Bichas à Rasca:
Solidarity in an Age of Austerity

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ABSTRACT

The present article explores recent moments of intersectional organizing in Portugal, focusing on the *Geração à Rasca protests* of 2012 and the passage of the 2018 law allowing for the self determination of gender identity. While diverse sectors of LGBT+ activism in Portugal are able to coalesce around specific policy goals, to varying degrees of commitment, the process often leads to containing more radical demands into demands more palatable to liberal and conservative sectors of society. In this way, I argue that the Portuguese case can be seen as a kind of one-dimensional queer organizing, to borrow from Roderick Ferguson, which collapses broad intersectional coalitions into single issue demands that benefit individual normative neoliberal subjects. This article examines these two specific moments by presenting media and scholarly sources that provide context to develop a substantive analysis and critique of these moments. Following on Ana Cristina Santos' writings on homonationalism in Portugal, this article examines the workings of a politics of containment which describes a process by which more radical sectors of queer activisms become neutralized through policy initiatives that give priority over individual demands rather than issues of collective struggle. In this way, I borrow Puar's concept of transhomonationalism to argue that recent trans struggles, specifically with the passage of the law of self-determination of gender, again follows a politics of containment, as it centralizes individual identity and integration into a neoliberal social structure. This argument is not meant to diminish the importance laws such as these have on daily lives of trans individuals, but rather I aim to establish how the multidimensional-queer organizing that characterizes activisms in Portugal, where a variety of political voices and goals can coalesce around specific policies, but at the expense of more radical policy demands.

KEYWORDS: Geração à Rasca; LGBT+ activism; 2018 self-determination of gender identity law

INTRODUCTION

The 2012 anti-austerity protests in Portugal produced one of the largest public demonstrations in Portugal since the Carnation Revolution in 1974, which brought down the moribund right-wing dictatorship of the Estado Novo. Yet opinions over the legacy of the 2012 demonstrations differ greatly between the generations of activists who participated in them. Older activists dismiss the event as a disappointment, or even just plainly inconsequential. For many younger activists, the movement became a defining moment for a generation that felt crushed by lack of job opportunities and the weakening of social welfare state under austerity. In this article, I trace how the development of LGBT+ social movements have intersected and engaged with the development of the Portuguese state. I examine how questions of citizenship have been challenged through two recent movements: the anti-austerity protests of Portugal and the Lei de Autodeterminação de Género, which passed in 2018. I aim to see how these movements began as intersectional movements, with broad coalitional support and changed in character through the process of policy. By tracing the history of how queer social movements have engaged with the Portuguese civil state both through the anti-austerity protests of 2012 and the recent efforts to pass a law for self-determination of gender, I aim to reveal a tension between the international scope and networks of the anti-austerity protests and the national realities to which the movements would conform—a one-dimensional form of queer organizing, to borrow from Roderick Ferguson which neutralized radical arguments in favor of single-issue organizing. This moment of tension responds to a particular time of reconfiguration of leftist and socialist politics within Europe in the age of austerity. I continue the conversation raised by Ana Cristina Santos and other Portuguese scholars on issues of citizenship and homonationalism. In this fashion, I argue that the opportunities presented by recent organizing around the *Geração à Rasca* and the gender identity law, while being important moments for queer

organizing and coalition building, would eventually become subsumed under a politics of containment, to borrow from Ana Cristina Santos, whereby controversial issues are negotiated among liberal and conservative sectors of the society with the ultimate aim of achieving a wider consensus through the suspension of radical strategies or arguments.

CONTEXT FOR THE PROSTESTS

Within the last few decades, the world, and in particular the 'west,' has seen the emergence of new movements focused on sexual and gender politics. The last decade in particular has given victories to these movements that couldn't have been imagined a decade ago. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, capitalist countries have sought to articulate a new hegemony, especially amid the continuing economic crises capitalism that characterize capitalist economic systems.

