterminate any individuals who escape the hegemonic principles of social organization, especially the LGBT bodies whose sexualities are constructed by immorality (Mbembe, 2018).

Caravaca-Morera and Padilha (2018) believe that necropolitics applied on the LGBT body can be understood as a "social gear" that produces, in all spheres, practices that are managed through death, invisibility, and exclusion processes. The death policy authorized by the state is a "*condition for acceptability of making people die*" (Mbembe, 2018: 18), which acts on LGBT bodies beyond LGBTphobic discrimination. It endorses the reproduction of stigmas, school bullying, physical abuse, denial of city spaces, and even homicide. At this point, the state seems exempted from taking the necessary actions to protect these bodies when it is on the agenda because they are bodies that

should not exist and they are lives that have strayed from the social norm and that need to remain precarious so that an imperialist logic, as Mbembe asserts, can remain.

By analyzing the death policy that acts on the bodies and sexualities understood as dissidents, it can be perceived how it remains influential and in motion in all social fields. Above all, it is visible that heteronormativity is a social construction that insists on being hegemonic with the ultimate aim of decimating specific populations. In this sense, it is extremely important to bring forth sexual diversity and denounce hegemonic practices that mortify LGBT bodies and other bodies considered not universal and thus breaks the silence against these totalitarian and immeasurable powers.

DIFFUSE VIOLENCE AND THE STRUGGLE FOR RECOGNITION OF MARGINALIZED INDIVIDUALS

From the postulated existence of a death policy aimed at dissident bodies, the LGBT population in this case, we can consider the possible consequences and the claims of individuals or social groups vulnerable to violence. In this sense, the notion of violence is developed and complexified due to the ways in which it can be expressed: symbolic, moral, physical, psychological, lethal, among many. The forms of social reaction to violence can vary due to the shared moral evaluation about the deviant act, who committed it and against whom this act was committed. As it is, there is scope for an interpretation produced and shared socially by individuals recognized and legitimized through their public behavior. However, we observe that the phenomenon of violence is configured as a structural factor of society. Therefore, how to identify and comprehend these dynamics between the death policy and the recognition of marginalized individuals?

We started from the premise of the idea of *deviance* to analyze how death policies can be operated against certain social groups. This idea comprehends social behaviors considered undesirable, denoting the structures of power relations that can legitimize arbitrariness against marginalized individuals or the social nonrecognition of their situation as a victim of such violence. Thus, we can refer to Goffman about social stigmas being also a kind of identity constructed, or attributed, by a public moral career, in which the stigmatized person is not considered entirely human (Goffman, 1978). These behaviors considered deviant are often surveilled, which can generate, at its limit, a process of collective criminalization – actually *a priori*, which may result in the selective suppression of the rights of marginalized groups.

To sociologically systematize the previous arguments, we will work on the concept of diffuse violence. This violence can be identified as political, social, gender, race, symbolic, ecological, among others (Tavares-dos-Santos, 2009: 83). According to sociologist José Vicente Tavares-dos-Santos (2009), the records of criminal rates of homicides and property crimes have intensified the feeling of insecurity, which can produce a type of diffuse social fear. Thus, diffuse violence shapes social relations and forms of sociability in contemporaneity, such as defensive behaviors. However, this feeling of widespread insecurity is more prominent in those who are most vulnerable to violence of all kinds, especially in urban spaces in large and medium-sized cities. Here, we observe the historical process of disorderly and accelerated urban development in Latin America, which includes Brazil, being spatially and socially heterogeneous and unequal. This had an effect on urban management, on types of segregation, and on the process of categorizing marginalized individuals by territorialization (Carman et al., 2013; Carrión, 2016).

Based on the concept of diffuse violence, Tavares dos Santos developed the sociology of conflictualities. This branch of sociology is based on the principle that social relations are conflicting by nature, thus considering conflictualities as being the driving force of the social field (Tavares-dos-Santos, 2009). The ideas of social complexity, the continuity, or discontinuity of the historicity of social processes and conflicts are the basis of the sociologist's theory, which is used to analyze the political, cultural, and social changes in Brazil and Latin America. For Tavares dos Santos, the sociological reconstruction of the Brazilian social reality in contemporary times is a starting point for the analysis of rules and social conflicts. Globalization is perceived as a complexifying factor of social space, due to its capability of redefining values and rules, while diffuse violence emerges as a variable in this process.

Tavares dos Santos indicates how violence can have positive or negative connotations in Brazil. Diffuse violence can be deemed as a potency of social disintegration, debasing the concepts of citizenship and democracy in Brazil, and limiting social participation through the use of violence in the forms of injury, coercion and force. Social manifestations can be repressed violently if they collide with a certain social order. It directly affects the issue of criminalizing behaviors that *a priori* are social demand vindications that later generate conflicts. However, violence can be legitimized to maintain order and an immediate way to resolve social conflicts. It is evident then that punitive violence can considered positive for the dominant classes. This ambivalence of violence in Brazil, for Tavares dos Santos, showcases how democracy remains an unfinished process in this country.

Diffuse violence can be understood as a guide for defensive and vindictive behaviors. In Latin America, the processes of formal redemocratization after years of dictatorships opened up spaces for new actors in the institutional public sphere, denoting a multiplicity of demands and conflicts. In this sense, the quick and increasingly comprehensive changes of a globalized world produce subjectivities and subjections for the recognition of social groups. British criminalist Jock Young (2002) argues that these changes have highlighted the end of the consensual and functionalist world of the core countries of capitalism. Unquestionable values and certainties were deconstructed, especially after the cultural revolution of the 1960s, dynamizing individualism, diversity, and contesting structural models and social values. Thus, the criminalist claims that there is no fully inclusive society (Young, 2002: 16–18).

Young affirms that there is an exclusionary society – actually, an *exclusive society*, in his words – that produces areas of exclusivity, since the rise of individualism. The crisis of this apparently inclusive system took place during the era of controversy, denoted by plurality, debate, experimentation of disorder, and rebellions as well as by social frustrations of

groups that have not been historically contemplated by the welfare state. Young says that this transition spanned the 1980s and 1990s, leading to an exclusion process in the perspective of the labor market and the social acceptance of certain groups. Therefore, the dialogue among Young and Tavares dos Santos is centered on diffuse violence since the criminalist addresses the loss of rights in the countries of the northern hemisphere, while the sociologist studies the demands for these rights in Latin America, especially in Brazil.

The gender dimension in diffuse violence is important for a better understanding of its manifestations in reality. The feelings of diffuse insecurity and fear among women were identified as ambivalent. If, on the one hand, it attests to the existence of vulnerability in relation to acts of violence, on the other hand, these feelings can produce group solidarity when it is recognized that these are not individual situations but collective within a power structure. Gender violence has become less tolerated, alluding to an emancipatory change for women. There have been several initiatives in the juridical field for the recognition of gender violence as a social problem, for instance, the feminicide law and the domestic violence law, *Maria da Penha,* in Brazil. However, the very existence of these laws demonstrates the persistence of violence against women, despite the legal norm and political advances.

There have been attempts to extend demands originally from the feminist movement to the LGBT population. Indeed, there can be intersections between them, but there are specificities as well. This extension worked in the implementation of the *Maria da Penha* Law, which regards aggressions in the domestic sphere, to LGBT couples as well as straight ones. However, other historical demands from the feminist movement may clash with demands from LGBT groups. The debate about the legalization of gestacional surrogacy is a delicate topic among homosexual couples and radical feminists, for example.

The scenario of diffuse violence denotes other types of vulnerabilities for the LGBT population. What is considered deviance can also be understood as a dissenting body for biological reasons, which can legitimize its physical elimination within a context of social and moral conservatism. Therefore, the uncertain world described by Young is aligned with the human incompleteness of the stigmatized presented by Goffman. However, exclusivity zones also compete as security areas for this group, based on spatial self-segregation, demonstrating the paradox of marginalization in a scenario of diffuse violence. In other words, certain urban spaces can be a safe haven, in which group solidarity can fuel demands about their right to exist before the state.

CONCLUSION

This article sought to comprehend the notion of the city beyond universality, acknowledging the existence of death policies implemented by the aegis of hegemonic power. There are violent, hostile, and exclusionary processes regarding non-heteronormative bodies as a result of coercive impositions and mortifying praxis that aim to meet socially established norms and classifications. There is however hope as these bodies marked by sexual difference continue to exist on the public sphere.

For this reason, Benedetti (2005) expressed that bodies transform and reinvent themselves and experience different sensations, bringing forth the power to manifest their desires in a continuous resistance to the meanings posed by normative conceptions. We sought to reflect on the social relationships experienced by LGBT bodies, which, at the present juncture, still see themselves subjected to a colonial phantom. Therefore, it is from the body as an artifact for the construction of subjectivity that these fabrications were outlined as antithesis to hegemonic, moralizing, and universal standards.

Approaching the city and dissident bodies, we verified violence as a variable for producing territories and individuals in the urban space. In the text, we applied the concept of diffuse violence to understand how socially widespread fear and insecurity are produced. In Latin America, the objective criteria for measuring violence as a widespread catalyst for fear and insecurity are homicide rates, with the highest recurrence of this crime being recorded in cities. The concept of diffuse violence helped us analyze the vulnerability of the LGBT population and what are the possible mechanisms and strategies of defense. Territories can have different meanings in the urban space by the perspective of a cognitive mapping of public behaviors, demonstrating the ambiguity of feeling protected or threatened in the city.

