# The collective need to be inside, the individual spectacle of the outer: Critical Discourse Analysis of the construction of discursive representations about transvestites on Argentinean television

**Matías Soich**
CONICET/University of Buenos Aires, Argentina

## Abstract

For many decades, the Argentinean *travesti* (transvestite) community has suffered appalling life conditions due to discrimination, social exclusion and (until the enacting of the Gender Identity Law) official denial of their identities. Using qualitative methodology and from the frame of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), this article studies how some Argentinean television programmes from 1993 to 2010 constructed discursive representations about travestis. The analysis reveals two opposing combinations of linguistic resources (strategies) regarding the State abuses suffered by the travestis, their need for social inclusion and their collective fight for their human rights: while the travestis who participate in the programmes reinforce these aspects, the television presenters systematically mitigate them. The discursive representations thus built by the programmes tend to maintain a 'postmodern' status quo, which could explain why the Argentinean Gender Identity Law was not accompanied, in 2012, by a public debate as resounding as the one that accompanied same-sex marriage in 2010.

## Keywords

Argentina, Critical Discourse Analysis, discursive representations, gender identity, social exclusion, television discourse, transvestites

**Corresponding author:**
Matías Soich, Puán 480, 4th floor, Office 431, Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires C1406CQJ, CONICET/ University of Buenos Aires, Argentina.
Email: matias.soich@gmail.com

## Introduction[1]

Argentinean *travestis* (transvestites) are a group that is socially defined (and at the same time excluded) on account of their *gender identity*.[2] They have historically faced a situation of dire social exclusion, which has slowly begun to change since the passing of the Gender Identity Law in 2012. This was the first time in history that a State acknowledged gender as a construction utterly independent of 'biological sex' and of social conventions related to personal appearance, while affirming the right to freely live and express one's singular gender construction. Argentina was also the first State to not impose any medical, psychological or legal prerequisites for acknowledging transgender identity. Despite the State's recent efforts in this direction, exclusion, discrimination and violation of basic human rights continue to be serious issues, for travestis in particular and for 'trans' people in general.

The media have also contributed to the exclusion of travestis and trans people by (re) producing intolerant and stigmatizing discourses about non-hegemonic gender identities (Área Queer, 2007; Soich, 2010, 2015; Vásquez Haro, 2012). In this regard, this article deals, from a linguistic perspective, with the problem of how some pre-Gender Identity Law Argentinean television discourses, although claiming benevolence and solidarity with the travestis' situation of exclusion, actually constructed representations that sustain that very same exclusion (e.g. by presenting travestis as isolated individuals and not as a group that struggled for their rights).

The article is organized as follows. The next section briefly summarizes the Argentinean travestis' social situation, their collective organization and their relationship with the media. After briefly explaining the analysis methods employed in the 'Methodology and methods' section, I then describe the corpus of television programmes analysed for this article. The 'Linguistic analysis' section presents and illustrates the most representative linguistic strategies that the programmes and the travestis featured in them use for constructing different discursive representations. Finally, the 'Conclusion' summarizes these strategies and representations, relating them to social exclusion and some cultural traits of postmodernity.

## State of the art

The situation of Argentinean travestis concerning life conditions and basic human rights has been and continues to be highly alarming:

> We trans people have suffered discrimination based on our gender identity almost as far back as we can remember. Many of us were expelled from our homes, rejected by our own family. Most of us could not complete school, not for lack of will but because the educational system expels us for being different. Even those of us who completed school got tired of looking and looking for a job, of seeing how doors were shut in our face. Most of us do not even have an identity card that states our name, and must suffer some of the media referring to us as 'los [masculine article] travestis'. (Public statement of the Argentina Travestis, Transsexual and Transgender Association, quoted in http://diarioextra.info/identidad-de-genero-argumento-para-personas-trans/, accessed 16 September 2015, my translation)

As we can see, travestis face a complete chain of exclusions that configures something close to a civil and institutional death: during the political debate for the passing of the Gender Identity Law, travesti activists often called themselves *las olvidadas de la democracia* ('those forgotten by democracy') (Asociación Travestis Transexuales Transgéneros Argentinas (ATTTA), 2010). Their early expulsion from the familial core brings along expulsion from the first stages of the educational system, and this, together with the lack of an identity card that adequately reflects their identity, has a serious impact on their possibilities of accessing the public healthcare and justice systems. With very little chances of obtaining a formal job due to this precarious situation, a great majority find themselves forced to work as prostitutes to survive, which in turn makes them more vulnerable to sexually transmitted diseases and easy prey for police abuses. The mere fact of being travesti means being daily exposed to situations of discrimination as well as psychological and physical violence. In their most extreme degree, these situations can end up in hate crimes. The lack of acknowledgement of these gender identities and their social exclusion thus go hand in hand (Berkins, 2010: 93).

A research conducted by the Association for Fighting for Travesti and Transsexual Identity (Asociación de Lucha por la Identidad Travesti y Transexual (ALITT)) during 2005 and 2008 surveyed the life conditions of 559 travestis in different places in Argentina. Prostitution was the principal means of living for more than 70% of those interviewed in all places; the rest had informal jobs such as hairdressing, sewing and domestic service (Berkins, 2010: 94). Of the travestis interviewed in Buenos Aires City, Gran Buenos Aires[3] and Mar del Plata,[4] only 32% had completed secondary education and only 3% had higher education degrees. Only 23% owned the house they lived in, and among those who rented, only 37% had their names on the lease; the main causes for this situation were lack of a pay stub and lack of acknowledgement of their identity. In all, 91% of the interviewed had undergone some kind of violence (mockery, insults, physical aggression, discrimination, sexual harassment and abuse) and 86% had suffered police abuse (illegal detentions, beatings, insults, demanding bribes, sexual abuses and torture). The principal scenarios of these acts of violence were police stations, streets, schools and hospitals (Berkins and Fernández, 2005). As regards hate crimes, between 1999 and 2007 more than 40 cases of murdered trans people were counted in Argentina, and very few of these crimes could be clarified (Sacayán, 2009).[5] The conflation of all these – lack of official acknowledgement, lack of access to education, work, housing and healthcare, plus discrimination and transphobia – results in the brutal fact that the average lifespan of Argentinean travestis is only 35–40 years (ATTTA, 2010; Berkins, 2000). The implementation of the Gender Identity Law has slowly begun to reverse the consequences of decades and decades of this systematic exclusion (ATTTA and Fundación Huésped, 2014), but they go deep and are difficult to reverse.

The decade of the 1990s, during which Argentina experienced a devastating zenith of neoliberal economic policies, was also the time of the travestis' organization for activism (Berkins, 2003: 127; Berkins and Fernández, 2005: 39). Their collective action began in 1993 with the creation of several organizations: United Travestis (TU), Argentina Republic Organization of Travestis and Transsexuals (OTTRA), Argentina Travestis Association (ATA, today Argentina Travestis, Transsexuals and Transgender Association, ATTTA) and the Association for Fighting for Travesti Identity (ALIT, today Association for Fighting for Travesti and Transsexual Identity, ALITT), among others.[6] These years also witnessed the

travestis' first appearances on television screens. Both their political organization and the increase in their media visibility revolved around the struggle for the derogation of the Codes of Contraventions in the Provinces and the police edicts in the City of Buenos Aires,[7] a struggle that became 'a flag and a site of identity' for all trans people (Salomón, 2009).

Back then, the relation between travestis and the media, particularly television, was ambivalent: cameras could be a tool for gaining visibility and protection during demonstrations, but also the agents of more symbolic mistreatment (Wayar, 2009). Since then, although the appearance of travestis and trans people in the media has become more frequent, their participation is still confined to certain types of programmes: news programmes, talk shows, interviews, reality shows and the so-called bizarre television, all of which have usually presented them as the object of morbid stares and questions focused on sex and genitalia (Naty Menstrual, 2009: 9–10). Two recent and notable exceptions are *La Pelu* (*The Hair Salon*) – an entertainment show that was broadcast at midday by one of the leader air channels and conducted by trans artist Florencia de la V, and *La viuda de Rafael* (*Rafael's widow*) – a short piece of fiction consisting of 13 episodes, broadcast on public television, that reflected the lives of four transgender friends and was led by trans actress Camila Sosa Villada. Both programmes were produced after the passing of the Gender Identity Law.