The new ideological wars against so-called "radical ideology" has now allowed western democracies to portray themselves as bastions of progress and rationalism. Since the 1970's, the assertion of homosexuality as a fundamental basis of identity akin to other minority categories (such as ethnicity), rather than a behavior that could co-exist within a dominant sexual and gender order, has catapulted LGBT politics into the public sphere (Altman and Symons). This hasn't always played out in the most positive ways. Both locally and internationally, debates regarding anything from discrimination to gay marriage have become flash points for larger cultural wars. There is a long history of political and religious elites using panics around the specter of homosexuality to bolster their power (Hall). In this period, Portugal has staked a position on this culture war that is part of a broader effort to project an image of a decidedly European country.

Portugal approved same-sex marriage in 2010, following trends in other western liberal democracies. As Portuguese researcher Ana Cristina Santos has pointed out, the

process that led to the approval of same-sex marriage can be seen as an example of a politics of containment (Santos). Indeed, the focus on same-sex marriage, and its prioritization over other concerns affecting the LGBT+ community, was not entirely consensual, when seen from the organizing that occurred before the passage of the marriage law in 2010. Though there was dissent from various segments of the LGBT+ activist circles, most supported specific policy efforts with varying degrees of commitment. The focus on simultaneous policy targets, as opposed to strict loyalty to ideology, enabled a multilayered collective struggle, creating what Santos termed "syncretic activism." The broad character of much of LGBT activism in Portugal has contributed to the speedy response granted by the state regarding individual claims and, to a lesser extent, relational claims. It seems that the *multilayeredness* that drives coalitional politics is eventually collapsed into a language of neoliberal individualism and privacy. As Rafael de la Dehesa argues, "identities are being constituted and contested simultaneously in multiple and embedded fields and that changes in one field […] permit actors to challenge constructions at others" (de la Dehesa 23). Santos demonstrates how the political efforts towards same-sex marriage illustrate a "strategic shift whereby sexual and intimate citizenship is constructed as inextricably dependent upon social consensus." This consensus was only fostered by replacing a radical politics with a politics of compliance—or *(hetero)normative compliance* (Santos).

In this same year that same-sex marriage was approved, Portugal entered into austerity programs, dictated by the bailout conditions set by the troika (the European Commission, the European Central Bank, and the International Monetary Fund). As a result of the severe economic and financial crisis brought on by the 2008 fall of Lehman Brothers, Portugal was forced to institute strict budgetary cuts to meet deficit spending limits, which included pay freezes, higher limits to unemployment benefits, stricter requirements for the unemployed to accept available jobs, and the cancellation of

temporary social protection and employment support. The recession also caused the downfall of the leftist government of José Sócrates, who had served as Prime Minister from 2005 to 2011 under Socialist Party, and brought the pro-austerity, conservative government of Pedro Passos Coelho to power. The government of this period did slow some of the progress and gains made by LGBTQ movements but did not stop them. In the face of the Great Recession, Portugal had the unique distinction of experiencing a comparatively high rate of protest, within the context of southern Europe, and also that these protests movements tended to form cohesive organizations, create stable and wide coalitions, have a national scope, and establish alliances with unions and left-wing political parties (Fernandes). This moment became a flashpoint for popular resistance unseen in Portugal since the Carnation Revolution. Even despite the ascendancy of the pro-austerity government, an entirely different situation played out on the ground. The government did not dismantle, and even expanded, a state-civil society partnership for policy delivery to the poor and an active constitutional court rolled back many of the more severe austerity measures. Furthermore, state repression was low, even with vast segments of the military and police forces aligning with anti-austerity protesters, a situation similar to the Carnation Revolution.