Finally, from the articulation among the concepts of diffuse violence and necropolitics, we can elaborate some answers for those who exist in the city. First, the city as a place of encounter, surprise, and novelty can be an ambiguous statement, indicating negative and positive experiences. Second, it is possible to take violence into account as a guiding variable for public behavior for historically stigmatized social groups. These stigmas constitute a situation of vulnerability that helps us understand the splits between imagined and real violence and the nuances of this diffuse sense of insecurity and feeling of fear. Third, the gender dimension of diffuse violence conduces us to comprehend the social dynamics that legitimize or resist the elimination, both physical and symbolic, of the dissident body in the city.

Therefore, what was sought in this text was to problematize plurality within a hegemonic thought of universality of cities. We agree with Jock Young's statement that there is no 100% inclusive society and, by applying the concept of diffuse violence, we were able to identify the vulnerability of historical individuals to necropolitics, for reasons of class, race, gender, among others. In this sense, we observe that the existence of LGBT bodies in the urban space is strongly outlined by resistance and persistence, with social solidarity and esteem toward these individuals varying in time and space.

DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

The raw data supporting the conclusions of this article will be made available by the authors, without undue reservation.

AUTHOR CONTRIBUTIONS

All authors listed have made a substantial, direct, and intellectual contribution to the work and approved it for publication.

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HIV Vulnerability Among Survival Sex Workers Through Sexual Violence and Drug Taking in a Qualitative Study From Victoria, Canada, With Additional Implications for Pre-exposure Prophylaxis for Sex Workers

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Objective: This qualitative study investigates how social and structural forces mediate vulnerability to HIV infection and transmission among survival sex workers, their clients, and their non-commercial, intimate partners—with especial focus on sexual violence and drug taking.

Method: I employed an adapted grounded theory approach to conducting and analyzing (n = 9) open-ended, in-depth interviews with a convenience sample of currently working (and recently exited) survival sex workers from a community setting in Victoria, Canada.

Findings: Participants revealed important contexts and conditions under which they were vulnerable to HIV infection. At the behavioural level, participants were aware of how HIV could be transmitted (condomless sex and sharing drug equipment), yet participants voiced strongly how structural and systemic features (for instance, client violence, the need for drugs, and "bad date" referrals) could squeeze and constrain their agency to take up safer practices, mediating their optimal HIV health and safety. Some participants reported strained relationships with police because of previous drug involvement.

Conclusion: Survival sex workers constitute a health population vulnerable to HIV infection, and ensuring there could be a supportive (outreach) community replete with HIV resources is paramount. The availability of safer sex and drug equipment play important roles in HIV behavioural prevention efforts. However, uptake of pre-exposure prophylaxis (PrEP) at no cost in the Canadian province of British Columbia could be an important and beneficial structural intervention for non-injection drug taking cis-female sex workers in this study who are presently ineligible for no cost PrEP.

Keywords: hiv/aids, intimate partner violence, sexual violence, sex work, grounded theory, criminology, substance use, PrEP

INTRODUCTION

Background and Study

Survival sex workers have been recognised across the literature as an intensely stigmatised health population whose members live and work amid myriad contexts and conditions that drive sexual violence and raise their risk of HIV infection (Shannon et al., 2008; Chettiar et al., 2010; Landsberg et al., 2017; Argento et al., 2020). The precise social demographics of the sex work community in Victoria, Canada remain speculative, but within any year, roughly 1,000 adults trade and sell sex on a fulltime or part-time basis (Benoit et al., 2017a). The term, "survival sex" "emphasises the precarious economic position and disempowerment of those who engage in it, and the absence of other means of generating income" (McMillanet al., 2018: 1,523). Very little is known about how survival sex workers living *without* HIV in the Victoria community conceptualise and characterise their vulnerability to HIV infection and transmission.

The following three research questions guided this study: Firstly, how are social contexts and conditions understood to mediate HIV vulnerabilities among survival sex workers living *without* HIV when offering commercial services to clients? Secondly, what are the social contexts and conditions under which survival sex workers perceive greater HIV vulnerabilities with their non-commercial, intimate partners? And lastly, what are the strategies employed by sex workers to maintain and support their sexual health, and how are these strategies understood?

In answering these questions, I examine a rich qualitative dataset generated from participant interviews (n = 9) with cis-male and cis-female (currently working and recently exited) survival sex workers living *without* HIV from a community setting in Victoria, Canada. I proceed with a social health exploration of how these sex workers understand and experience HIV vulnerabilities, and I give additional attention towards the their strategies to monitor and maintain their HIV health and safety. I use these dimensions to invigorate a trauma-informed discussion with especial considerations for HIV health literacies. The knowledge from this study could provide a backdrop for discussions on social policy and programming [for instance, the no cost eligibility for pre-exposure prophylaxis (PrEP)] aimed at ameliorating the health, safety, and well-being of this vulnerable health population.

Architecture of Article

I begin in the following section by examining legislation concerning the sex trade in Canada. I then highlight the often-adversarial role of the police within the sex trade, and I follow this by reviewing alcohol and drug taking in the sex trade. I review occupational risk environments in the sex trade. I then present the adapted grounded theory methods and results. At the interpersonal and behavioural levels, participants were aware of how HIV could be transmitted (condomless sex and sharing drug equipment). Participants voiced how structural and systemic features (for instance, client violence, the need for drugs, and "bad date" referrals) constrained their agency to meet the paragon for safer practices. I consider in the discussion section the availability and deployment of no cost pre-exposure prophylaxis (PrEP) for eligible program participants within the Canadian province of British Columbia (BC). I conclude with a brief summary, and I discuss limits to this study.

SEX WORK AND HIV VULNERABILITIES

Sex Work Law and HIV Vulnerability

Health scholars have found that the criminalisation of sex work in Canada reduces control over occupational conditions, scales up violence and discrimination, marginalises sex workers from health care and social services, and drives sex work to unsafe spaces or underground (Shannon et al., 2008; Shannon et al., 2009a; Shannon and Csete, 2010; O'Doherty, 2011; Platt et al., 2018; Mangat et al., 2021).

The selling of sex is recognised as legal employment in Canada; however, core occupational features that could otherwise enhance the health and safety of sex workers remain against the law. Canada's *Bill C-36* from November of 2014 criminalises the following: obtaining (or communicating for) sexual services, receiving third-party financial or material benefit from sexual services, and communicating for sexual services anywhere persons under 18 could be present (*S.C.* 2014, c.25). In short, the selling (and trading) of sex remains legal for sex workers, but the "purchase" of sexual services by their clients is illegal. This approach mirrors the Nordic model whereby the "end demand" side of the sex trade (largely heterosexual males) is criminally targeted, while the "supply" side (largely heterosexual females) becomes "encouraged" to exit, in theory at least (Johnson and Matthews, 2016). Scholars have been unable to identify improvements to the health and safety of sex workers in the BC in the wake of drafting *Bill C-36*. For instance, in Vancouver, the sexual violence, distrust of law enforcement, and displacement to unsafe neighbourhoods that constrain sex workers' agency in safer sex negotiation and client screening have been the same both before (Shannon et al., 2008) and after (Landsberg et al., 2017; Krüsi et al., 2014; Krüsi et al., 2016) the "end demand" of the sex trade became criminally targeted.

Police Patrolling and the Spatial Displacement of Sex Workers

The present opioid epidemic, a "mass poisoning" event on account of an unsafe drug supply (Tyndall, 2020), has been especially harmful for vulnerable populations in BC (Salters et al., 2021), and antagonistic policing practices have been demonstrated to undermine lifesaving overdose prevention services—and exacerbate the risks of overdoses for vulnerable women (Goldenberg et al., 2020). Unsafe occupational environments are powerful factors driving HIV infection risks among sex workers (Benoit and Millar 2001; Shannon et al., 2008; Krüsi et al., 2016). According to Krüsi et al. (2016), the violence, theft, and fraud that is committed *against* survival sex workers

remains often responsibilised (to the sex worker) and normalised by police as part and parcel with working in the sex trade; sex workers remain consequently reluctant to report crimes (Krüsi et al., 2016; see also; Crago et al., 2021).

Widespread repressive policing practices are inextricably interwoven with HIV and ST/BBI infection and transmission (Platt et al., 2018). Intense stigma and the framing of sex workers by police as both "victims" and "victimisers" drive adverse interactions between survival sex workers and law enforcement officials in BC (Krüsi et al., 2016) and other global regions (Rhodes et al., 2008; Shannon and Csete, 2010). The principal causes of distrust of police are perceived stigma and discrimination (Benoit et al., 2016).

Gentrification has played an important role in moving "outdoor" sex transactions "indoors" wherein the use of online technologies for sex transactions proliferates (Argento et al., 2020; see also; Lyons et al., 2017). For instance, in the Yaletown area of Vancouver, the former "Boystown" was largely extinguished by urban planning prior to the *2010 Winter Olympics* and, consequently, online sex transactions among male sex workers increased (Argento et al., 2020). On one hand, these online sex transactions decreased stigma and reduced harassment from police, and the online platforms accommodated greater screening of clients through webcams prior to meeting for sex (Argento et al., 2020). On the other hand, the shift to online platforms ruptured longstanding social networks among street-based sex workers, increasing their perceived isolation, scaling up competition, and bringing new vulnerability in the forms of "fake" online profiles created by clients (Argento et al., 2020). Neighbourhood renewal can increase the presence of private security and police, constraining the agency of sex workers to remain in "safer" public spaces (Shannon et al., 2016; Hubbard 1998)—part of a greater structural project of spatial containment, exclusion, and surveillance of sex workers (Hubbard, 2016; Laing and Cook, 2014).