Regarding the available literature, although there is a vast list of international and local texts dealing with gender issues in general and trans identities in particular – in many cases authored by lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans and intersex (LGBTI) activists from different life experiences and disciplines (to mention a few Argentinean works: Berkins, 2007; Cabral, 2009; Fernández, 2004; Maffía, 2003; Perlongher, 2008; Raíces Montero, 2010) – there is very little academic work dealing with gender identities and the media from a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) perspective. A complete search covering the last three decades in three important journals related to CDA (*Discourse & Society*, *Discurso y Sociedad* and *Revista Latinoamericana de Estudios del Discurso*) showed only two results dealing directly with transgender identities (Martínez-Guzmán and Íñiguez-Rueda, 2010; Speer and Parsons, 2006). Both deal specifically with the processes of pathologization of gender identity, but neither comes from Latin American authors. On the other hand, the few Argentinean works that focus on transgender identities and the media from a Discourse Analysis perspective realize content analysis, rather than concentrating on the linguistic forms (Di Biase, 2013; Vásquez Haro, 2012). I hope this work can serve as an initial step towards completing that vacant space that conflates Latin American CDA, media discourse and gender identity.

## Methodology and methods

The methodology used in this work is qualitative and inscribed in the interpretivist paradigm (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). The theoretic framework is CDA (Fairclough, 1992; Van Dijk, 1999; Wodak, 2000) specifically in its Latin American branch (Montecino, 2010; Pardo, 2008a; Pardo Abril, 2007). This means I attempt to do discourse analysis from a critical perspective that focuses on how power inequalities are established, legitimized or opposed throughout the dialectical relation between social, discursive and textual practices (Fairclough, 1992).

As regards the theories and methods employed for the analysis of the textual practice, I used the theory of the hierarchical structuring of information and the theory of

tonalization, which affirm that all languages handle information in a hierarchical order, both in the macro (the text) and in the micro (the utterance) level (Lavandera, 2014; Pardo, 2011); the theory of verbal processes, which allows us to analyse how speakers represent themselves and others through the choice of different types of processes associated with more or less agentive roles (Halliday and Mathiessen, 2004); the reformulation made by Pardo (2011) and Molina (2012) of Toulmin's (1958) model for analysing the explicit and implicit forms of argumentation present in every text, especially regarding subjacent social beliefs; and finally, the theory of conceptual metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003) which allows us to classify different types of metaphors with which the speaker conceptualizes the world.

For the discursive practice, I selected some components of the SPEAKING model (particularly, the Participants, Act sequence, Norms of interaction and Key) (Hymes, 2002; Saville Troike, 2006) to observe the most relevant ethnographical aspects of the production and circulation of the analysed texts. Since Fairclough's original model excludes other forms of semiosis from the textual practice, the analysis of multimodality (Kaltenbacher, 2007; Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996) can be used to interpret some of the non-textual elements of the corpora as part of the discursive practice, that is, as part of the text's production conditions. Thus, semiotic forms and techniques, such as camera angles and movements, subtitles, edited visual effects and music, can be conceived as integrating the *audio-visual context* (D'Angelo, 2007; D'Angelo et al., 2009) of the (in this case televisual) text.

Finally, for the interpretation of the social practice, I applied the linguistic method of synchronic–diachronic category analysis, which is both a theory about language and a method of linguistic analysis developed by Pardo (2011, 2015). In the different kinds of text to which it can be applied, this method distinguishes two types of categories: grammatical categories, which are mandatory (i.e. they appear in all languages and texts, regardless of their genre), and semantic-discursive categories, which are non-mandatory and text-specific, as they are closely related to the lexicon (Pardo and Lorenzo-Dus, 2010: 258). The grammatical categories include the *Speaker-protagonist*, corresponding to any pronominal person or nominal referent that assumes the speaker's main argument; a *Verb 1*, through which the speaker-protagonist acts; one or more *Actor*(*s*) that assume arguments contrary or divergent to the speaker's and act through corresponding *Verbs 2, 3* and so on; the categories of *Time* and *Place*, fundamental to the orientation of any text; and the category of *Pragmatic operator*, which comprises lexical items with different functions (providing cohesion, giving keys for the interpretation or valorization of the whole utterance, appealing to the reader/hearer, etc.) (Pardo, 2011: 67–68). The *semantic–discursive categories* vary from text to text since they depend on the lexical choices and topics involved; thus, they have to be *inductively* reconstructed and named by the researcher. For example, some of the discursive–semantic categories that emerged from this investigation are *Travesti Identity*, *Prostitution* and *Acceptance*.

By using the Synchronic–Diachronic Analysis Method (henceforth SDAM), the researcher re-organizes the whole text into charts or tables headed by the different grammatical and semantic categories' names (several concrete examples will be shown later in this article). The final result allows the researcher to scan both the synchronic unfolding of each utterance and the diachronic development of each category throughout the whole text (thus the method's name). The following Figure illustrates these simultaneous readings enabled by SDAM (see Figure 1).
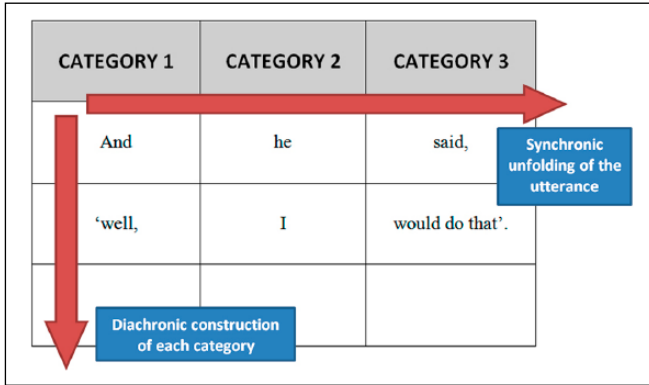
**Figure 1.** The Synchronic-Diachronic Method.

As already mentioned, the SDAM constitutes not only a method of linguistic analysis, but also a basic or grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) that enables the researcher to reconstruct – in a text-based, inductive way – how the linguistic items and forms that appear in the textual practice constitute discursive representations. Discursive representations are a fundamental part of social representations (Raiter, 2002). Pardo (2011) defines a *discursive representation* as

> a generic concept about a group of semantic-discursive and grammatical categories that appear effectively in the text […] [it] is a theoretical construct made by the researcher, classifying a series of semantic-discursive categories which, in turn, are instantiated in the texts by linguistic resources and strategies. (pp. 65–66)

By *linguistic strategy* we understand the co-occurrence of linguistic resources that have the same communicative goal (Menéndez, 2005; Pardo, 2011). Through the SDAM, we can analyse how different linguistic strategies are displayed throughout the semantic–discursive categories of a text. These semantic categories can be considered as the properties of a macro discursive (and therefore social) representation (Pardo, 2015: 41). In this way, the categories proposed by SDAM as a basic theory operate as a bridge that connects the *textual practice* (linguistic resources and strategies) with the *social practice* (social representations discursively materialized by those resources and strategies).

## Corpus

The corpus was downloaded from different Internet sites: YouTube, television channels and civil organizations' websites. It consists of programmes and fragments belonging to different genres: reality documentaries, interviews and special reports. The criterion for selection was not based on television genres, but rather on the explicit presence of transvestism or travesti identity as the main topics (the main search keywords were '*travestis*' and '*transvestism*'). Despite the diversity of programmes, all share the trait of being non-fictional, that is, of pretending to 'show the truth' about a topic, and all of them feature the travestis solely as subjects of questioning and

displaying (in contrast to later television productions where travestis had protagonist and producing roles, as *La Pelu* and *La viuda de Rafael*). Interestingly, the linguistic strategies and discursive representations that emerged from the analysis of this variety of programmes were the same.