The 2015 elections brought a left coalition to power in parliament, under the Socialist Party, the "Eurosceptic" Left Bloc party (Bloco Esquerda), and the Communist Party (the latter two parties agreeing to the coalition under a platform to end austerity and reverse many of the measures imposed by the 2011 EU-IMF bailout. Three years into the government and following reversals of wage and pension cuts and privatizations, the Portuguese economy has bounced back and unemployment fell to half of its peak (Teles). Portugal became the "success story," held up as an example of the compatibility of anti-austerity policies and remaining within the Eurozone. For Nuno Teles, assistant professor at the Federal University in Bahia, this success belies the fact that public sector

spending has hardly increased, chronic emigration that has led to Portugal being one of the demographically oldest countries in the world, and the fall in the unemployment rate has been driven by tourism, which in turn has led to skyrocketing real estate prices. In short, the economic progress rest on a very shaky and volatile foundation, yet the political and social climate has further entrenched itself into European structures. Real challenges to European hegemony no longer seem politically viable or socially palatable. As a result of this, much of the progressive social policy won over the past few years seems to be in line with a broader political project of projecting a Portugal that is truly and deservingly a Eurozone country. As de Oliveira, Gonçalves Costa and Nogueira observe, however, one encounters a frequent gap between formal legislation and its practical effects as documented in both gender studies and in LGBTQ studies, especially in regards to issues of equality (de Oliveira, Gonçalves Costa and Nogueira). Issues of race also seem mostly absent from public discussion in Portugal, yet these issues will only become amplified in the coming years with the shifting demographics, as a new wave of migrants have begun arriving from Brazil, partially owing to the political instability in Brazil, as well as migrants coming from conflict zones in the Middle East. Part of this wave of migration has been openly encouraged by the government, owing to a shortage of laborers for lower wage jobs. It's difficult to predict, as of now, how these demographic shifts will clash with a former colonizing power now portraying itself as the standard-bearer of European values.

The infamous murder of Gisberta Salce Junior in 2006 galvanized trans politics and led to certain changes in laws surrounding asylum of trans migrants, yet access to health services that increased following this event seems to have only increased the bio-power of the state in regulating the true trans individual. The event also failed to immediately bring any kind intersectional analysis of oppression within LGBTI groups, as such there were no considerations of how different social issues may be able to inform

organizing or policies. Trans rights groups have focused on fighting against pathologization, yet the wave of leftist organizing that has materialized following the global financial crisis does have its weaknesses, as evidenced by the Communist Party's opposition to the law of self-determination of gender identity. Still, there have now been plans to host pride events in other smaller Portuguese towns. In the 2017, for example, the town of Bragança (the same fiercely traditional town that gave rise to the Mães de Bragança) announced its plans to organize a pride event. In 2016, the first group for lesbian and bisexual women, focused on women of color, was formed in Lisbon, the Coletivo Zanele Muholi de Lésbicas e Bissexuais Negras. This group, the first of its kind in Portugal, began as a secret Facebook group and two months after made itself visible in the 17th annual Lisbon Pride March. It aims to bring greater visibility to issues affecting black lesbian and bisexual women and hopes to expand its activism and collective to Brazil (Monteiro and Veríssimo). Late in 2017, the Panteras Rosa, the oldest radical queer collective in Portugal, along with the newly formed radical trans group TransMissão, helped to organize a festival with activists from based in Latin America on transfeminism (Flor). The aim of the festival, among its many aims, is to fight for depathologization of trans populations, fight against surgery and normalization of intersex children, and to fight against "sexism, transphobia, lesbophobia, intersexphobia, patriarchy, androcentrism, anormalphobia, and to defend all human rights." The greater focus on transfeminist discourse may offer new avenues for discussing intersectional forms of oppression in Portugal, which still struggles to come to terms with issues of race, coloniality, and its recent fascist past. Many activists agree that the struggle for visibility needs to be overcome and may offer greater possibilities for the future of political organizing in Portugal. Indeed, a new generation of activists have now sought to form new networks of solidarity and activism through the creation of online spaces. This now offers new possibilities for forming coalitions through shared struggles.