Alcohol and Drug Taking in the Sex Trade

Drug taking is common among survival sex workers (Chettiar et al., 2010; Landsberg et al., 2017; Deering et al., 2011). In Victoria, Benoit and Millar (2001) found that roughly one in five sex workers' initial entry in the sex trade was driven by the need for drugs and alcohol; in the previous 6 months, current sex workers reported taking crack and cocaine (48.2%), opioids (36.6%), and meth (9.0%). Crack and cocaine were more common among females, while meth was more common among males; drug taking was altogether more common among street-based (outdoor) sex workers than indoor and independent sex workers (Benoit and Millar, 2001).

Several functions of drug taking have been reported by sex workers in Victoria (Benoit and Millar, 2001) and globally (De Graaf et al., 1995). For instance, drug taking while working longer shifts can bolster energy and offer an escape from the more problematic aspects of sex trade realities (Benoit and Millar 2001) while also allowing some sex workers to overcome aversion to their clients (De Graaf et al., 1995). In the present opioid epidemic in BC, drug taking can be understood as largely "demand-driven" through self-medicating, especially for persons who have experienced trauma, emotional pain, isolation, and mental health challenges, among other factors (Tyndall, 2020). I proceed in the following section with the methods guiding the present study.

METHODS

Participants and Procedures

The setting for this study, the Greater Victoria area, has a population of 367,770 persons (Statistics Canada 2016). The author conducted interviews in July and August of 2015. Cis-male (n = 2) and cis-female (n = 7) interview participants constitute the sample for this study. The community non-profit organisataion, *PEERS*, assisted in participant recruitment through a convenience sampling procedure (word-of-mouth). *PEERS* promotes sex workers' community health and safety through advocacy, research, and evidence-based approaches.

Participants in this study were selected because they had serviced clients on at least 15 occasions in 1 year, they were at least 19 years of age, and they were legally entitled to work in Canada. Participants were HIV seronegative or uncertain of their HIV status at the time of the interviews. The *Human Research Ethics Board* at the University of Victoria approved this study (**Appendix 1** for thematic interview guide). After reviewing the purposes and scopes of this study with participants, consent for participation was obtained verbally. Interviews were audio-recorded on a password encrypted recording device, and verbatim interview transcripts were secured on a password-encrypted MS Word file on password-encrypted Windows computer. The interviews lasted for roughly 1 hour each. Participants were debriefed with resources concerning HIV and sex work vulnerability at the close of the interviews.

The Grounded Theory Approach and Data Analysis

This study adapted a constructivist grounded theory approach (see Charmaz 2006) in the recruitment of a convenience sample (rather than a "theoretical" sample) due to the difficult-to-reach nature of this health population. This grounded approach followed a subjectivist epistemology and relativist ontology (Charmaz, 2006). The study began with a rapid review of the literature to inform the thematic interview guide; interviews were transcribed verbatim and uploaded to the software program, *Dedoose*, for qualitative analysis. Firstly came initial codes, simple line-by-line coding—accompanied by intense memo-writing. Then came categorical and concept codes. These codes were mapped and interrelated, and greater themes were developed. Theoretical saturation occurred at approximately the seventh interview; here, the inclusion of additional participant interview data resulted in no further development and refinement of core categories and themes. The author conferred with colleagues listed in the "acknowledgements", that the interview data were adequate at n = 9 participants. Underscoring analysis was an impetus to preserve participants' voices through the use of

big block quotes. The final stage of this research process was the complete literature review (Charmaz 2006).

RESULTS

HIV Vulnerability—An Overview

Interview participants more often characterised their understandings of behavioural HIV vulnerabilities in relation to (protective) condom use and (safer) drug taking. HIV health promotion discourse resonated strongly in participants' narratives: Participants were aware that HIV transmission could occur only through the exchange of bodily fluids. Participants' narratives also captured structural and environmental drivers of HIV vulnerability surrounding their drug taking and condom use. HIV vulnerabilities within client and non-commercial, intimate partnerships contrasted: On one hand, the analysis revealed strong social and economic forces driving riskier practices in sex trade engagement with *clients,* whereas participants overall expressed greater agency in the aversion or dismissal of perceived HIV and ST/BBI vulnerability with their *non-commercial, intimate partners*.

All participants in this study had previously worked "independently" at some point. Some participants had worked previously under a "pimp" or manager. There was no indication participants had engaged in occupational environments that offered greater safety and security over time. Participants voiced how riskier sex practices with clients occurred more often when there was an extreme need for drugs (including dope-sickness) and money (especially to support childcare). Participants recalling their street-based sex work had emphasised their history of "rape" and more broadly sexual violence often in the contexts of drugs. Lastly, two interview participants shared that they had never been on "bad dates" whereby their occupational health and safety—and general agency to take up safer practices—would be compromised.

Responsibilising "Other" Sex Workers for Client HIV Risks

H.B offered a unique perspective on HIV transmission vectors. Intense social and economic forces drove H.B.'s (*female, 30*) engagement in survival sex work, especially the need for drugs. The perceived risk of HIV from her clients ultimately came from "other" sex workers' riskier HIV practices. "Other" female injection drug taking sex workers were at the foreground in H.B.'s HIV risk narrative:

> I know that other hookers mostly have diseases by using IV heroin. I have to use protection (condoms) when I go on dates so that I don't get HIV . . . it's the sickest thing. Other girls do rigs. But hookers like me, I don't do rigs. Other hookers positive their johns, and they can positive me by sleeping with me without a condom. So, now when a guy picks up a girl and she has diseases, now he could give them to me because he's mad at her. And it's not fair, because I didn't do anything. But the other girl did, by putting a rig in her arm and sharing dirty rigs. And then, he (the client) gets mad at me and says to me, "You're the one who made it like this." And I say, "No, it was somebody else." So he's infected, and now he wants to give HIV to me. And all I know is that hooking is a waste of time, because he could have HIV. And there are lots of girls at *PEERS* who are HIV+ and they get picked up. And they don't use condoms, and they get HIV disease, and they could spread it to me—or you—through unprotected sex. Why would I want to get paid for HIV disease? It's not really worth it. That could affect my looks, my beauty, make me sore.
>
> I think HIV people should be with each other on a different fucking island. They should fuck each other there. Sorry it sounds rude, but some people are so mad when they have diseases and they want to spread them. I know that. (H.B.)

"Recruitment" to Sex Work and Meth in Youth "Group Housing"

L. J. (*female, 30*), offered a rich narrative of her youth and her first encounters with sex work and meth taking. For L. J. trading sex for meth and money was a part and parcel with being raised in "group home" from the age of 13:

> I was addicted to crystal meth, and then I went into a delusional psychosis, because it was bad. And because of that, I lost my eldest child for two months. So, then I just quit drugs after that. Meth was a bad drug. I was so young, in a group home when meth was introduced to me by the older working girls. They were like, "You should try this drug," and I didn't even know what it was. I tried it and, of course, I liked it. I did more, and the older girls would teach us, and bring us to johns' houses, and teach us how to make money. This was the cycle where I was from. All the younger girls were introduced to this cycle by the older girls . . . It's really bad for recruitment, like into gang operations and stuff, too. That is what mostly happens in group homes.

STIs were not really discussed. The staff would occasionally get us to do an annual STI checkup. They did encourage the check-up, but we didn't have to do it. That almost *gave the impression to me that being a sex worker was okay, to a 13-year-old.* We shouldn't have been having sex. We were just little girls, but we were tested once a year. I thought it was weird that they would do that. It was like the staff didn't care—or they encouraged it. I know that I wouldn't want my child at 13 to be having sex. I would do whatever it would take to prevent it.

Drug Taking by Client, Being Referred to a Potential "Bad Date"

J.P. (*female, 40*) was concerned about HIV risks surrounding drug taking by a prospective *client*—her perceived HIV risks were

rooted in the discretion of the "referring" agent for her clients: "Most risky was taking on somebody I really, really didn't know".

HIV Risk from non-commercial, intimate partner's drug taking

The sharing of oral drug equipment (crack pipes) was identified by H.B. (*female, 30*) as a key concern as an HIV transmission route. One previous male non-commercial, intimate partner was HIV seropositive, and despite engaging in sex with condom use, there were perceived HIV risks:

> I had an HIV boyfriend 10 years ago. And he would share pipes with other people, and if you share them, your slobber can give you HIV. I think HIV is in your slobber, and the slobber can't kill the bacteria. He told me he had HIV, and I said, "I'm not going out with you," and he said, "Too bad, you're going out with me, right now". He put a condom on himself, but I still don't have diseases—though I still had the risk of getting HIV.

Client Violence in Relation to Drugs

Many interview participants voiced sexual violence and condomless sex in relation to drug taking. Participant H.B. (*female, 30*), offered an illustrative example. For H.B., many of her clients were met on the streets during a "stroll". She had previously been working in the sex trade under males who took up the dual role of manager *and* dealer. H.B. was working independently at the time of the interview. H.B. recalled an extremely violent encounter with a client, and she described a lack of investment in her health and safety from her dealers and managers in the aftermath:

When I was young, and I looked like a model, I was prostituted by male dealers because I was young and pretty. One time, this guy grabbed a rock and said, "Let's go to a field". And I thought, "This doesn't sound right". I went anyway. I should have followed my instincts. It was just forty dollars. Then, I said, "I am not doing this". He takes me down, spreads my legs, fucks me, picks up a rock and hits me five times over the head, fucks up my model face. I had swollen beats all over my face.