The corpus comprehends an ample time lapse – the earliest programme was emitted in 1993 and the latest in 2010. Some significant changes in the treatment of these issues can be observed during this span, the most important being the explicit communicative aim of showing travestis as *happy* persons rather than only as suffering victims, and a greater respect for their gender identities. However, in light of the results of the linguistic analysis, in this article I am interested in stressing the continuity of linguistic strategies that, during this time, tended to maintain a status quo of social exclusion.[8]

The following videos were used for the elaboration of this article:

1. *'Travestis: denuncian persecución'* (*'Travestis: they denounce persecution'*). Fragments of an interview conducted by famous television presenter Susana Giménez with Kenny de Micheli, Sandy González and Gabriela Carrizo on the show *Hola Susana*. Broadcast on major air channel *Telefé* in 1993, this was the first television appearance of travestis denouncing police abuses. Downloaded from the YouTube channel of Argentina's Society of Gay and Lesbian Integration (SIGLA). Duration: 10 minutes (henceforth referred to as *HS*, after the programme's initials).

2. *'Tacones Cercanos. El travestismo en la Argentina'* (*'Close Heels.[9] Transvestism in Argentina'*). Special report made by the programme *Buenas y Malas* ('The good and the bad'). Probably broadcast in 2000 on cable Channel 26.[10] The report combines fragments of interviews with three travestis (Lohana Berkins, Sandy González and Alexia) and a psychologist (Débora Tajer), takes of a reporter speaking in front of the camera, an off-screen voice and several archive images. Downloaded from Sandy González's YouTube channel. Duration: 30 minutes (henceforth referred to as *BM*).

3. *'Travesti amenazado de muerte: no puede accionar por faltarle abogado penalista'* (*'Travesti threatened with death: he can't take action due to lack of penal lawyer'*). Interview conducted by television presenter Anabela Ascar to Zulma Lobato on the show *Hechos y Protagonistas* ('Facts and Protagonists'). Broadcast on cable news channel *Crónica TV* on April 2009. This was Zulma Lobato's first television appearance. She went to the studio to denounce police abuses, but after this interview she became an icon of 'bizarre' television. Downloaded from Youtube (video later removed by user). Duration: 30 minutes (henceforth referred to as *HP*).

4. *'Muñeca trava'* (*'Trava doll'*).[11] Section of the reality documentary *Policías en Acción* ('Police Officers in Action'). Broadcast on major air channel *El Trece* on 10 August 2009. The programme's cameras follow police officers as they patrol the streets of Gran Buenos Aires and Buenos Aires City at night, interviewing travestis who work as prostitutes. Downloaded from *El Trece*'s website. Duration: 12 minutes (henceforth referred to as *PA*).

5. *'Historias de travestis'* (*'Travestis' stories'*). Special report made by the reality documentary *La Liga* ('The League'). Broadcast on major air channel *Telefé* on 29 July 2010. It shows fragments of interviews with three travestis, their parents and acquaintances. The report aims at showing the lives of travestis

who do not work as prostitutes and have their families' support. Directly taped from television into digital format. Time: 30 minutes (henceforth referred to as *LL*).

## Linguistic analysis

The application of SDAM to the corpora allowed me to reconstruct the following semantic–discursive categories: *Travesti Identity*, *Family*, *Society*, *State*, *Police*, *Prostitution*, *Sex*, *Acceptance* and *Work*. The semantic categories *Travesti Identity*, *Police*, *Family*, *Society* and *State* usually become Actors through their association with a Verb.

In order to explain how some of these categories were elaborated in the corpora, we can distinguish two different groups of participants: on one hand, the travestis who are interviewed and/or appear in various edited video fragments, and on the other hand, the programmes' presenters and editing teams. Depending on the participant, the semantic categories are treated differently, in some cases through the use of clearly opposing linguistic strategies. However, as regards *Travesti Identity* we can find one strategy that is sometimes shared by the travestis and the programmes alike. This strategy combines many different linguistic resources, all of which point to the same communicative aim. It could be called a 'macro-strategy', as it involves the following groups of resources:

1. High frequency of usage of metaphors that conceptualize travesti identity by emphasizing the *visible* quality of the body and clothing. These metaphors are usually found in the focus[12] of the utterance (Example 1).
2. Progressive 'charging' of the semantic category *Travesti Identity* and its associated Verb with lexical items related to the corporeal, the visible and clothing (indirect metaphorization strategy). When this happens, *Travesti Identity* also contains the focus of the utterance (Example 2).
3. High frequency of usage of metaphors that conceptualize travesti bodies as a workable, mouldable material and as an object of consumption. Almost all these metaphors are found in the focus of the utterance (Example 3).
4. Focalization of *Travesti Identity* when this semantic category contains lexical items associated with corporality, sexuality and genitalia (indirect metaphorization strategy) (Example 4):

**Example 1.** Metaphorical expressions in *italics*, focus underlined.

Metaphor: TRAVESTI IDENTITY IS A VISIBLE APPEARANCE
[Graciela y vos como mamá, ¿sentías que Marcela, tenía ganas de ser mujer, *la veías distinta*?] (And you Graciela, as a mom, did you feel that Marcela, that she wanted to be a woman, *did you see her as different*?) *LL*, 112[13]

[¿Y qué pensaste cuando *la viste*?] (And what did you think when you *saw her*?) *LL*, 344

[Y con los tres, es como que es algo *que no quieren ver*.] (And with the three of them, it's like something *they don't want to see*.) *LL*, 126

[Acá hay travestis que *a simple vista* pensás 'No, ¿es o no es?'] (Here there are travestis that *at first sight* you think 'No, is it or not?') *PA*, 122

**Example 2.**[14] *LL*. Lexical items related to the visible in *italics*, focus in **bold**. Notice how these items (*got dressed*, *got pretty*, *heels*, *bras*, etc.) are placed in the semantic category *Travesti Identity* and its Verb.

| Speaker-Protagonist | Verb 1 (Speaker-Protagonist) | Travesti Identity | Travesti Identity Verb | Pragmatic operator |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Daniela: 148 [yo me | quería ver | igual que las otras chicas, que todas | *se vestían* | y |
| | | | *se producían*, usaban | |
| | | *tacos* | | y |
| | | esos *corpiños* | | y |
| | | **sus *polleras*** | | y |
| | | **sus *botas*.**] | | |

| Speaker-Protagonist | Verb 1 (Speaker-Protagonist) | Travesti Identity | Travesti Identity Verb | Pragmatic operator |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Daniela: 148 [... I | wanted to look | just like the other girls, all of them | *got dressed* | and |
| | | | *got pretty*, | |
| | | they | wore | |
| | | *heels* | | and |
| | | those *bras* | | **and** |
| | | **their *skirts*** | | **and** |
| | | **their *boots*.**] | | |

**Example 3.** Metaphorical expressions in *italics*, focus underlined.
Metaphor: THE TRAVESTI BODY IS A WORKABLE/MOULDABLE MATERIAL
[Lo que es rostro, todo mi rostro es *trabajado*.] (As regards my face, all my face *has been worked upon*.) *PA*, 99

[Para empezar, al cuerpo de un hombre, *hay que darle forma de mujer*.] (For a start, a man's body, *must be given a woman's shape*.) *LL*, 2

[Tas re orgullosa ¿no? de *lo que construiste*.] (You're super proud, aren't you? of *what you've built*.) *LL*, 183

[Ojo que si tendría más plata *me hubiese hecho toda más* ¿no?] (But wait, if I had more money *I would've made all of myself further*, no?) *LL*, 185

Metaphor: THE TRAVESTI BODY IS A POSSESSION/ADQUISITION
[Yo gracias a los hombres *tengo todo lo que tengo ahora*.] (Thanks to the men *I've got everything I have now*.) *PA*, 97