One can pinpoint the birth of this new mode of organizing to the *Geração à Rasca* protests that broke out in Portugal on March 12, 2011. The demonstrations became one of the first countries in what would become an international protest movement in the same year that referred to one another. While the protests were informed by international currents, "the Portuguese protests [relied] largely on 'classic' social movement groups, whose claims are predominantly directed at the nation-state" (Baumgarten 469). As researcher Brita Baumgarten writes on the protests in Portugal, the 'classic' activist groups "mainly follow the idea of fighting for the rights of a specific constituency and target the nation-state." The unifying principle of the masses was the pervasive issue of precariedade. LGBT+ activists became an important driving force for these protests. As one organizer, João Labrincha, noted, LGBT+ populations have always been the ones most affected by issues of social exclusion, precarity, and unemployment (Labrincha). In his view, and in the view of many, there would not have been such a large movement in Europe without the solidarity amongst diverse groups. As would be stated in the 2016 Arraial Pride by one of the activist groups that emerged from the protests, the *Academia Cidadã,* "As lutas, mesmo que diferentes, têm que ser solidárias." While the politics on the ground during the March 12 protests gave great focus on participatory politics and debates, their focus was on rights guaranteed by the state. As Baumgarten points out, given the weakness of Portuguese civil society, the legacy of the March 12 movement left activist groups in a difficult position: "their organizational structures remain weak; there is no widespread recognition of their contribution; and there is a lack of trust and strong alliances between them" (Baumgarten 470). Given the heavy focus on citizen rights and a national scope, it could also be said that the March 12 movement would inevitably either exclude those populations that have traditionally been excluded from civil society or coopt those fledgling movements using the same universalist language of "our struggle" to neutralize radical change. Where did

trans populations fit into the narrative of solidarity? How would migrant populations engage in the struggle that was international in scope, but was national in its practice?

International LGBT movements have sought both recognition by their societies and access into citizenship. Within each national context, coalitions have formed that have been informed by specific contexts and histories of its people. Yet, within the context of many western countries, the citizenship project has then been implicitly couched within a neoliberal language of capacitation and productivity—access to society rests on becoming a "contributing member of society." These projects privilege a particular kind of normative subject—the idea of "becoming a citizen" can be seen as implying a motion toward a white able-bodied male subject. The question of citizenship, and its relationship to capacity, become complicated as it moves away from the normative subject. In particular, how do "disabled" individuals, "trans" individuals, and other bodies not readily integrated into a capitalist mode of production become "citizens"? Indeed, the Portuguese context presents an interesting case. The country itself has come to be one of the most progressive countries in Europe. It is the only Western European country with a communist party with any seats in its government.

In 2017, within the Portuguese legislative body, the Assembleia da República Portuguesa, the Bloco Esquerda (Left Bloc party) proposed a law to allow for citizens to legally self-identify by their preferred gender category, without the intervention of medical professionals. The previous law passed in 2011 required that an individual gain the approval of a "multidisciplinary" medical team to approve the legal change of gender. The recent law, however, suffered setbacks as it was tabled due to opposition by the Portuguese Communist Party and the Conservative parties and subsequently vetoed by the president over his concern for children being able to change their gender without medical intervention. The law would, regardless, be passed on August 2, 2018. This particular law represented the latest struggle for the LGBTIQ+ coalition in Portugal.

While its passage represented a great milestone for the country's trans movement and would place Portugal on the forefront of European countries that offer such protections to its trans population, trans lived experience in Portugal still requires fulfilling of an expectation to gender binarism as a precondition for recognition.

BACKGROUND OF MULTIDIMENSIONAL TRANS ORGANIZING AND THE RISE OF NEOLIBERLISM

By the 1980s, the period of turmoil that had followed the collapse of the Estado Novo had largely come to an end and liberal democratic systems had been established. Two developments emerged in Portugal, as it had with other countries of the European periphery: (1) the ascendancy of socialist controlled governments and (2) the move toward European integration. James Kurth describes this period as, to some extent, a "pink decade" for the European periphery; however, "the socialist governments did not bring equitable social policies to Southern Europe, but rather preferential individual benefits" (Kurth and Petras 239). In this way, the "patrimonial" government, a government based on older "cacique" style order continued with the new socialist regimes, and these same governments would oversee the privatization and implementation of neoliberal policies that would latter bring a renewed crisis of democracy. This period also saw greater integration for these countries into the greater European Community, and in this period, Portugal becomes a member of the European community.