He tried to dig me underground, and he beat me more to bury me more, and he left me there. He raped me, and took my money, and I went back to the drug dealers, and they looked at my face and said, "Who the fuck did this to you?" I said, "Some guy raped me and beat me tonight". They said, "Oh we're going to find him right now". I said "Whatever. You don't give a shit about girls like me that would get raped and almost killed". They didn't even care. They just stood there. There's no protection for me.

Distrust of Law Enforcement and Despondence in Reporting Crime

Several participants spoke directly to their previous dissatisfaction with police and law enforcement officials. For instance, R.G. (*male, 30*) adopted an attitude of "why bother reporting", and he continued: "I mean are the cops going to be there when I need them? When a dude's stabbing me up in the back alley? . . . Cops can't be everywhere at the same time. They just can't be there". A.B. (*male, mid-20's*) shared with criminal self-implication: "We have prostitutes that are criminals now, anyway. I'd probably already be a criminal myself".

H. B. (*female, 30*) voiced how her interactions with police in Victoria were poor on account of her previous drug taking and drug selling to clients:

There's are a whole lot of cops in this city, and they don't like you using drugs outside. And I know that for sure. The dealers all tell me, "Hey, go suck some dick". Go suck dick and get me money means that I'm not really worth anything. They give me bad, dirty drugs. The cops caught me before, and they stole my drugs. They told me that I had to make a choice, because the cops are either against drugs—or they could be using drugs themselves. Another time I was raped, and they took my drugs.

HIV Health Literacies and Community Supports

Participants generally voiced how their HIV health literacies had grown more robust over time, and many participants spoke with regret about their previous uptake of practices known to be riskier for HIV infection. The uptake of health promotion discourse was reflected strongly in all participant narratives. For instance, K.D. (*female, 40*) explained:

> I think that there are HIV risks, in general, and if you're knowledgeable, and if you're not . . . if you're care-free . . . It is equal if you're a man or a woman, gay or straight . . . HIV should be addressed, and there should be more information about it. As is said, *when I was young there were no places you could go for information about it, or even a leaflet or booklet*. (my emphasis)

Participants were in consensus agreement that *PEERS* was a valuable community resource. Some participants highlighted the benefits of HIV and ST/BBI testing clinics previously offered on site at *PEERS*. Participants were not asked by the interviewer to comment on *PEERS*, specifically; participants offered favourable feedback of their own volition. For instance, V.R. (*female, 40*) voiced how the community at *PEERS* bolstered her abstinence from drugs:

> It was not until I came to *PEERS* that I felt caring . . . that somebody cared about me. So, I slowly stopped using—and it was mostly cocaine by then—because I was on the Methadone. But, I still used morphine or heroin sometimes, and I am on a low dose of Methadone so that I couldn't feel it, right. But, then, I slowly stopped using drugs altogether. I felt that somebody cared. Then my kids started to come back around me, and I established my relationship back with them, again.

Participants voiced how condoms were available at no cost at *PEERS*. For instance, as H.B. (*female, 30*) described, "I get condoms here, which is a lot more convenient than going to

the store". L.J. (*female, 30*) was grateful for the counselling and the group activities. K.D., (*female, 40*) a single mother receiving provincial Social Assistance, voiced how the lunch program at *PEERS* were beneficial for reducing monthly expenses for her and her children.

DISCUSSION

Drug Taking and HIV Vulnerability

Participants voiced how the extreme needs for drugs and alcohol often drove their engagement in the sex trade wherein violence and (forced) condomless sex ensued. At the structural level, participants' needs for drugs and alcohol created important barriers to client selectivity and the negotiation of condom use—ultimately exacerbating their risks of HIV infection and transmission (see also Duff et al., 2012; Maher, 1997; Shannon et al., 2008). Jeal, Salisbury, and Turner (2008) have described at length how the street-based sex workers in their study were "trapped" in a cycle of buying and taking drugs.

H.B. (*female, 30*) held rather unique perspectives for HIV infection and transmission. In biomedical and behavioural frames, H.B. was concerned about ingestion of her non-commercial, intimate partner's "slobber" from his crack pipe as a potential route for HIV transmission. There is evidence that cracked lips (Porter et al., 1993) and chipped glass ends (Porter et al., 1997) on crack pipes increase HIV transmission risks, but the oral cavity remains an extremely uncommon transmission route for HIV (Campo et al., 2006). H.B. also voiced how the riskier injection drug practices of "other" female sex workers increased her risk of HIV infection; H. B. was concerned that "less responsible" sex workers would infect her commercial clients with HIV—who would, in turn, transmit HIV to H. B. This circuitous HIV vector is not implausible, and there is literature on persons' neoliberal "resistance" of their responsibility for HIV infection in Canada. For instance, Krüsi et al. (2016) have reported how persons living with HIV who inject drugs have insisted on not being "to blame" for their HIV infection due to their previous "safer" injection drug practices. Krüsi et al. (2016) study participants stridently framed their previous risk of HIV infection in terms of environmental risks—rather than in terms of agentic and individualised uptake of HIV preventative practices. Krüsi et al. (2016) ultimately argued that HIV health promotion discourse could focus not only on behavioural intervention, but also on the broader shared and social responsibility for HIV infection and transmission.

Recruitment to Sex Work

The reasons for initial entry to the sex trade are myriad and complex. While victimisation, poverty (Dodsworth, 2012), the needs for drugs, food, housing, and childcare (Footer et al., 2020), and shifts in the employment sector (Rosen and Venkatesh 2008) could play key roles, for some sex workers, trading sex could have meaning as a career (Murphy and Venkatesh, 2006). There were no indications in the data analysis that participants in this study found sex work a meaningful career choice. Participant L.J. (*female, 30*) voiced intense concerns about growing up vulnerable to ST/BBIs and HIV in a "group home" environment wherein the older youth recruited L.J. for sex work and meth taking. This is not an uncommon macro-narrative: For instance, in a study of 255 street-based female sex workers in Vancouver, Shannon et al. (2011) found meth an important factor within intimate drug using sex partnerships, "suggesting a gendered pattern of risk colliding along the intersections of street-based sex and drug markets" (p. 79). In Footer et al. (2020) study, 21% of female sex workers below the age of 18 reported being coerced, threatened, pressured, misled, tricked, or physically forced into sex trade entry; this compares with only 4% of women reporting similar coercion who entered the sex trade above the age of 18. Benoit et al. (2017b) found three interwoven structural and agentic components to sex trade entry in Canada: critical life events, the need and desire for money, and the personal appeal of sex work. There are indications in L.J's narrative that her entrance to a "group home" in her youth would constitute a critical life event.

Sex Workers in Relation to Police and Policing

Police and sex workers have a complex relationship. In alignment with findings by Krüsi et al. (2014), some participants in the present study expressed a deep mistrust of police. In H. B.'s (*female, 30*) narrative, previous caustic relations with the police in Victoria were tightly woven with drug taking and drug selling. The repressive policing of sex workers and their clients deprioritises the health, safety, and rights of sex workers, antagonising legal due process (Platt et al., 2018). Following one assault and "rape", the police were not perceived by participant H. B. as a viable (and reliable) recourse for justice. Sex workers in Canada fear telephoning for police assistance in cases of emergency because sex workers fear detention (themselves, their colleagues, and their management) (Crago et al., 2021). H. B., alongside participant A. B., voiced how they were on the receiving end of powerful and ongoing stigma and discrimination from police (see Benoit et al., 2016). When reflecting on contacting the police, A. B. voiced how he would potentially "already be a criminal, anyway", reflecting his self-identified dual role as both "victim" and "victimiser" to police, as previously described by Krüsi et al. (2016).

There are suggestions that sex workers need unconstrained access to police and emergency services, police protection, and the ability to report clients and client environments that threaten their safety (Crago et al., 2021). Participant R.G. (*male, 30*) voiced how he did not feel the police were an immediate and helpful recourse, adopting the attitude akin to "Why *bother* involving the police?" The findings here highlight above all the important barrier and caustic relationship created between sex workers and police by drug involvement, particularly drug involvement interwoven with street-based (outdoor) sex work in Victoria.

The Support of 'PEERS' and HIV Health Literacies

There is a robust literature on the beneficial role of community health supports and networks for sex workers (Blanchard et al., 2013; Benoit et al., 2017a; Goldenberg et al., 2020). Participants in the present study generally voiced how the *PEERS* community in Victoria provided a "safer space" for accessing social supports and safer sex supplies. Participants also shared with how *PEERS* had previously hosted beneficial on-site HIV and ST/BBI testing. There are indications in the interview data that valuable HIV health promotion discourse concerning condom use and safer drug injection practices had been reaching participants. In the literature, HIV health literacies have been previously identified as "lower" among sex workers (Tokar et al., 2018) alongside other vulnerable populations across a variety of settings (for instance, Johnston et al., 2011; Budhwani et al., 2017), and these HIV literacies have also been found lower in rural versus urban areas (Veinot and Harris 2011). I modestly report HIV literacies concerning HIV *behavioural prevention* in the sample as more than "adequate"; HIV literacies concerning HIV treatment prognoses and PrEP could however have been more robust.