[Ahora *tengo cintura, tengo aquel cuerpo*.] (Now *I've got waist, I've got that body*.) *PA*, 209

[¿*Tendrá esto* tu señora, como *el que yo tengo*?] (Does your wife happen to *have this, like the one I have*?) *PA*, 258

[Yo tengo mucha plata *invertida en mi cuerpo*.] [Las inversiones en mí *son muy fuertes*.] (I've a lot of money *invested in my body*. The investments in me *are very strong*.) *PA*, 88/98

**Example 4.** *LL*. Lexical items related to corporality in *italics*, focus in **bold**. Notice how these focalized items (*so much more than her body*, *what a body*, etc.) are placed in the semantic category *Travesti Identity*.

| Time | Pragmatic operator | Travesti Identity | Travesti Identity Verb |
|---|---|---|---|
| Presentadora 1: 7 [Hoy | vas a saber por qué, | la identidad de una travesti, | es |
| | | ***mucho más que su cuerpo*.]** | |
| | Presentador 2: 8 [¡Hola!] | | |
| | 9 [¿Qué hacés? ¡Guau nena, | ***qué lomo!*** | |
| | | P2: 60 [¿Te | gusta |
| | | ***tu pito?*** | |
| | | 61 [¿Te | molesta |
| | | ***tu pito?*** | |

| Time | Pragmatic operator | Travesti Identity | Travesti Identity Verb |
|---|---|---|---|
| Presenter 1: 7 [Today | you are going to know why, | a travesti's identity, | is |
| | | ***so much more than her body*.]** | |
| | Presenter 2: 8 [Hello!] | | |
| | 9 [How are you? Wow baby, | ***what a body!*** | |
| | | | P2: 60 [Do |
| | | you | like |
| | | ***your wiener?*** | 61 [Are |
| | | you | annoyed |
| | | ***by your wiener?*** | |

Another linguistic strategy involving metaphorization and the body appears most visibly in *PA*. Here, the travestis are categorized as quantifiable entities – what Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 25) call ontological metaphors – whose main characteristic consists in just occupying space. In the SDAM, this metaphor (which can be called TRAVESTI IDENTITY IS AN EXTENSIVE QUANTITY) is seen in the close association between the semantic category *Travesti Identity* and the grammatical category of *Place*, and by the relational and existential processes that indicate mere existence (Example 5):

**Example 5.** *PA*. Processes in *italics*, lexical items related to space and quantity in **bold**. Notice how these relational and existential processes (*can be found*, *are*), that correspond to the *Travesti Identity* Verb, are connected with the grammatical category of *Place*.

| Travesti Identity Verb | Travesti Identity | Place | Time | Pragmatic operator |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Policía: 5 [Hay varias calles donde | por lo general | |
| *se encuentran* | ellos.] | 6 [**Acá, acá** | | ¿ves?] |
| | | 7 [**Acá en la esquina**.] | | |
| | | 117 Periodista: [¿**Acá** | | |
| *hay* | **más**, | **a la izquierda?**] | | |

| Travesti Identity Verb | Travesti Identity | Place | Time | Pragmatic operator |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Policeman: 5 [There are many streets where | | |
| | they | | | |
| *can* | | | generally | |
| *be found*.] | | 6 [**Here, here** | | see?] |
| | | 7 [**Here in the corner**.] | | |
| Reporter: 117 [*Are there* | **more**, | **here to the left?**] | | |

The semantic categories *Family* and *Society* play a very important argumentative role in the travestis' discourse. In relation to the category of *Acceptance*, both *Family* and *Society* are presented as sources of discrimination and at the same time as possible agents for resolving discrimination. The importance of the family as a (generally denied) supporting space is expressed in utterances that are highly *reinforced*[15] by the use of linguistic resources such as personal pronouns, the indicative mode and lexical items of positive connotation. In these utterances, besides, *Family* appears in the focus (Example 6):

**Example 6.** Reinforcements in **bold**, focus underlined.
[**Mi logro fue** al principio es, que **mi** mamá me aceptase.] [O sea, ese **fue**, **mi lucha**, que **mi** mamá, porque **era** algo **importante para mí mi mamá**.] [Y, y lo **logré**.] (**My accomplishment was**, in the beginning is, that **my** mom would accept me. I mean, that **was**, **my fight**, that **my** mom, because she **was** something **important to me my mom**. And, and **I accomplished that**). *BM*, 9–11

Presentador: [¿Y una familia que te ayudó, no?]
Marcela: [Sí, **importantísimo, sí.**] [**Para mí mi** familia **es todo**.]
(Presenter: And a family that helped you, right?
Marcela: Yes, **extremely important, yes**. **To me my** family **is everything**.) *LL*, 272–274

In the following examples, the family's acceptance of travesti gender identity appears as a fundamental instance to achieve acceptance from society as a whole. The semantic category *Acceptance* operates then as a 'converging point' or 'bridge' between the categories of *Society* and *Family* (Example 7). In terms of Toulmin's theory of argumentation, 'A family must accept a travesti daughter' can be considered as Grounds for the Claim 'Society must accept travestis', through the implicit, conventional Warrant that 'Family is the base of society'. In the same sense, the category displacements observable in the SDAM show how lack of familial acceptance leads to early abandoning the home and entering prostitution as the only available means to survive (Example 8), a tale too often found in Argentinean travestis' life stories (Berkins and Fernández, 2005; Duarte, 2009; Fernández, 2004):

**Example 7.** *LL*. Notice how, through the duplication[16] of the item *love*, the semantic category *Acceptance* functions as a 'converging point' for the categories *Family* and *Society* in their respective relation with *Travesti Identity*.

| Pragmatic operator | Travesti Identity | Family | Society | Acceptance |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Padre de Daniela: 394 [Si no | lo | (queremos) | ⟶ | (queremos) |
| | | nosotros que somos la familia, | | |
| ¿cómo quiere que | lo | | (quiera) | (quiera) |
| | | | | ⟶ |
| | | | la sociedad?] | |

| Pragmatic operator | Travesti Identity | Family | Society | Acceptance |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Daniela's father: 394 [If | | we who are the family do not | | |
| | | (love) | ⟶ | (love) |
| | him, | | | |
| how can you expect | | | society to (love) | (love) ⟶ |
| | him?] | | | |

**Example 8.** *LL*. Notice the category displacements, from denial of *Acceptance (not accept)* to home abandonment in *Travesti Identity* and *Family (I decided, I was going to leave my house),* to Prostitution *(to a private apartment, to work).*

| Pragmatic operator | Time | Travesti Identity | Family | Society | Acceptance | Prostitution |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Vanesa: 203 [Mi | familia no | | | |
| | | me | (aceptaba) | | (no aceptaba).] | |
| 204 [Y bueno | hasta que | decidí, | | | | |
| | a los 17, 18 años, | iba a dejar mi | casa.] | | | |
| Presentador: 205 [¿Y adónde | | te fuiste?] | | | | |
| | | Vanesa: 206 [Me fui | | | | a trabajar, a un privado.] |

| Pragmatic operator | Time | Travesti Identity | Family | Society | Acceptance | Prostitution |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Vanesa: 203 [My | family did (not accept) | | (not accept) | |
| | | me.] | | | | |
| 204 [So well, | until | I decided, | | | | |
| | at the age of 17, 18 years old, | I was going to leave my | house.] | | | |
| Presenter: 205 [And where | | did you go?] | | | | |
| | | Vanesa: 206 [I went | | | | to a private apartment, to work.] |

On the other hand, the programmes develop a linguistic strategy by means of which family and society are systematically mitigated in their responsibility for the travestis' social exclusion. This strategy combines the use of nominalizations and generic words that make it possible to omit the agents of discriminatory actions (Example 9) and the erasure of the agent when conjugated verbs that denote discrimination do appear (Example 10):

**Example 9.** Nominalizations and generic words in *italics*.

[¿Ahora y en el barrio cómo es *el tema* de, Marcela y *la discriminación*?] (OK now, and how's *the thing* with, Marcela and *discrimination* in the neighbourhood?) *LL*, 462