Around the 80s, LGBT coalitional movements began fighting for access to citizenship rights through judicial means. Integration into the EU gave these movements new avenues for pursuing citizenship rights. In the 80s the European Court of Human Rights based in Strasbourg had begun to interpret key articles of the European Declaration of Human Rights of 1949 as pertinent to the protection of sexual rights

(Herzog). By the 90s, in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union, the court began to see sex related legislation as not only one of protecting individuals from sexual harm, such as from non-consensual sex and violations of their sexual self-determination, but also "one of protection of individuals' rights to self-determined sexual encounters and the freely chosen formation of intimate relationships" (Herzog 195), thus rearticulating the neoliberal notion of individual rights and responsibilities to the sexual sphere. The court also began to establish a new conception of a European progressive morality that often put itself at odds, and ultimately trumped, local traditions. Within the national context, one of the earliest pieces of LGBTI legislation dealt specifically with trans issues. In 1995, the National Board of Physicians revoked a ban on sex reassignment surgery that had been a part of its Deontological Code up until then. The move, however, stipulated that individuals needed to be adequately diagnosed with transsexuality or gender dysphoria and could not be married. Despite the deep pathologization and discrimination of this new code, the social policy enabled several types of bodily modification to be performed on trans people under the National Health service.

The Portuguese welfare state came about fairly late compared to other Western states, materializing around the 80s after the fall of the dictatorship. Around the 90s, Portugal under clear influence of neoliberal policies in the Eurozone, began cutting budgets and privatizing social spending for the purpose of "fiscal responsibility." As Portugal had remained in recession through 2005, one of the main areas identified for "budgetary discipline" was the social safety net (P. Pinto). As such, access to social benefits became subject to a stricter set of criteria, and accessing those supports was a complex process that brought a significant degree of regulation into people's lives (ibid).

In the 80's and 90's, queer social movements and NGOs began to form a presence in the Portugal and carved out a space for a participatory LGBTIQ+ politic, both nationally and internationally. It was, within this period, that scholars began to focus

on how modes of exclusion become a condition for citizenship, particularly in regards to sexuality and gender (Hines and Santos). Yet, as the advancement of a LGBTIQ+ coalition, especially in this context, continued to create hegemony, the constituent identities that make up the letters of the movement inevitably became subordinated within the larger coalition (Drucker). This turn challenged certain segments of the coalition to splinter into those who wanted to "pass" and attain full citizenship rights through becoming the proper neoliberal subject. As Hines and Santos note, notions of citizenship is frequently linked to a politics of recognition, which seeks to "reshape social justice on the basis of recognition" (Hines and Santos 38). From this perspective, social justice is only possible through recognition. Politics of recognition, however, have often been critiqued for their implied requirement of a "fixed" or "stable" identity, on both the individual and group level. Yet while this frame may serve those who fit hegemonic group characteristics, those who project alternative identity markers are excluded from the collective identity. The politics of recognition can work to exclude trans individuals from activism.

Within Portuguese society, information on trans populations is often limited to medical literature, such as individual case studies or statistics collected by health-oriented agencies (Luís). This, of course then presents a fairly incomplete picture of Trans and Gender Non-Conforming Individuals in Portuguese society, yet, as far as the state and citizenship rights are concerned, these populations exist as medical subjects. This medicalization/pathologization, thus, privileges a particular kind of trans subject, as Puar writes, one who is "disabled" and aiming to "cure" themselves for full access to citizenship, one who is, likely, white and can already access public institutions (Puar). There is a particular teleology of trans being that is often expected in the Portuguese context. Those who do not conform to this teleology will not gain recognition by the state, and thus will not be guaranteed access to state sanctioned avenues for affirming

the self—through legal name changes or access to the public health services (Saleiro, Trans Géneros: Uma abordagem sociológica da diversidade de género). Thus, the proper Portuguese trans subject is compelled to conform to the gender binary.