Participants voiced intense fear, anxiety, and stigma surrounding HIV infection throughout the interviews. Participants often used the terms *AIDS* and *HIV* interchangeably to denote a "death sentence". These general attitudes align with the "AIDS fatalism" and "HIV treatment uncertainty" paradigms previously described by Conroy et al. (2013). These attitudes bolster support for intensifying dissemination of the more novel "Undetectable equals Untransmittable" (or U = U) HIV messaging (York, 2019; Eisinger et al., 2019) for sex worker community health outreach and programming. HIV treatment prognosis is presently more promising than identified and described by study participants: For instance, in the province of BC at age 20, the health-adjusted life expectancy is roughly 31 years for men, and 27 years for women (Hogg et al., 2017). The fatalistic narratives were however strong. By contrast, R. G. (*male, 30*) explained:

> I am not just going to watch this old man get his way, and fuck him, and then I end up having to live with the knowledge that I am going to die . . . why would I put myself at risk of a deadly disease without a cure?

One possible origin of this HIV "death sentence" discourse could be from participants' previous and ongoing social immersion with persons living with HIV on the more vulnerable end of the social and economic spectra, persons experiencing difficulties with antiretroviral adherence (for instance, because of street entrenchment) such that participants would infer and conclude that HIV treatment prognoses remained poorer. For added perspective, one recent HIV cohort study found that the leading cause of death of persons living with HIV in the province of BC was drug overdose (Salters et al., 2021).

On PrEP

Male participants in this study could benefit from no cost PrEP as a structural HIV preventative intervention in BC. PrEP is presently available at no cost for eligible persons province wide from the *British Columbia Centre for Excellence in HIV/AIDS*. Cis-female participants who share injection drug equipment with persons living with HIV would also be eligible for no cost PrEP. I will not duplicate here the literature and discussions on PrEP treatment and acceptability (Knight et al., 2016; Tan et al., 2017; Mosley et al., 2018; Lee-Foon et al., 2020). There is however limited but real precedent for indicating PrEP for cis-female sex workers in Canada: For instance, O'Byrne et al. (2019) have recommended PrEP through a "nurse-led active-offer" PrEP service in Ontario for one exemplar female sex worker at high exposure risk for HIV (but mid-range for sexual practices) in their study—from a "case-by-case" approach for administering PrEP.

At the periphery of the scope to this study, the novel uptake of PrEP by sex workers would not be without caveat. The differential uptake of PrEP in the sex worker community could catalyse the de-stratification of sex workers' incomes in relation to condomless sex, that is, potentially driving down the cost of condomless sex for all sex workers. Increased PrEP uptake among *some* sex workers could also normalise condomless sex in the sex trade for all sex worker, irrespective of their uptake of PrEP. This could be of consideration for health implementation scholars should PrEP become available at no cost to survival sex workers.

CONCLUSION

Study and Limits

Participants revealed important contexts and conditions under which they were vulnerable to HIV infection, both occupationally as well as in their personal lives and lived experiences. At the agentic and interpersonal levels, participants were keenly aware of how HIV could be transmitted (condomless sex and sharing drug equipment), yet participants voiced strongly how structural and systemic features (for instance, client violence, the need for drugs, and "bad date" referrals) could squeeze and constrain their agency to take up safer practices, mediating their optimal HIV health and safety. HIV/AIDS fatalistic attitudes among participants could potentially be addressed presently by dovetailing with the greater "Undetectable equals Untransmittable" (U = U) project aimed at de-stigmatising living with HIV and promoting the sexual citizenship of persons living with HIV—inclusive of presently promising HIV treatment outcomes. In the face of intense HIV vulnerability voiced by participants in the present study, I argue that an expansion of eligibility for no cost PrEP for cis-female sex workers in the province of BC could be among the more important structural shifts to curb the transmission of HIV to survival sex workers.

The study has limits. There could be a constraint to the study's validity on account of the duration of time from data collection to publication date. The conclusions of this study were reached from analysis of interview data generated by a smaller ($n = 9$) sample of

study participants. This sample size in ths study reflects on one hand fidelity to the grounded theory method's theoretical saturation; on the other hand, the smaller sample reflects constraints inherent with the recruitment and practical availability of persons comprising the difficult-to-reach population of survival sex workers in Victoria, Canada. The eventual sample size of this qualitative study however supported a greater depth of grounded analysis in comparison with a quantitative study of similar nature. In terms of sampling demographics, women and persons with Indigenous ancestry were over-represented; the sample was not however inconsistent with the demographic make-up of survival sex workers in Canada (Benoit et al., 2014). There was a social desirability bias: Participants could have over-emphasised their condom use, and under-emphasised their sharing of drug equipment. Member-checking was impossible on account of the anonymous study participation. The sample was biased towards vulnerable sex workers who were clients at a non-profit outreach organisation. Sex workers unwilling to "out" themselves in accessing specialised sex work services, persons new to sex work, and persons otherwise disenchanted by sex worker outreach would have been excluded in the convenience sampling procedure.

Future Research on the (de-)criminalisation of Sex Work

The present study was delimited to a sample of survival sex workers living without HIV or uncertain of their HIV status. Canada's *Bill C-36* was signed into law in November of 2014, targeting the "purchasers" of sex, and to date, there remain no indications in the literature how this law may be mediating the reporting of potential crimes *undertaken by sex workers* surrounding sex transactions; I speculate outside the scope of the present study that clients would presently fear that they, themselves, could face criminal arrest in the reporting of "crimes" undertaken by sex workers. If and when sex work is fully de-criminalised in Canada, I anticipate an influx in the criminal reporting "of" sex workers including, but not limited to, HIV nondisclosure. In a strategic reversal, future research could investigate whether there are potential *protective* legal benefits afforded to survival sex workers from the criminalisation of the "demand" side within the Canadian sex trade.

DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

The datasets presented in this article are not readily available because a small, close-knit community of sex workers from this study's community setting could be identified by the greater dataset. Requests to access the datasets should be directed to brytt@uvic.ca.

ETHICS STATEMENT

This study involving human participants was reviewed and approved by the Human Ethics Research Board (HREB) at the University of Victoria. Consent for participation was obtained verbally. Written informed consent for participation was not required by the HREB. Ethics approval had originally been sought for a sample that included survival sex workers who were living with HIV, but this was deemed too high-risk to participants whose interview data could be seized by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (for instance, participants could reveal not disclosing HIV status to sex partners as legally obligated). The University's HREB sought to protect participants. Survival sex workers living with HIV were eliminated from sampling.

AUTHOR CONTRIBUTIONS

The author confirms being the sole contributor of this work and has approved it for publication.

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Conflict of Interest: The author declares that the research was conducted in the absence of any commercial or financial relationships that could be construed as a potential conflict of interest.

APPENDIX 1

Thematic Interview Guide

Intimacy and Risk among Sex Workers in the Context of HIV Infection

Themes to be explored:

1) In work life and in personal life, explore participants' thoughts about the risk of becoming HIV+
2) Explore how participants minimize the risk of becoming HIV+
3) Explore how, or whether, the risks of HIV affect intimate relationships, with boyfriends, girlfriends, clients, and others
4) Explore participants' thoughts on people being obligated to tell their sexual partners that they are HIV+, and how these thoughts might be influenced by condom use or taking antiviral medications to suppress the virus
5) Explore participants' knowledge of laws which make HIV disclosure a legal obligation
6) Explore how, or whether, participants would feel safer knowing HIV disclosure laws exist

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Black Lives Matter and Mães de Maio: What Unites Us

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The long history of slavery in the USA and Brazil is still evident when looking at the violence which takes place in each country today. In addition, the growing militarization of public management is due to the foreign policy of the USA and the military dictatorship of Brazil which lasted more than 30 years. Facing situations of violence, mainly state-owned, the 1970s were marked by women's resistance and struggle against violence, authoritarianism and lack of citizenship, particularly in Latin America. These social movements represented the distancing of ideology as an engine of social mobilizations, as well as the conversion of collective identity policies into generators of responses. The ability to form a collective identity around the common identification of oppression allowed the development of these new mass movements. From the construction of a collective female identity, intimate and personal aspects gained a central dimension in the identification of oppression, consequently, in the project of personal and social transformation. The agendas of this second wave of the feminist movement encompassed both the struggle for civil rights and the rights of blacks, pacifist, student and decolonization movements. Considering the influence of these new feminist movements on two current social movements, namely "Black Lives Matter" (United States) and "Mães de Maio" (Brazil), I want to understand, in this article, how the guiding meanings of gender, race, sexuality, class and generation, present in the third and fourth waves of feminists, appear in practice, in these two social movements that have the same generative facts as triggers for their constitution.

Keywords: feminist movements, violence, Black Lives Matter, Mães de Maio, justice

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> "We need to understand that women, and mothers who are on the front lines, have a struggle that comes from the womb. We are here to give birth to a new society. And perhaps, it will emerge after this pandemic. Even with fascism on the rise, perhaps people can take another look at the world" Débora Maria da Silva, leader of the Mães de Maio movement.

INTRODUCTION

The United States of America (USA) experienced more than 100 years of slavery, whilst Brazil's slavery history exceeds 300 years. In addition, the USA and Brazil are registering an increasing militarization of public management, the result of the war policy implemented worldwide by the USA and by more than 30 years of military dictatorship registered by the Brazil. Moura et al. (2010) defines Brazil as an example of a country that is experiencing a brand new type of violent and armed conflict. Despite being a country that is not officially involved in a war, in some regions it has high rates of homicides caused by firearms. In this sense, we can say that the armed violence that affects countries like the USA and Brazil is configured in a segregation continuity.