[¿Esta *falta de aceptación* provoca, eh, la *desocupación* y *el caer* en la prostitución para los travestis?] (Does this *lack of acceptance* cause, uh, *unemployment* and *the fall* into prostitution for the travestis?)[17] *BM*, 77

**Example 10.** Verbal forms with explicit agent in **bold**, verbal forms with omitted agent in *italics*.

[¿Y no te pasó de que **vos** primero **tuviste que amigarte** con vos, y **no discriminarte vos** para que después, **pelear** para que no te *discriminen*?] (And didn't it happen to you that **you** first **had to make** friends with yourself, and **not discriminate yourself**, so that you could later **fight** not *to be discriminated* against?) *LL*, 275

[¿**Ustedes** lo que **quieren**, que *se corrija* ese [edicto] Segundo F?] (What **you want** is, that Second F [edict] *to be corrected*?) *HS*, 63

In this way, the programmes minimize the gravity of discriminatory actions by erasing those responsible for them. In the first part of Example 10, agency is explicitly and repeatedly stated when it concerns the travestis having to deal with discrimination, but is omitted as far as the responsibility for discriminatory acts is concerned. In the SDAM, these lexical items that mitigate discrimination fall under the semantic categories of *Family* and *Society*. In contrast, the travestis emphasize the *Society* and the *State*'s impact on the transgender collective by explicitly mentioning the agents of discrimination and persecution, especially those related to the State. This pointing occurs in reinforced utterances that contain material processes of negative value, or negated material processes of positive value. These processes appear as fully conjugated verbs or as mitigated, participial forms (Example 11):

**Example 11.** Material processes in **bold**, explicit agents underlined.

[El Estado **desconoce** nuestra realidad.] [La única vez que el Estado nos **reconoce**, es para **encarcelarnos**.] (The State **ignores** our reality. The only time the State **acknowledges** us is to **incarcerate** us.) *BM*, 149–150

[Hay 90 compañeras **muertas** directamente por la Policía Federal, y **jamás** se **investigó** un caso.] (There are 90 fellow travestis **killed** directly by the Federal Police, and **not** a single case **was ever investigated**.) *BM*, 116

[… me gustaría el día de mañana caminar tranquila, o ir a un cine con mi madre y no estar **perseguida** por la policía.] (… in the future I'd like to walk calmly, or go to the movies with my mother and not be **persecuted** by the police.) *HS*, 119

The semantic category *Police* usually appears in the SDAM as an Actor operating through a Verb. It deserves special consideration, as its construction shows very clearly – depending on who is speaking – the opposition between two strategies. The travestis focalize this category and reinforce the abuses by explicitly stating their agent and using

material processes and lexical items of strong evaluative connotation (Example 12). The programmes, on the other hand, mitigate the abuses through the use of nominalizations and generic words, relational processes and by only focalizing the *Police* as the sayer of verbal processes. Thus, this semantic category only appears in the focus of the programme's utterances when the repressive actions associated with it have been systematically mitigated (Example 13):

> **Example 12.** Material processes in CAPITALS, explicit agents in *italics*, reinforcements in **bold** and focus underlined.
>
> [Por tres causas, porque las **MATA** *la policía* …] (Due to three causes, because *the police* **KILL** them …) *BM*, 211
>
> [Aparte *la policía* me **ROBÓ** un reloj que está **valuado en 600 pesos**, me **ROBARON 100 pesos**, me **ROBARON todas** mis pertenencias **personales**, me **ROMPIERON** el celular, me **METIERON** en un **calabozo todo sucio y mugriento**, que estuve **8 horas encerrada**, y después me **PASEARON todo** por El Palomar **esposada**, como si **yo** fuese una **delincuente**.] (Besides, *the police* **STOLE** from me a watch that was **valued at 600 pesos**, they **STOLE** from me **100 pesos**, they **STOLE all** my **personal** belongings, they **BROKE** my cell phone, they **SHOVED** me into a **dungeon all dirty and filthy**, where I was **locked up 8 hours**, and then they **WALKED** me **all handcuffed** through El Palomar, as if I was a **criminal**.) *HP*, 51
>
> [Y *uno de los agentes* me **PEGÓ UNA PATADA**, por decir **en el trasero**, y quiso SACAR **el machete PARA GOLPEARME**.] (And *one of the agents* **KICKED** me, so to speak **in my rear**, and wanted to TAKE OUT **the machete TO STRIKE** me.) *HS*, 97

> **Example 13.** Processes in CAPITALS, mitigations in *italics*, focus underlined.
>
> MITIGATION OF THE AGENT THROUGH THE USE OF NOMINALIZATIONS:
> [Esto ES porque mueren muy rápidamente a causa de tres *factores, la represión* policial …] (This IS because they die very rapidly due to three *factors*, police *repression* …) *BM*, 206
>
> MITIGATION OF POLICE ABUSES (WHEN FOCALIZED) THROUGH THE USE OF GENERIC WORDS AND RELATIONAL PROCESSES:
> [¿Pero qué, vos no habías pagado [la coima], cuál FUE el *problema*?] [¿Pero cuál ES el *problema*?] (But what, hadn't you paid [the bribe], what WAS the *problem*? But what IS the *problem*?) *HP*, 44–62
>
> FOCALIZATION OF THE *POLICE* AS THE SAYER OF VERBAL PROCESSES:
> [¿Y qué te DICEN, por qué, qué, qué SE ADUJERON?] (And what do they TELL you, why, what, what did they ADDUCE?) *HS*, 48
>
> [… nuestra cámara está dispuesta también para escuchar el otro lado de la campana, inclusive PUEDAN DISERTAR con ustedes y CAMBIAR OPINIONES, ¿sí?] (… our camera is also open to listening the other side of the story, they even COULD DEBATE with you and EXCHANGE OPINIONS, yes?) *HS*, 122

Concerning the analysis of multimodality, we find that both the processes of post-production and the live intervention of the programmes' editing teams strengthen, on

the audio-visual level, the same strategies of mitigation of travesti identity that appear in the textual level. Some examples of this are the display of videograph titles where the travestis' names are placed within quotation marks (Example 14), or the differential treatment according to which some famous travestis get only their first name shown in the titles, while other not so famous participants get both their names and surnames displayed. Another case is the disrespect of travesti gender identity by displaying titles that refer to them in the masculine gender instead of the feminine (Example 15). All these resources mitigate travesti identity on the audio-visual level.

Finally, what the cameras show and how they do it, that is, the choice of takes and shots, can connote implicit meanings that operate against what is being said. For example, while someone is speaking of her wish to study, we are shown an extreme close-up of her companion's legs, a take whose connotations reinforce the body as an object of consumption (Example 16):

**Example 14.**[18] *HS*, 82

| 5′35″ | | **Actor**: **Gabriela Carrizo** (onscreen)/Source: television set | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **AUDIO** | **Voice** | [O sea, de repente lo que nosotras queremos, es que se nos respete como ser humano.] <br> (I mean, in short what we want, is to be respected as human beings). | |
| | **Music** | 'Music box', children's music | |
| **VISUAL** | **Effects** | **Bottom-centre informative title: "Gabriela" Carrizo** | The title fades out |
| | **Shot** | Medium shot | |
| | **Take** | Gabriela sitting on a couch | |

**Example 15.** *HP*, 35

| 2′38″ | | **Actor**: **Zulma Lobato** (onscreen)/Source: television set |
|---|---|---|
| **AUDIO** | **Voice** | [Imaginate si hay 40 travestis, la plata que se lleva la policía.] <br> (Imagine, if there are 40 travestis, how much money the police get). |
| | **Noise** | Ambient |
| **VISUAL** | **Effects** | Top-left title: 'El reportaje del que todos hablan' ('The interview everyone talks about') <br> **Bottom-centre title: 'Travesti amenazad<u>o</u> de muerte: no puede accionar por faltarle abogado penalista' ('Travesti threatened with death: <u>he</u> can't take action due to lack of penal lawyer')** |
| | **Shot** | Medium |
| | **Take** | Zulma Lobato sitting |