On March 15, 2011, the Assembleia da República passed a law that changed the procedure for changing your gender identity and name on legal documents—among the most progressive in the world at the time. Whereas you previously needed to sue the state and prove, with testimony of a doctor, that your documented gender identity is mistaken, the new law moved the authority of identity from a judge into the medical realm. The law requires that a "multidisciplinary" team, which would also include a psychologist, to determine that a person is "truly" trans. While a few doctors will simply sign off on most patient's requests to be legally recognized by their chosen identity, there is no uniform criteria for evaluating "transness"—some doctors may look for highly subjective markers of "femininity" or "masculinity," others may require a certain amount of time in "hormone treatments" for the doctors to agree to diagnosing trans status. How does access to these procedures for affirming "trans" identity become restricted in cases of individuals who do not necessarily conform to a particular proper medical and class identification?

For this question, I feel it best to consider Jasbir Puar's description of trans "piecing and passing" as it applies to integration of "productive" trans bodies into a capitalist economy. "Passing" as gender normative seeks rehabilitation, cure, and concealment—inhabiting an exceptional trans body. "Piecing" is galvanized through flexibility, mobility, transformation. It performs medicalization as strategic embodiment. "The body becomes a terrain of definable localities, each colonized by its particular pathologies dictated by the medicalized market-place" (Puar 45). This becomes a larger question of survival within a capitalist society. To subject the body to this compartmentalization is a strategy for integrating the body, piecing the body, into full

capacity for neoliberal societies: "in this economy of alienated parts, piecing becomes a prized capacity, a mark of manifesting 'the body as entrepreneurial enterprise'" (ibid. 46). The normative trans subject in Portugal must ultimately aim to "conceal" their gender deviance and further, as Puar notes in citing Toby Beauchamp, "it also necessitates altering one's gender presentation to conform to white, middle-class, able-bodied, heterosexual understandings of gender norms" (ibid. 43). Many individuals under the "trans" umbrella in Portuguese society may not wish to subject themselves to pathologization for the purpose of affirming identity, and, it is also worth noting, the rights conferred by the 2011 law only applies to Portuguese citizens. Indeed, "passing" in the Portuguese context would require a good deal of investment in your personal body. The health services in Portugal do not offer assistance for cosmetic procedures, which can then become a fairly expensive endeavor for someone needing to conceal their trans identity. Cosmetic surgery facilities are part of the private sector and procedures can be prohibitively expensive for many Portuguese citizens.

In Portugal, there are a variety of different ways an individual might identify as trans. As research by Sandra Saleiro demonstrates, there is a great deal of diversity of terms used by the community to identify under the "trans" umbrella. Two terms, "homem transexual" and "mulher transexual," would imply medical intervention. Other identity categories may not necessarily imply, and may even resist, pathologization, such as cross-dresser, andrógino, não-binário, drag king, transgénero, or ultra-género (Saleiro, Trans Géneros: Uma abordagem sociológica da diversidade de género). Another subcategory of identity has also experienced recent evolutions and developments. Drag queens in Portugal have become a particular phenomenon in recent years owing to media influence from RuPaul's Drag Race coming from the United States, and from the influence of Conchita Wurst's fame through Eurovision. These Drag Queens take on a particular aesthetic (glittery beards, more performance art oriented), and