According to a study by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), published in 2019, America is the continent with the highest percentage of intentional homicides, 37.4%. In South America, Brazil has the second-highest homicide rate on the continent (30.5 homicides per 100 thousand people). A significant portion of these records is attributed to state violence. Regarding Brazil, according to the World Health Organization (2019), the country had in 2016 the highest absolute number of homicides (64,900). In total, about 1.2 million people lost their lives to intentional homicides in Brazil between 1991 and 2017. Although the United States has registered decreasing homicide rates since 2001, Brazil has registered increasing rates in recent years. Firearms are also involved "far more often" in homicides in the Americas than in other regions, according to the UNDOC report. The similarities between Brazil and the USA do not stop there. Both countries also have historical records of lynchings. A survey by the Center for the Study of Violence at the University of São Paulo (USP), which studied cases of lynching from 1980 to 2006, found that Brazil is the country with the most lynching in the world (Souza Martins, 2015). Meanwhile, the US has a similar record, having recorded more than 4,400 lynchings for racial terrorism between 1915 and 1940 (Equal Justice Initiative, 2017).

Also, in general, the Americas still have the highest rate of victims among young adult males worldwide. According to the Anuário Brasileiro de Segurança Pública (2020), the Brazilian police murdered 6,357 people in 2019, 99% of whom were men and 79% were black. Bureau of Justice Statistics[1] data estimates that between June 2015 and May 2016, 1,200 people were killed by police in the U.S. And in both the US and Brazil, the death rate of blacks by the police is at least twice that of whites. Data from the "Black Lives Matter: Eliminating Racial Inequity in the Criminal Justice System (Ghandnoosh, 2015)" report warn that, despite the black population representing 13% of the US population, the overall homicide rate for blacks was 6.2 times higher than for whites in 2011.

The so-called "May Crimes" in Brazil represented the most emblematic episode in this context. Between May 12 and 20, 2006, in the state of São Paulo, police and paramilitary groups acted supported by a "wave of response" to "attacks by the First Command of the Capital (PCC)." In 9 days, at least 564 homicides by firearms were committed, and many of these people are still missing, considering the occultation of corpses and falsification of reports (Amadeo et al., 2019). The May Crimes mainly victimized poor young people, usually black or Afro-indigenous descendants. However, both these murders and so many others remain forgotten, without the perpetrators being properly investigated, judged, and punished.

The "Era das Chacinas," which began in 1990 with the Massacre of Acari, unfortunately still has its traces today. In just over 30 years, we can mention many others, most of which occurred in the Rio de Janeiro-São Paulo-Northeast Brazil axis, such as Matupá (1991), Carandiru (1992), Candelária and Vigário Geral (1993), Alto da Bondade (1994), Corumbiara (1995), Eldorado dos Carajás (1996), São Gonçalo and Favela Naval (1997), Maracanã (1998), Cavalaria and Vila Prudente (1999), Jacareí (2000), Caraguatatuba (2001), Castelinho, Jardim Presidente Dutra and Urso Branco (2002), Amarelinho, Via Show and Borel (2003), Caju and Praça da Sé (2004), Baixada Fluminense (2005), Complexo do Alemão (2007), Morro da Providência (2008), Canabrava (2009), Vitória da Conquista and the April crimes in Baixada Santista (2010), Praia Grande (2011) and Cabula (2015). This is without considering the countless homicides that occurred by what we usually call "stray bullet," homicides that affect, in most cases, young people and children and generally occur during police actions when confronting armed groups [Defensoria Pública do Estado do Rio de Janeiro (DPERJ), 2021]. Also in these cases, the perpetrators are rarely punished. Many homicides committed by police forces in the United States seem to have the same outcome (acquittal for self-defense or manslaughter), although in recent times they have been filmed and have gained notoriety in the press. These homicides also affect, to a large extent, poor, black and peripheral youths. According to Stinson (2020), only 1% of police officers who kill civilians in the United States are (effectively) accused of murder. Stinson warns that since 2005, about 140 police officers have been arrested on charges of murder or manslaughter. Of those, only 44 were convicted, in most cases, but of a minor crime. It was in this context of impunity that movements such as Black Lives Matter (BLM) and Mães de Maio emerged.

Considering the historical context and similar aspects mentioned, whether they are the violence rates and the growing militarization of public security in both the US and Brazil, I analyze in this article the responses that emerged from social movements, specifically two women's movements: Black Lives Matter and Mães de Maio. Thus, in the next section, I debate the impact of violence in America and the new feminist movements that emerged from this condition. In a third moment, I present the two social movements considered here: BLM and Mães de Maio. In the later session, I discussed the particularities of American feminism and how this fourth wave carries specificities that are reflected in the movements analyzed here. Finally, I present final reflections on the topic are presented and conclude that the fourth wave of feminism encompasses actors who identify with agendas that had hitherto been relegated to the domestic sphere and, in the cases presented here, of activists who react to state violence.

VIOLENCE IN AMERICA AND THE NEW FEMINIST MOVEMENTS

During the 1970s and 1980s, the second wave of feminism emerged from women's resistance and struggle against violence, authoritarianism and a lack of citizenship in military regimes (Matos and Paradis, 2013). At that time, feminisms movements were built in opposition to the state. As stated by Alvarez (2000), autonomy meant independence and opposition to the state and the left. As a movement that emerged and sought to define its contours, this definition included the organization of spaces for its specific agendas and priorities.

[1]https://www.bjs.gov/ Accessed in April 2021.

This new feminism appeared in a more general context than what we have come to call "new social movements" (Laraña et al., 1994). Thus, it emerged in parallel to the struggles for civil rights, black rights, pacifist movements, student movements, the new left and decolonization movements. Several studies indicate that the new social movements represented the detachment of ideology as an engine of social mobilizations, as well as the conversion of collective identity policies into generators of social responses (Melucci, 1989, 1996). The ability to form a collective identity around the common identification of women's oppression allowed the development of this new mass movement.

The Women's Liberation Movement (WLM), initiated in North America, developed from the construction of a collective female identity that gave it an extraordinary importance in combining the relationship between the individual and the collective, between the public and the private. "Precisely, the defining epicenter of this new movement was the innovative reading according to which what is personal is political, the shaking of the borders between what is public and what is private" (Nash, 2006, p. 52–53). The intimate and personal aspects took on a central dimension in the identification of female oppression and, as a consequence, in the project of personal and social transformation of women. The crucial goals of the new feminism, such as personal development, self-esteem and individual identity, were decisive in achieving women's personal liberation. In this way, freedom and autonomy were equal to equality in degree of importance as demands. While the slogan "Black is Beautiful" had been a potent strategy for the cohesion of the black American rights movement in the 1960s, WLM, by citing women as a key point, has made the movement consolidated among black women.

In the following decades, women's movements that until then felt excluded from the feminist movement's agenda until then, sought to create a collective identity that recognized both the domestic oppression of women and their creative and transformative capacities. In this sense, these new of women's movements were also guided by the organization of movements of mothers, grandparents, widows, friends and family, generally from the less favored classes, without any political experience, who started to engage in the fight against impunity, favor of social justice and historical memory. Initiatives like these have emerged in several cities around the world, such as the mothers of Plaza de Mayo, the Family Association in Chile, the Liberian Peace Movement, the National Committee of Widows of Guatemala (CONAVIGUA), the Committee of the Mothers of the missing Salvadorans (CoMadres), the Sri Lankan Mothers Front, the Russian Committee of Mothers of Soldiers, Women Strike for Peace, among others. These movements were decisive in the fight against the political dictatorship when the shared resistance against the dictatorial regime created a link between women's issues with those of other social movements, of struggle for human rights and women's rights (Jacquette, 1989). The example of the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo is well-known: based on maternal values, these women resisted the power of the state and fought the dictatorship. They have become the innovative expression of citizenship and new political practices, built on maternal values, having them as a source of political criticism, negotiation and claiming human rights (Gingold and Vázquez, 1988).

The Mothers of Plaza de Mayo developed a powerful discourse of the urgency of life on politics and maternal love on ideology (Jacquette, 1989). They appropriated the social role and traditional gender discourse about motherhood, turning it into a political weapon and radically transforming its meaning in relation to the hegemonic discourse. From the conventions of the patriarchal ideology, they assumed their identities as mothers, but they defied many of the rules of conduct implied in the gender discourse. Using their maternal role and their identity as creators of life, they transformed their personal loss as mothers into a political issue. In addition, they appropriated the public space, making it legitimate areas for expressing their pains and dramas that until then were classified as illegitimate.

These mothers inverted the traditional modalities of political practice, transforming, through the intimate expression of their maternal suffering, the personal sphere into a public manifestation of resistance, as highlighted by Feijoó (1989, p. 23): "Their peaceful resistance turned into a strong challenge to the military character of the dictatorial regime; for this reason they have been considered a significant element in the construction of civil peace in Argentina." The Mothers of Plaza de Mayo have become an important example of maternalism in women's movements and in the development of social practices. Despite this, different researchers have highlighted that, reinforcing a gender discourse supported by traditional female roles, the debate about its consequences on the recognition of female citizenship and autonomy remains open (Aguirre, 1997). In this sense, Molyneux (1997) indicates that the selflessness of women in community causes in the Latin American context is an object of debate as to its impact on the process of individual emancipation of women.

The coverage of what we can call maternalism as "rebel mothers" was one of the characteristics of women's movements in Latin America during the 1980s. The struggle against dictatorial regimes and democratic recovery were events that marked the political orientation of Latin Americans social movements. Both right and left speeches proposed a maternalist view of women's rights (Vargas, 1997). The right highlighted their role as mothers and natural guardians of the family, while the left demarcated their place as mothers who acted in opposition to the government and institutions for the preservation of family subsistence. In any case, neither one has broken with the traditional female role and its identity designation from social motherhood.