**Example 16.** *HS*, 10

| 0′50″ | | **Actor: Kenny de Micheli** (off-screen)/Source: television set |
|---|---|---|
| **AUDIO** | **Voice** | [Yo por ejemplo en agosto empiezo los estudios en la facultad, Letras y Periodismo ¿no?]<br>(For example, in August I start studying at college, Literature and Journalism, right?) |
| **VISUAL** | **Shot** | Close-up |
| | **Take** | Sandy's leg and foot.<br>Slides upward to Sandy's skirt and coat |

## Conclusion

The linguistic conclusions of the previous analysis can be summarized in the following points:

1. By conflating various linguistic resources (conceptual metaphor, category displacements, distribution of processes and their participants, focalization, etc.), as well as by handling audio-visual resources (shots and takes), the programmes create linguistic strategies that build *a discursive representation of travesti identity metaphorically marked by the OUTSIDE*. This is shown most noticeably in the emphasis on the visible and 'mouldable' facets of corporality, sexuality and clothing. This representation reduces travesti identity to the possession and construction of a more or less noticeable (feminine) appearance. At the same time, representations of travesti identity that do not follow this pattern (e.g. those that highlight feelings or internal experience) are mitigated on both the textual and audio-visual levels. I believe these strategies, especially those involving conceptual metaphor, have strong ideological implications, as they sustain social representations and beliefs about the travesti community that tend to sanction concrete attitudes and actions (Van Dijk, 1998) – for example, the attitude of considering them as mere objects of sexual consumption, devoid of personal rights and feelings.

2. In the travestis' discourses, the semantic categories of *Family*, *Society* and *State* have the fundamental argumentative role of being the agents accountable not only for the social exclusion of trans people, but also for the reversal of such exclusion. The SDAM shows that it is precisely through the interaction of these semantic categories with *Travesti Identity* that the richest construction of discursive representations takes place. Two opposing strategies can be observed here: while the travestis – and also their families – reinforce the interaction among *Travesti Identity*, *Family*, *Society* and *State* (especially concerning society's responsibility for their exclusion), the programmes systematically mitigate these relations, especially concerning the society and the State's respective roles in discrimination and repression.

3. The coexistence of these two linguistic strategies, one reinforcing and the other mitigating, becomes most clear when it comes to the semantic category *Police*

(the repressive arm of the State). Here we can see, in the discourses of the traves-
tis and the programmes, strategies that involve clearly opposing linguistic
resources: semantic reinforcements versus generic words; use of material pro-
cesses (for describing the police actions) versus use of existential, relational and
verbal processes; focalization of the abuses versus de-focalization; and so on.
This can be illustrated by the image of the seesaw or teeterboard: what the trav-
estis 'raise' by reinforcing (police abuses, discrimination and their need for social
integration) is systematically 'brought down' by the programmes.

Some ethnographic elements of the corpora allow us to interpret these linguistic con-
clusions in the light of some typical features of postmodernity, described by Jameson
(1991) as the cultural logic of late capitalism. Two of these features seem especially
appropriate: *the prevailing of space over time* (Pardo, 2008b) and *the exaltation of indi-
vidual heroicity* stripped of any context and/or collective project (Forster, 2002). The
first is seen in the prevailing of corporality as a central element in the discursive repre-
sentation of travesti identity and in the association of the semantic category *Travesti
Identity* with the grammatical category of *Place*. The second trait is shown by the miti-
gated representation of the travestis as a collective subject of (the fight for) rights and by
favouring representations where suffering, dreams and aspirations appear only as per-
sonal stories cut loose from a larger context. When the programmes highlight the per-
sonal achievement of having built a certain body image while at the same time reduce the
travesti collective to mere occupants of urban spaces, both postmodern characteristics,
the exaltation of the individual and of space, are obviously present.

Considering all this, I believe that the discursive representations created by these tel-
evision programmes help to maintain the status quo since they reinforce stereotypes
underlying discrimination; conceal the familial, social and State agents that generate
exclusion; and disregard travestis as collective subjects entitled to rights. In the mean-
time, two major social and political events related to sexual diversity have taken place in
Argentina: the modification of the Civil Code that extended the right to marriage to
same-sex couples (Egalitarian Marriage Law) in 2010 and, two years later, the passing of
the Gender Identity Law. In the case of the public debate that accompanied the proposal
of same-sex marriage, the social change represented by the Law was accompanied by a
gradual discursive change (D'Angelo, 2011). The (generally favourable) political cli-
mate towards the Gender Identity Law, however, was not accompanied at that time by a
consistent discursive change in the Argentinean public opinion. *I believe this contrast
proves the media's efficacy in mitigating and concealing the identities and the collective
struggle of trans people for their rights*. The specific discursive means employed in this
obnoxious task have been the central object of exposition of this article.

In conclusion, not only the State but also the media have an impending debt with
Argentina's society and with trans people in particular. They have the ethical obliga-
tion of transforming and generating new discourses that may rise to the level of the
present processes of social change, of contributing to an awareness and conceptualiza-
tion of diversity that transcends the purely individual perspective, of showing trans
people as collective subjects of rights and firmly denouncing the social and State
agents and practices that have led to their historical exclusion; and of including their

voices *in* the media, as producers and not only as witnesses, so that they can speak for themselves.

## Acknowledgements

## Declaration of conflicting interests

## Funding

## Notes

1. This article summarizes the results of a personal research project that was developed during 2010–2012. It started in the *Analysis of the Languages of the Mass Media* chair at the Facultad de Filosofía y Letras (University of Buenos Aires) and was later incorporated in the UBACYT research project no. 20020100100120, both under the direction of María Laura Pardo.

2. The Argentinean Gender Identity Law defines *gender identity* as

   the internal and individual experience of gender as each person feels it, which may or may not correspond to the sex that was assigned at the moment of birth, including the personal experience of the body. This may involve the modification of appearance or bodily function through pharmacological, surgical or other means, as long as they are freely chosen. It also includes other gender expressions such as clothing, manners of speech and bodily manners. (Ley de Identidad de Género Nº 26.743, 2012: 2, my translation)

   By *transvestite person* I understand someone who adopts a gender identity that differs from the one socially assigned at the moment of birth, without choosing to surgically alter their sexual organs. In Argentina, the term *travesti*(*s*) refers almost exclusively to people who were socially assigned as male at the moment of birth and later chose female gender expressions. For this reason, and because Argentinean travestis have adopted the word not only as a name but also as an empowering political stance (Berkins, 2003; Wayar, 2007), I will henceforth use the term *travesti*(*s*) where English-speaking readers would expect *transvestite*(*s*). The expression *trans person/people* (or simply *trans*) encompasses transvestite, transsexual and transgender people, as it is generally applied to all those whose gender identity somehow challenges the social norms associated with the (supposedly adamant) male/female dichotomy.

3. 'Gran Buenos Aires' (also 'conurbano bonaerense') is the name given to the 24 districts of the Province of Buenos Aires that surround Buenos Aires City. Together, the City of Buenos Aires

and the Gran Buenos Aires gather 31.9% of the country's total population (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas y Censos (INDEC), 2012: 62).

4.  Mar del Plata is a city located on the Atlant coast, southeast in the Province of Buenos Aires. It is one of the major internal tourist destinations in Argentina: its total population of 600,000 people almost doubles during the tourist season.

5.  During the final revision of this paper, the Argentinean travesti activist Amancay Diana Sacayán was found in her house, murdered. She was a vital part of the Argentinean, Latin American and international transgender human rights movement. Throughout her life, Diana Sacayán suffered exclusion and violence on account of her gender identity; from the bitterness of society she drew both strength and tenderness, to fight for a world where no one else had to endure the same injustice only for being who they are. This work is dedicated to the memory of her fighting, relentless spirit.