distinguish themselves from *transformistas*, which may be closer to the "drag queens" of Drag Race. Yet one particularly contentious term has also had a great influence on many of these other terms in its use and development: travesti. Travestis are a particular phenomenon to Brazil, and now Portugal. Within Portugal, the term travesti would've simply meant "transvestite," and would've also been taken as an offensive term. In the Brazilian context, however, travestis consider themselves to exist with a more fluid gender identity, where their discourses "simultaneously combines the potential for gender subversion and the internalization of medical discourse" (Silva and Ornat 223). Travestis have defined themselves as being biologically male and have not defined themselves as aspiring toward a female identity. They do, however, live their daily lives as women and do perform bodily changes, such as the use of hormones and the injection of industrial silicone. These bodily changes and 24-hour commitment to their female identity is what distinguishes them from, say, drag queens, but the insistence on being fundamentally male distinguishes them from those who identify as transsexual. As Silva and Osmat argue, "to identify as travesti means to struggle against and resist gender norms, through epistemic disobedience, using one's own body as a battleground for the achievement of social recognition" (ibid.).

Brazilians have formed the largest immigrant group in Portugal for decades, much having to do with the shared history and language between the two countries. In 2000, both countries agreed to signing the Equality Statute between Brazil and Portugal (Estatuto da Igualdade entre Brasil e Portugal), which eased rights for travel between citizens of the two countries. The shared history and friendly diplomatic relations have also greatly influenced the culture of Portugal and its consumption patterns. With regards to the trans community, before the establishment of formal LGBTIQ+ rights focused organizations—particularly, before the focus on trans-specific issues—social opportunities for trans identified individuals were relatively limited. Trans women would

end up being thrown out of their homes and cut-off from their families while trans men would be taken to doctors for treatment. For trans women, survival often meant engaging in sex work, which thus meant that Portuguese trans women would associate with Brazilian migrant sex workers. This leads to an interesting phenomenon: trans women form new associations and networks with other trans women and also developed more nuanced language for their expression of community and self, many of which are borrowed from their Brazilian peers (Saleiro, Trans Géneros: Uma abordagem sociológica da diversidade de género). Now, as seen by the formation of the TransMisão and the Coletivo Zanele Muholi de Lésbicas e Bissexuais Negras, cultural currents from Brazil continue to influence and inform activism in Portugal.

In 2006, The murder of Gisberta revived the question trans citizenship and challenged what had become a form of *transhomonationalism*. It served as a new turning point for the LGBT community of Portugal and gave the opportunity for critical reflection on hegemonic trans discourses. Gisberta, as a symbolic figure, could not be neatly repackaged in the service of the existing hegemony given her many identity categories: trans, Brazilian migrant, sex worker, homeless, HIV+. Public discourse surrounding this case sought to disentangle her many identity categories to present an essentialized representation of Gisberta. Most of the media representations of Gisberta selected and contextualized information in such a way that reduced her to her sexuality (Rocha Baptista and Pinto de Loureiro Himmel). Trans activists began to mobilize around recognition following the murder of Gisberta.

The event became an important moment for reflection in the Portuguese public sphere, as marches organized in tribute to her, books and songs have been written, and a movie about her life was released in 2009. This event brought national attention to issues affecting the trans migrant community and led to the passage of laws making it easier for trans migrants to apply for asylum and giving greater recognition to trans

issues. The government also directed the health authority to allow easier access to treatment for those wishing to transition, thus we see an increase in state power and regulation over individuals. Within the broader LGBTIQ+ community, the murder of Gisberta served as a new turning point and gave the opportunity for critical reflection on LGBT rights discourses. Nuno Pinto, an activist and current president of ILGA-Portugal remembered the night Gisberta was murdered. He had been working with the trans population in Porto and actually knew her personally. LGBT activists in Porto held an emergency meeting to discuss the event and what needed to be done. At the time, the community didn't have the right language to even describe the events taking place, "we didn't know what transphobia was" (N. Pinto; S. Vitorino). There was increased push from trans activist to center their own needs within the broader coalition, owing especially to the support mainstream organizations gave to the 2007 change in the Penal Code that included sexual orientation—but not gender identity—as an aggravating factor in cases of hate crimes. Within the past decade, the rights of trans people in Portugal have begun to be voiced and framed autonomously, yet still covered under the broader umbrella of LGBTIQ activism and, as many other activist groups in Portugal, struggling with a lack of financial and human resources. Activist organizations have become divided on how to approach trans issues. Radical left organizations, such as the Panteras Rosa, or Ação Pela Identidade (API) have centered the struggle around the need for depathologizing trans identity. More mainstream organizations, like ILGA, do not take a hard stance on "pathologizing" and have even supported passage of laws, like the 2011 law, that required medical intervention. What seemed to occur, as ILGA-Portugal became the main force in the movement, was a similar phenomenon as described by Paul Amar as NGOization. In his work, the Security Archipelago, Amar critiques the role international NGOs take in capitalizing on social issues or appropriating social movements to serve the interests of state or neoliberal agendas. Using Sabine Lang's definition, "NGOization