This is the milestone in which the women's popular movement developed, characterizing a social context in which the traditional gender discourse built its options and strategies for resistance. The social reality of the feminization of poverty has led many women from the peripheries to organize themselves in defense of the survival of their families. As a result, they articulated a movement based on the positioning of gender and social materialism when the arguments of maternal values marked their social support and their emergence as agents of change. In any case, this mobilization has always been interested in community needs. In the 1990s, community interests continued to define Western women's activity agenda (Nash, 2006). It is in

this context that movements such as "Mães do Rio" emerged, which were characterized by groups of women, who became active due to the massacres that took place in Rio de Janeiro in the early 1990s and in 2005—mothers of Acari, Vigário Geral, Borel, Via Show, Queimados and Nova Iguaçu and Candelária. In addition, there is the Network of Communities and Movements against Violence, which emerged in 2004, and is formed mainly by relatives of victims of police violence in slums and the MOLEQUE movement—Mothers Movement for the Rights of Adolescents in the Socio-educational System, which has been operating since 2003.

The so-called third wave, which emerged in the 1990s, sought new alternatives that combined economic growth, deepening democracy and social justice for the Americas and colonized countries. However, for many rural and urban women workers, black, indigenous and lesbian, these principles were not sufficient, nor did women want to be treated as "the others" anymore. This discussion arises in virtue of the accusation that Western feminist theories would have been built under a reductionist, distorted, stable conception and contrary to the history of women and third world feminisms, as warned by Mohanty (1988).

Fraser (2009), for insisting on considering both political as well as social and economic factors, also proposes a new feminist theory of social justice that incorporates paradoxical dimensions not addressed by liberals who emphasized justice as equity and highlighted economic redistribution as the engine of promoting equality and social justice. Given this, the proposal for a democratic justice would encompass redistribution, recognition and representation. This theory, according to Fraser (2006), would configure Westfalian democratic justice.

MAY MOTHERS

The Mães de Maio movement is made up of mothers, family and friends of what the movement calls victims of violence in the Brazilian state, especially at the hands of the police. The idea of the name is based on the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo movement in Argentina. It emerged from the Crimes that occurred in the state of São Paulo in May 2006. Still according to Mães de Maio, the movement started from the pain of mourning generated by the loss of children, family and friends.

The movement's mission is to fight for truth, memory and justice for all victims of violence against the poor, black and indigenous population. They seek truth and justice, in particular, for those killed and missing from the crimes of May 2006 and April 2010. The report by the NGO Global Justice and the International Human Rights Clinic (IHRC), published in 2011, indicated that the existence of strong evidence of summary execution, both in the deaths registered as "murder of unknown author" and in the homicides carried out by police officers registered as "resistance followed by death." In this sense, one of the main flags of Mães de Maio is the unarchiving and federalization of investigations, due judgment and punishment of those responsible for the crimes that occurred in May 2006 and in April 2010 in the state of São Paulo, whose investigations, for the most part, were shelved. In addition, they ask for the definitive abolition of the records of "Resistance followed by death" (São Paulo), "Auto de Resistência[2]" (Rio de Janeiro), "Resistance to Prison" (Minas Gerais) and any related expression used in the Police Reports that restrict the state to responsibility for killings.

The movement's main axes of action are: the welcoming and solidarity between family members and friends of victims of the State; systematic reporting of cases and the status of investigations and prosecutions; participation in debates, seminars, meetings, conferences; and, the organization of fighting activities, such as protests, marches, vigils and manifestos. We have always been an uprising that inspires other mothers to scream. Today, we join mothers who have had their children missing, mothers from all over Brazil, from Rio de Janeiro. Outside the country, we have a connection with American mothers, mothers of FARC victims, mothers of Cali. And in each of these women who lose their child to the State, there is a May mother" said Débora Maria da Silva, leader of the movement, in an interview with the Universa portal, in May 2020. In November 2020, city councilor Eduardo Suplicy (Partido dos Trabalhadores), filed a municipal law project to protect survivors and family members of victims of violence produced by State agents, especially by security forces. If approved, the Mães de Maio Law, as it was baptized, will offer institutional support, social protection, and medical assistance to minimize the negative impacts generated by episodes of violence.

BLACK LIVES MATTER

In 2020, in the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic and in the face of rising rates of contamination and deaths from the disease in the United States, thousands of people marched through the streets of different American cities after the assassination of George Floyd.

According to the website of the Black Lives Matter Global Network Foundation (2021), in 2013, three black women—Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullors and Opal Tometi—from a political will, created a project to build the movement called #BlackLivesMatter (BLM). The BLM emerged as a response to the acquittal George Zimmerman, accused by the murderer of Trayvon Martin[3].

As the BLM gained space, the platform started to be used as an organizing tool by other groups, organizations and individuals who identified with the anti-racist agenda. The space that the BLM started to occupy helped to boost the dialogue on violence

[2]Auto de resistência is the official nomenclature that began to be used in 1969 by the Brazilian police to define the deaths and injuries that occurred in confrontation, resulting from the resistance to the police authority.

[3]Trayvon Martin was shot by the volunteer security guard George Zimmerman on February 26, 2012, when he was returning to his father's home in Sanford, Florida. At the time, Zimmerman chased Martin with the car, on suspicion that the boy was responsible for a series of break-ins in the region. The guard then shot Martin in the chest, who was 17, claiming self-defense. Zimmerman was questioned by the police at the time of the crime, but was released without formal charges. In 2013, the guard was cleared of charges of second-degree murder and manslaughter.

driven by the state. Particularly also the blatant ways in which black women are raped.

In August 2014, Mike Brown[4] was murdered by police officer Darren Wilson in Ferguson. Darnell Moore and Patrisse Cullors then organized a national race during that year's Labor Day weekend. This movement was called the Black Life Matters Ride. In 15 days, the movement then developed a plan to support the demonstrations that were organized in St. Louis and which brought together more than 600 people. In addition to St. Louis, there were protests in 18 other cities. Since Ferguson, the BLM organization has realized that there was a huge pent-up demand that sought to end state-sanctioned violence against blacks. Other cases that also had great repercussions were the murders of Eric Garner [5] and Breonna Taylor [6].

According to the BLM, the movement realized the existence of significant gaps in the spaces occupied by the black movement and its leaders. For the leaders of the movement, the black liberation movements in the USA had as main leaders cisgender and heterosexual men, leaving women, queer people, transgenders among others, out of the movement or in the background. Currently, the BLM sees itself as a decentralized network that recognizes the need to centralize the leadership of queer and trans women and people, making a commitment to place those on the margins closer to the center.

AMERICAN FEMINISM AND THE FOURTH WAVE

The performance of American feminism is beyond social movements in the classic sense of expression. It is inserted in the discursive field of action. Currently, it is constituted as a broad, heterogeneous, polycentric, multifaceted and polyphonic field. The majority of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) that emerged at the beginning of the second wave of feminism centered their activities on popular education, empowerment and awareness of women from popular classes. Some still maintain this focus, while others focus their work on promoting and monitoring gender-related legislation. Other organizations also propose to articulate grassroots work with "macro" actions, centered on public policies and other types of political-cultural intervention. Matos and Paradis (2013, p. 97) enlightens us about this:

> Feminist NGOs, increasingly specialized, made progress in the introduction of gender-related issues in different programs, while in their part they relativized their role of criticism, pressure and transformation of the State. NGOs began to play an important role in strengthening social policies, while the State experienced a hollowing out of its social function (our translation).

The "devenir mujer de la politica" reflects the lack of access to politics, self-representation and representation. Minority becoming is the other name of the multitude[7]. Becoming a woman means "being a woman" based on her own historical and also local condition. Becoming a woman also means analyzing the experience from a negative and positive point of view, what we have suffered; however, also what we are able to produce and propose to all those who want to become a minority, to all others, including men. Resistance creates subjectivity, new forms of life, a new being or a new resistance, new ways of living, speaking, exchanging and loving, producing value; it is something very material and immanent. It certainly represents a way of generating life, although there are others, such as making a community, fighting together, inventing solidarity modes and changing the relationship with the other. All of this is producing life, all of this is ontology. Judith Revel highlights:

> So becoming a woman in politics is another relationship in politics in which women do not want power, they do not want the Winter Palace; that does not interest them. What they want is the word, they want space, they want the common with others, who are not women. A common capable of producing new forms of life would be an ontology of infinite difference, a multitudinous difference, an ontology of the multitude (Revel, 2008, p. 121) (our translation).

It is in this sense that American feminists intend to address multiple elements in their analysis: economics, politics, bodies, subjectivities, sexualities, among others, in order to reveal the mechanisms that support inequalities and privileges.

Feminist reflections cross several social markers of difference. I refer to social and cultural categories that place actors in certain hierarchies of power, producing the "different" in relation to the elites' life model. The ideal model produces perverse imagery about the different. Feminists have called attention to social markers such as age, nationality and place of residence to question the very idea of "different," social categorization, the vectors of power that build and maintain these hierarchies, as well as the naturalization of discrimination and social injustice. For this, the concept of intersectionality becomes crucial, as American feminism brings up debates about the heterogeneity of feminism, especially lesbian, black, indigenous and community feminisms.

The stakes of American feminism point to the revitalization of feminist practices, considering that there are people in different situations of discrimination, marginalization and social

[4]Michael Brown Jr., then 18, was killed with six shots. The United States Department of Justice subsequently concluded that Officer Darren Wilson acted in self-defense.

[5]Eric Garner was killed in July 2014 after being strangled by a New York Police Department officer. Before losing consciousness, Garner spoke the phrase "I can't breathe" 11 times. NY police approached Garner on suspicion of selling "loosies" (individual cigarettes) without tax stamps. The Richmond County grand jury decided not to indict the officer responsible for the murder. Months later, New York City paid the Garner family $ 5.9 million.