6.  Only the latter two are active at present. Other Argentinean trans organizations are the Antidiscriminatory Liberation Movement (MAL), Trans Future, the Popular Trans Baccalaureate *Mocha Celis* and Capicüa.

7.  These two legal entities allowed the police forces to punish, without any control from higher levels of the justice structure, faults which were not grave enough to be considered crimes by the country's Penal Code. In practice, they were used to illegally exert the State's power of control and coercion on travestis, homosexuals, lesbians, prostitutes, the homeless and other vulnerable social groups.

8.  Further research that included corpora produced *after* the passing of the Gender Identity Law in 2012 would perhaps enable some interesting contrasts with the conclusions of this article.

9.  This is a play on words with the title of the 1991 Almodóvar film *Tacones Lejanos* ('Distant Heels', released in English as High Heels).

10. The exact airing date of this programme could not be found. One of the participants was consulted and gave 2000 as an estimated year.

11. This is a play on words with the title of a famous 1998 soap opera, 'Muñeca brava' ('Fierce doll'). *Trava* is a (usually derogatory) slang word for *travesti*.

12. For cognitive reasons, the information placed at the end of the utterance – approximately the last 6–7 words that constitute a meaningful structure – is more easily retained by the hearer/reader, making this a position that gives prominence to the information placed therein. This final position of the utterance is called *focus* (Pardo, 2011: 35).

13. The numbers given after the programme's initials in textual examples, as well as the numbers given before square brackets in the SDAM examples, refer to utterances (which are enclosed in square brackets).

14. This and all other examples of the SDAM are presented as tables headed by the names of grammatical and semantic–discursive categories. The cells' content must be read starting from the topmost occupied cell to the left, and then scanning the rest of the cells in the traditional western order (from left to right and from top to bottom).

15. The theory of tonalization was first developed by Lavandera (2014) and theorized as a principle of language by Pardo (2011). This principle asserts that all languages manage different degrees ('tones') of information hierarchy at a micro level (below that of the utterance). Among other resources, tonalization can be marked by the contrastive use of verbal tenses, moods, personal pronouns, voices and lexical choices: 'In general, these linguistic resources […] are termed *mitigators* (precisely when they mitigate or weaken an argument) and *reinforcements* (when they emphasize it)' (Pardo, 2011: 47, my emphasis and translation).

16. The duplication of some items within brackets indicates that they articulate the corresponding categories from the argumentative point of view.

17. In the Spanish original, 'travestis' are referred to with the masculine article.
18. These last examples are presented according to the multimodality analysis chart developed by D'Angelo (2007). The tables should be read in a similar way as a music score, with each row showing the simultaneous linear progression of different acoustic and visual semiotic forms.

## References

Área Queer (2007) *Medios de comunicación y discriminación: desigualdad de clase y diferencias de identidades y expresiones de género y orientaciones sexuales en los medios de comunicación* [Media and discrimination: Class inequality and differences in gender identities, expressions and sexual orientations in the media]. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Facultad de Filosofía y Letras. UBA. Available at: http://www.obserdiscriminacion.gob.ar (accessed 16 September 2015).

Asociación Travestis Transexuales Transgéneros Argentinas (ATTTA) (2010) IV Encuentro Nacional Nov 2010. Declaración de Chapadmalal [IV National Meeting November 2010. Chapadmalal Declaration]. Available at: http://attta.org.ar/iv-encuentro-nacional-nov-2010/ (accessed 16 September 2015).

Asociación Travestis Transexuales Transgéneros Argentinas (ATTTA) and Fundación Huésped (2014) *Ley de identidad de género y acceso al cuidado de la salud de las personas trans en Argentina* [Gender Identity Law and access to health care for trans people in Argentina]. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Fundación Huésped. Available at: http://www.huesped.org.ar/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/OSI-informe-FINAL.pdf (accessed 16 September 2015).

Berkins L (2000) El derecho absoluto sobre nuestros cuerpos [The absolute right to our bodies]. *América Libre*, 18. Available at: http://www.nodo50.org/americalibre/anteriores/18/berkins18.htm (accessed 16 September 2015).

Berkins L (2003) Un itinerario político del travestismo [A political itinerary of transvestism]. In: Maffía D (comp) *Sexualidades migrantes. Género y transgénero*. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Feminaria, pp. 127–137.

Berkins L (comp) (2007) *Cumbia, copeteo y lágrimas. Informe nacional sobre la situación de las travestis, transexuales y transgéneros* [Cumbia, drinking and tears. National report on the situation of transvestite, transsexual and transgender people]. Buenos Aires, Argentina: ALITT.

Berkins L (2010) Travestismo, transexualidad y transgeneridad [Transvestism, transexuality and transgender]. In: Raíces Montero JH (comp) *Un cuerpo: Mil sexos. Intersexualidades*. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Topía, pp. 91–102.

Berkins L and Fernández J (coords) (2005) *La gesta del nombre propio. Informe sobre la situación de la comunidad travesti en la Argentina* [The feat of one's own name. Report on the situation of the transvestite community in Argentina]. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Ediciones Madres de Plaza de Mayo.

Cabral M (ed.) (2009) *Interdicciones. Escrituras de la intersexualidad en castellano* [Interdictions. Intersexuality writings in Spanish]. Córdoba: Anarrés.

D'Angelo CG (2007) Análisis del discurso multimodal [Analysis of multimodal discourse]. In: *VII Congreso Latinoamericano de Estudios del Discurso*, Bogotá, Colombia, 17–21 September. Bogotá: Asociación Latinoamericana de Estudios del Discurso.

D'Angelo CG (2011) La aprobación de la ley de matrimonio igualitario en Argentina como ejemplo de la relación entre discurso y cambio social [The passing of the egalitarian marriage law in Argentina as an example of the relation between discourse and social change]. In: Coracini MJ (ed.) *Identidades silenciadas e (in)visíveis: entre a inclusâo e a exclusâo*. Campinas: Brasil. CAPES/Pontes Editores, pp. 195–210.

D'Angelo CG, Massone MI, Buscaglia V, et al. (2009) Análisis Multimodal de una lengua viso – espacial a partir de la etnografía audiovisual [Multimodal analysis of a visuo-spatial

language from audiovisual ethnography]. Available at: http://www.cultura-sorda.eu (accessed 15 September 2015).

Di Biase L (2013) Representaciones identitarias-discursivas sobre el Bachillerato Popular Mocha Celis, desde el enfoque del Análisis Crítico del Discurso [Discursive-identity representations about the Popular Baccalaureate Mocha Celis, from the perspective of Critical Discourse Analysis]. In: *Actas de las III Jornadas CINIG de Estudios de Género y Feminismos*, La Plata, Argentina, UNLP, 25–27 September. Available at: http://jornadascinig.fahce.unlp.edu. ar/iii-2013 (accessed 15 September 2015).

Duarte S (2009) *La constitución travesti* [The transvestite constitution]. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Distal.

Fairclough N (1992) *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity Press with Blackwell.

Fernández J (2004) *Cuerpos desodebientes. Travestismo e identidad de género* [Disobedient bodies. Transvestism and gender identity]. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Edhasa.

Forster R (2002) *Crítica y sospecha* [Critique and suspicion]. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Paidos.

Glaser BG and Strauss AL (1967) *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. Chicago, IL: Aldine Publishing Company.

Guba E and Lincoln YS (1994) Competing paradigms in qualitative research. In: Denzin NK and Lincoln YS (eds) *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, pp. 105–117.

Halliday MAK and Mathiessen CMIM (2004) *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. London: Arnold.

Hymes D (2002) Modelos de interacción entre lenguaje y vida social [Models of the interaction of language and social life]. In: Golluscio L (comp) *Etnografía del habla: textos fundacionales* Buenos Aires, Argentina: Eudeba, pp. 55–99.

Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas y Censos (INDEC) (2012) *Censo Nacional de Población, Hogares y Viviendas 2010. Censo del Bicentenario. Resultados definitivos. Serie B Nº 2, tomo 1* [2010 National Census of Population, Homes and Houses. Bicentennial Census. Definitive results. B series Nº 2, volume 1]. Buenos Aires, Argentina: INDEC. Available at: http://www. censo2010.indec.gov.ar/archivos/censo2010_tomo1.pdf (accessed 16 September 2015).

Jameson F (1991) *Postmodernism, or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Kaltenbacher M (2007) Perspectivas en el análisis de la multimodalidad: desde los inicios al estado del arte [Perspectives in the analysis of multimodality: From the beginnings to the state of the art]. *Revista Latinoamericana de Estudios del Discurso* 7(1): 31–57.

Kress G and Van Leeuwen T (1996) *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*. London: Routledge.

Lakoff G and Johnson M (2003) *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Lavandera BR (2014) Decir y Aludir: Una propuesta metodológica [Saying and Alluding: A methodological proposal]. In: Lavandera BR (ed.) *Variación y significado. Y discurso*. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Paidós, pp. 291–301.

Ley de Identidad de Género [Gender Identity Law] Nº 26.743 (2012) *Boletín oficial de la República Argentina*  [Official Bulletin of the Argentinean Republic] Nº 32.404, 24 May, Presidencia de la Nación.

Maffía D (comp) (2003) *Sexualidades migrantes. Género y transgénero* [Migrant indentities. Gender and transgender]. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Feminaria.

Martínez-Guzmán A and Íñiguez-Rueda L (2010) La fabricación del Trastorno de Identidad Sexual: Estrategias discursivas en la patologización de la transexualidad [The fabrication of the sexual identity disorder: Discursive strategies in the pathologization of transexuality]. *Discurso & Sociedad* 4(1): 30–51.

Menéndez SM (2005) ¿Qué es una estrategia discursiva? [What is a discursive strategy?] In: Santos S and Panesi J (comp) *Actas digitales del Congreso Internacional: Debates actuales. Las teorías críticas de la literatura y la lingüística*. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Facultad de Filosofía y Letras UBA.

Molina ML (2012) *La argumentación en las noticias. Una aproximación al análisis de la estructura argumentativa a partir del modelo de Toulmin en el marco del Análisis Crítico del Discurso* [The argumentation in the news. An approach to the analysis of the argumentative structure from Toulmin's model and the frame of Critical Discourse Analysis]. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Tersites.

Montecino L (ed.) (2010) *Discurso, pobreza y exclusión en América Latina* [Discourse, poverty and exclusion in Latin America]. Santiago: Cuarto Propio.

Naty Menstrual (2009) No estamos chochas con Chiche [We aren't happy about Chiche]. El Teje. *Primer periódico travesti latinoamericano* 4: 9–11.

Pardo ML (2008a) *El discurso sobre la pobreza en América Latina* [The discourse about poverty in Latin America]. Santiago de Chile: Frasis.

Pardo ML (2008b) *La estetización y espectacularización de la pobreza: análisis crítico del discurso posmoderno televisivo en la Argentina* [The aestheticization and spectacularization of poverty: Critical analysis of the postmodern televisual discourse in Argentina]. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Departamento de Publicaciones de la Facultad de Derecho, A3+.

Pardo ML (2011) *Teoría y metodología de la investigación lingüística. Método sincrónico-diacrónico de análisis lingüístico de textos* [Theory and methodology of linguistic research. Synchronic-diachronic method for the linguistic analysis of texts]. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Tersites.

Pardo ML (2015) La categoría de Lugar: de la gramática al discurso [The category of Place: From grammar to discourse]. *Cadernos de Linguagem e Sociedade* 16(1): 36–47.

Pardo ML and Lorenzo-Dus N (2010) The Falklands/Malvinas 25 years on: A comparative analysis of constructions of heroism on Argentinean and British television. *Journal of Multicultural Discourses* 5(3): 253–270.

Pardo Abril NG (2007) *Cómo hacer análisis crítico del discurso. Una perspectiva latinoamericana* [How to make Critical Discourse Analysis. A Latin American perspective]. Santiago de Chile: Frasis.

Perlongher N (2008) *Prosa plebeya* [Plebeian prose]. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Colihue.

Raíces Montero JH (comp) (2010) *Un cuerpo: Mil sexos. Intersexualidades* [A body: A thousand sexes. Intersexualities]. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Topía.

Raiter A (2002) *Representaciones sociales* [Social representations]. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Eudeba.

Sacayán D (2009) Quién vio caer la sangre caliente sobre la espalda de Zoe [Who saw the hot blood running down Zoe's back?]. El Teje. *Primer periódico travesti latinoamericano* 4: 6–7.

Salomón MG (2009) Luchas políticas e identitarias de las travestis en y desde la Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires. Modos de discriminación y represión del Código Contravencional [Political and identitarian struggles of the transvestites in and from the City of Buenos Aires. Modes of discrimination and repression of the Code of Contraventions]. In: Frutos S, Martínez de Aguirre E and Valdettaro S (comps) *Actas del II Congreso Internacional y VII Nacional de la Asociación Argentina de Semiótica*. Rosario, Argentina: Universidad/Educación Superior.

Saville Troike M (2006) *Etnografía de la comunicación* [Ethnography of communication]. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Prometeo.

Soich M (2010) Mitigadxs. Análisis crítico de dos casos testigo de entrevistas a travestis en la televisión argentina [Mitigated. Critical analysis of two case studies of interviews with transvestites in Argentinean television]. *Texturas. Estudios Interdisciplinarios sobre el Discurso* 9(9–10): 313–338. Available at: http://bibliotecavirtual.unl.edu.ar/ojs/index.php/Texturas/article/download/2890/4192 (accessed 16 September 2015).

Soich M (2015) Polémico, complicado y perverso. Dime cómo informas y te diré cómo eres[Polemical, complicated and perverse. Tell me how you inform and I will tell you how you are]. *La revista del CCC*, no. 22, January–June. Available at: http://www.centrocultural.coop/revista/articulo/524/%93polemico_complicado_y_perverso%94_dime_como_informas_y_te_dire_como_eres.html#7anc (accessed 16 September 2015).

Speer S and Parsons C (2006) Gatekeeping gender: Some features of the use of hypothetical questions in the psychiatric assessment of transsexual patients. *Discourse & Society* 17(6): 785–812.

Toulmin SE (1958) *The Uses of Argument*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Van Dijk TA (1998) *Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Approach*. London: SAGE.

Van Dijk TA (1999) El análisis crítico del discurso [Critical discourse analysis]. *Anthropos*186: 23–36.

Vásquez Haro C (2012) *Configuraciones de identidades trans en medios gráficos argentinos: Nociones identitarias en disputa. Buenos Aires 1998–2005* [Configurations of trans identities in Argentinean printed media: Struggling identitarian notions]. BC thesis, Facultad de Periodismo y Comunicación Social, Universidad Nacional de La Plata, Argentina.

Wayar M (2007) Editorial (2) [Editorial (2)]. *El Teje. Primer periódico travesti latinoamericano* 1: 3.

Wayar M (2009) El otro lado [The other side]. *El Teje. Primer periódico travesti latinoamericano* 4: 11–12.

Wodak R (2000) ¿La sociolingüística necesita una teoría social? Nuevas perspectivas en el Análisis Crítico del Discurso [Does sociolinguistics need a social theory? New perspectives in Critical Discourse Analysis]. *Revista Iberoamericana de Discurso y Sociedad* 2(3): 123–147.

## Author biography

Matías Soich graduated in Philosophy at the Facultad de Filosofía y Letras (Buenos Aires University), where he is currently a doctoral student in the area of linguistics. He is a recipient of the doctorate scholarship of the National Council of Scientific and Technical Research, Argentina. His current interests are the construction of discursive representations of gender identity and Gilles Deleuze's practical ontology. He is a member of University of Buenos Aires Science and Technology (UBACYT) and Scientific and Technological Research Project (PICT) research projects on these subjects and has published several articles and book chapters in Argentina and other countries.