[is] the process by which radical and redistributive movements, including feminism, become contained and reframed so as to service, rather than resist neoliberal globalization" (Amar 214). As ILGA becomes the majority voice in LGBT struggles, it often contains the radical tendencies of LGBT issues in the interest of advancing single, individual oriented issues to the state.

Hines and Santos point to another field of interest regarding trans policy that has yet to receive serious focus from feminist and LGBTIQ+ activists: policies regarding the legal process of naming a child or choosing a name when acquiring formal recognition of gender identity. Currently, Portuguese citizens must choose from a pool of approved names informed by nationalistic and gendered criteria. These rules apply when planning to name a newborn or change one's name. Every name must be recognized under the Onomastic Index and chosen names cannot raise doubts concerning the gender of the person (Hines and Santos). This policy enforces a compulsory gender binarism and "offers a powerful example of the resilience of the cis/gender and sexual normative system that often finds strongest allies amongst legal and policy actors" (Hines and Santos 44).

CONCLUSION

This article has sought to explore how two concurrent movements of organizing in Portugal in the last decade have both created new avenues for intersectional organizing and simultaneously collapsed these identities into a one-dimensional strand of organizing. As Roderick Ferguson observed in his book on One-Dimensional Queer, Emile Durkheim envisioned movements and communities that grow in complexity with time, yet the queer movements in neoliberal societies lose the intersectional complexity that drives their initial growth into simple, one-dimensional, movements (Ferguson). While the protests of the *Geração à Rasca* offered new cross-coalitional possibilities for

LGBTIQ+ organizing built on solidarity of struggle, the movement failed to build international networks and repeated previous forms of nationally focused organizing in Portugal. In my conversations with leaders of two organizations representing opposite ends of the queer political spectrum (Nuno Pinto of ILGA-Portugal, an organization representing the LGBT mainstream, and Sergio Vitorino, the founder of the radical queer group Panteras Rosa) both felt the movement had no real significance in the trajectory of queer organizing in Portugal—Vitorino expressed that, while there was hope for the movement when it first broke out, it ultimately turned into a disappointment (S. Vitorino), while Pinto flat out said I shouldn't waste my time with that movement (N. Pinto). While the movement had a greater focus on trans issues and centered these issues in its organizing, the movement created in the recent decades still risks recreating old forms of hegemony as it does not center discourses around embodied experiences of individuals that make up intersectional struggles, particularly the struggles of the trans community. What is necessary, as Portuguese researcher Ana Cristina Santos suggests, is a theory and practice that is focused on "trans* embodied citizenship"—a conception of citizenship that looks beyond the body in the strictest sense while retaining the legitimacy of lived experience, of bodily autonomy, and of overcoming obstacles to full access of citizenship by embracing rights as nonnegotiable common ground (Hines and Santos). Disregarding the nuances of through which trans lived experiences are managed and negotiated risks focusing pro-trans laws and social policies on binary conceptualizations of the body. As the Portuguese case shows, laws that seem to favor self-determination of identity can, paradoxically, silence gender fluidity through legal and social policies around trans populations that foreground gender binarism through the reproduction of traditional frameworks. As new currents of activisms and demographic shifts alter the social and political landscape of Portugal, new modes of

conceptualizing embodied citizenship will be necessary for countering the reproduction of hegemonic discourses.

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