[6]Breonna Taylor was 26 years old and was shot dead inside her apartment after a police raid in Louisville. The crime took place at dawn on March 13, 2020. In September of the same year, the jury decided to indict only one of the three policemen involved in the crime on three counts of first-degree "arbitrary conduct." The other two officers who also fired were not charged. The indicted police officer was released on bail. The case led to the approval of the "Breonna Law," which banned the invasion of homes in search operations and the admission of a black police chief in Louisville.

[7]Multitude is a biopolitical set of singularities that work and are oppressed, that resist with bodies and that, with intelligence, want to revolutionize the world. The concept of the global crowd, planted in the reality of Latin America, is firmly defined as a march toward the freedom of bodies and as violence of an unbearable need (Cocco and Negri, 2005, p. 73).

exclusion. It means that these debates have allowed the problematization of the "woman" category itself, not to talk about "women," but to account for their vital experiences. The renewal of the "woman" imaginary allows for inflections around social heterogeneity, considering that we are people racialized with gender, with age, with privileges and/or disadvantages due to our sexuality. This heterogeneity has allowed to generate self-critical debates about its political bets. Feminists who belong to academic collectives and/or activists are also affected by the social markers of difference. Within their groups, there are discriminatory practices that reinforce the material and symbolic violence suffered by black women, indigenous people, migrants, etc.

Specifically, Latin American women have decided to renew the imaginary of "being a woman." This process essentially goes through the deconstruction and reconstruction of the history of our ancestors, as explained by Gargallo (2007, p. 24):

> Imagining implies wanting an image of oneself, a utopian image, different from the one that roles and hierarchies assign to the person. At the same time, the desire is not a desire to appropriate something or someone outside, but a desire to know and to know oneself. In this way, renewing the imaginary of being a woman on the part of a female community supposes the will to want to review itself in history, to know if there is a possibility of defining oneself as women and to propose as a full member of the human community (our translation).

For Vargas (2008, p. 142), Latin American feminisms are heterogeneous according to their spaces of action, identities and also according to the different strategies against the State.

There is not a consensus among the feminist movement on whether or not a fourth wave exists. However, Latin feminists have advocated feminist studies and theories that focus on the countries of the global south and, in particular, Latin America and the Caribbean. The idea is for a movement that has an impact from the local to the global. The strength of the global south emerged exactly from there: from the denial of the south, there was reaction and opposition to the advances of neoliberalism. The guiding sense of this new wave would be linked to a renewal with an emphasis on intersectoral, transversal and multidisciplinary boundaries among gender, race, sexuality, class and generation, as explained by Matos (2010). These circuits of feminist diffusion are operated from different horizontal currents of feminisms (black, lesbian, academic, male, etc.) that we could call feminists idestreaming or "horizontal flow of feminism" (Alvarez, 2009).

The belief in women's genetic predisposition to peace has made both women's roles and contributions historically undervalued, whether in times of war or in times of peace. For Moura et al. (2010, p. 186), this subalternity has its roots in the social construction of the meanings of war and peace, stereotypically associated with both sexes. Women have naturally been associated with informal peace, everyday peace, and men with war and formal peace.

In this sense, the assignment of differentiated social roles according to sex, tend to subordinate women and their experiences. Thus, the patriarchal power structure determines all human action, both public and private (Reardon, 1985). This designation influences our daily practices by imposing sexually defined roles, establishing a hierarchy among them, disparaging the private space in relation to the public space, cementing and naturalizing the power relations valid in contexts of war and peace. It is these same dominant sexual representations that make possible and normalize acts of private violence, as well as acts of organized violence, appealing to myths that legitimize a romanticized and noble view of war that elects violence not only as a way of resolving disputes and guarantee of security (Tickner, 1991) as legitimizing death. Ideals such as progress, reason and civilization also justify the use of violence. Thus, peace must be kept in the background until the "natural state of affairs" is achieved. To do so, using "law and order" in the case of the USA and "order and progress" in the case of Brazil becomes a necessary action in the search for peace and its powerful racial and colonial dimension. But, what is the law in a context in which communities are disproportionately incarcerated and in which direct violence is mobilized in a discriminatory manner against certain bodies and certain people?

Moser and Clark (2001) point out that from the observation that the patriarchal system determines structural and cultural factors of violence and from the concrete analysis of the violence suffered by women, feminists established a continuum between the various types of violence and injustices that exist:

> In this way, the traditional concepts of war and peace, considered as artificial and reductive, are questioned and their perversities are exposed: they neglect structural and cultural violence, which operate in the long run and are the basis of many of the expressions large-scale violence, thus naturalizing micro-violence, felt in the interpersonal sphere (not exclusively by women, but above all by them) and common globally, which constitute one of the axes of feeding new spirals of violence (Moura et al., 2010, p. 187) (our translation).

According to Schild (1998), the neoliberal state takes on a double task: on the one hand, it accentuates its punitive character, adopting security policies as part of the social agenda and, on the other hand, it takes on the face of a "caring state" with the proliferation of social policies and money transfers aimed at combating poverty, with women mothers as the main beneficiaries. This double facet of the neoliberal state is added to the processes of the women's and feminist movements and their distinct positions in a pragmatic view that proposes demands for gender equality in a clearly weakened state (precisely by neoliberalism) with postures that mark its autonomy in the face of "Patriarchal state." For Tatiana Moura and others:

> As activists for human rights and activists for justice and truth, women have also put pressure on governments, warring factions and international actors, seeking to raise awareness of the importance of historical knowledge of the scope of human rights violations and the need to establish accountability (Moura et al., 2010, p. 189) (our translation).

Thus, women's movements also propose their own agenda in favor of joining social struggles with other movements against the hegemonic neoliberal project. Alvarez (2000, p. 14) explains: "That is, the neoliberal state is also a site of cultural production, a crucial site where gender is constructed, where gender relations are re-signified, recoded and reconfigured."

Based on this diagnosis, about the origin and dissemination of the various forms of violence, feminists ask about the effectiveness of the responses traditionally used and which are materialized in the concept of security. Starting from the idea that the conventional security paradigm constitutes a generator of insecurities, particularly at the individual level, a concept of security is proposed that transcends the traditional statocentric level so that it starts to have a multidimensional, multiscale and proportional perspective the expansion of the concept of violence (Tickner, 2001).

The struggle of women and, particularly, of mothers, tells us of the attempts to register certain deaths, which until then would have been considered unimportant, in the public space as "casualties" of war, seeking to pay attention to the sign of the social location of the bodies of the victims, as well as its moral and affective condition, as is the case with the slogan "Black lives matter." In this war, which increasingly reaches degrees of illegitimacy, mourning, by mourning the dead publicly, not only challenges political limits (Butler, 2004) but also allows those who remain to transform it into resistance. In this sense, between different forms and dimensions of mourning—as an individual and, at the same time, social process—the action moves between personal pain and collective causes and between suffering and rights. It is a fact that both the denial of victim status to the disappeared/murdered and the difficulty of proving his authorship, makes it impossible for the victim's family and friends to comply with a grieving process. Thus, by taking their indignation to the public arena, these actors contest the justice of war that places the most vulnerable in the place of the enemy to be killed and fought. Based on this, both the argumentative work done at the various protest sites and the judicial struggle to condemn police officers is based on the importance of proving that the dead were "honest" and not "bandits" or "drug dealers"[8]:

> In other words, to insert them primarily in the same rightful place as those that must be protected—and not annihilated—by the State, embodied here in the police. His challenge is woven, therefore, necessarily using a symbolic perspective marked by gender, through moral and emotional languages that perform the bankruptcy of this male who attacks instead of protecting and who brings war "home" (Vianna and Farias, 2011, p. 95) (our translation).

In denouncing the inseparability of the unequal conditions that cross bodies and territories, as well as their lack of interest in determining the conditions of deaths, these women denounce the cruel processes of producing bodies and expendable lives. In addition, as the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo, they seek to reconstruct the facts from their own reports, remaking history differently from what appears in the newspapers.

FINAL REFLECTIONS

Considering the above findings, I realize that the movements mentioned here and which had women as political protagonists, are able to symbolically encompass other activists who identify with the same agendas, whether family members or not of the victims, men or women, people of different age groups or ethnic groups, who rise politically through close connections. When speaking of order, hitherto domestic, that was brutally undone by the murders that occurred, most of the time, by the hand of the State, these women bring the feminine not in their individual bodies, but as a sign of meaning in the relationships that have broken down, as well as illegitimate violence (Vianna and Farias, 2011).

Finally, since the assassination of George Floyd, at least a 100 laws have been passed in different states, pointing to changes in public safety institutions. Thus, I conclude that, mainly, after the emergence of Black Lives Matter, the USA managed to advance in the accountability of those involved and in the effectuation of agreements with pecuniary retribution for the victims' families. Unfortunately, in the case of Brazil, in addition to the country not moving in the same direction, there is greater liberalization in relation to the purchase and release of the use of firearms.

AUTHOR CONTRIBUTIONS

The author confirms being the sole contributor of this work and has approved it for publication.

[8]In the case of Jorge Floyd, the Minneapolis police argue that his death was caused by an overdose, even though Officer Derek Chauvin was kneeling under his neck for nine minutes and twenty-nine seconds. Similarly, in the case of João Alberto Freitas, murdered by Carrefour security guards in November 2020 in southern Brazil, there were attempts to disqualify him as a victim.

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