

Felipe Leandro de Jesus

**BEATIN' THE QUEER INTO THE BROADSHEETS:  
A SEMIOTIC ANALYSIS OF NEWS REPORTS ON  
CRIMES INVOLVING QUEER SOCIAL ACTORS**

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Rosa Caldas-Coulthard.

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Esta Dissertação foi julgada adequada para obtenção do Título de “Mestre”, e aprovada em sua forma final pelo Programa de Pós Graduação em Inglês: Estudos Linguísticos e Literários.

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I dedicate this work to all those  
who feel prejudice slashing  
their skins through the utterance  
of words.

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I have an idea that there is a  
continuity from the living of life  
on the one hand right down to  
the morpheme on the other.

Ruqaiya Hasan





## ABSTRACT

This study aims at analyzing, through the perspective of Critical Discourse Analysis and Queer Theory, how explicit semiotic choices represent queer social actors in news reports of crimes. The data of this thesis is composed of fifteen news reports retrieved from the British news website *Mail Online* (the online version of the British tabloid *Daily Mail*) and from the Brazilian news website *GI*. These news reports concerned three different cases: the Dewani Case in the United Kingdom, and the Veronica and Lamp Cases in Brazil. The verbal language of the news reports was analyzed in terms of the representation of social actors (van Leeuwen, 2008), Systemic Functional Grammar (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014) and Appraisal Theory (Martin & White, 2014). In order to conduct a multimodal analysis of the visual resources present in the news reports, I used multimodal tools of analysis (Machin, 2007) and categories from the Grammar of Visual Design (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996). The findings of this thesis point to partiality and manipulation on the part of the media when it comes to supporting one of the sides involved in crimes, especially in the case of queer criminals. These social actors have their non-normative sexuality/gender identity represented as a core part of their criminal identity. Through these representations, the media also reinforces bias and reproduces prejudicial discourses regarding queerness, a group of identities that compose an always already zone of abjection.

**Keywords:** queer; media discourse; critical discourse analysis; representation; sexuality; gender identity; news; systemic functional linguistics.

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## RESUMO

Este estudo tem como objetivo analisar, através da perspectiva da Análise Crítica do Discurso e da Teoria Queer, como escolhas semióticas explícitas representam atores sociais *queer* em reportagens de crimes. O corpus desta dissertação é composto por quinze reportagens de crimes extraídas do portal britânico de notícias *Mail Online* (a versão online do tablóide britânico *Daily Mail*) e do portal brasileiro de notícias *GI*. Estas reportagens trataram de três casos diferentes: o Caso Verônica e o Caso da Lampadada no Brasil e o Caso Dewani no Reino Unido. A linguagem verbal das reportagens foi analisada em relação à representação dos atores sociais (van Leeuwen, 2008), Gramática Sistêmico-Funcional (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014) e Teoria da Avaliatividade (Martin & White, 2014). Para conduzir uma análise multimodal dos recursos visuais empregados nas reportagens, foram utilizadas ferramentas de análise da teoria da multimodalidade (Machin, 2007) e categorias da Gramática do Design Visual (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996). Os resultados desta dissertação apontam para imparcialidade e manipulação por parte da mídia no que tange o apoio a um dos lados envolvidos nos crimes, principalmente no caso de criminosos *queer*. Estes atores sociais tem sua sexualidade ou identidade de gênero não normativa representada como uma parte central da sua identidade criminosa. Através destas representações, a mídia reforça estereótipos e reproduz discursos preconceituosos relacionados a sexualidades não normativas, um grupo de identidades que compõem uma constante zona de abjeção.

**Palavras-chave:** queer; discurso da mídia; análise crítica do discurso; representação; sexualidade; identidade de gênero; notícias; linguística sistêmico-funcional.

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## CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Initial Remarks

Linguistically constructed representations of gender and sexuality in a variety of genres have been a major topic for academic research in Brazil (Coulthard, 1991; Caldas-Coulthard, 1997; Heberle, 1997; 2004; Figueiredo, 1995; 2000A; Ostermann, 1995; Abreu, 2012; Pimenta & Natividade, 2013; Alós, 2013) and throughout the world (Foucault, 1978; Wolfe, 1988; Butler, 1993; 1999; Cameron & Kulick, 2003). However, the focus of most pieces of research lies in unveiling biased and gendered representations of women, such as in Heberle's (1997) study on editorials of women's magazines and in Figueiredo's (2000A) work on the discourse of rape in legal proceedings, whereas studies in the area of Critical Discourse Analysis aiming at deconstructing biased representations grounded in the heterosexual matrix<sup>1</sup> constitute a still emerging field of research.

One of the discursive practices in which these representations occur is news, which is a discursive genre that "enjoys a privileged and prestigious position in our culture's hierarchy of values" (Caldas-Coulthard, 1997, p. 33) and some studies have been conducted in the area of Critical Discourse Analysis concerned with the position, representation (naming and categorization) and accessibility of voice given to women in this specific genre (Piasecka-Till, 1994; Caldas-Coulthard, 1997). Nevertheless, few studies have been developed about the representation of non-normative sexualities in the news, especially in relation to news reports of crimes involving queer<sup>2</sup> social actors<sup>3</sup>.

As previously mentioned, news is a discursive genre that is seen as highly reliable due to its prestigious position (Caldas-Coulthard, 1997). According to Caldas-Coulthard (1997), news is the most important genre within the media discourse, as it is seen by much of its

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<sup>1</sup> Butler's (1999) notion of the 'heterosexual matrix' defines a need to have a coherent subject consisting of "a stable sex expressed through a stable gender [...] that is oppositionally and hierarchically defined through the compulsory practice of heterosexuality" (p. 194).

<sup>2</sup> Those who possess non-normative sexualities that defy the heterosexual matrix.

<sup>3</sup> The participants in a social action.

audience as an objective and factual report of an event from an outside point of view. However, pieces of news are responsible for either foregrounding or backgrounding information, and including or excluding, categorizing, naming and role-allocating participants according to the ideology behind the writer or institution that produces them (van Leeuwen, 2008). Therefore, news is a reconstruction of reality through the ideologies, opinions and perspectives of many people, constituting “a socially and culturally determined genre” (Caldas-Coulthard, 1997, p. 34), and thus resulting in the creation and maintenance of unperceived power relations.

Moreover, these symbolic products of social structures are also used to disseminate, through representation, patterns of behavior not only based on people’s gender, but also based on their sexuality. Representations of the ways non-sexually normative social actors behave and how people react to them are present in the media discourse, many times carrying prejudices and hidden power relations within them, since “heterosexuality is in fact an indispensable element in the dominant ideology of gender” (Cameron & Kulick, 2003, p. 6). It is of great importance to the studies of language, gender and sexuality to investigate and to question how “sexuality and sexual identity are represented linguistically in a variety of discourse genres” (Cameron & Kulick, 2003, p. 12) so that we can understand, expose and possibly undo biased representations of queer sexualities and gender identities in these texts.

Although sexuality is still considered a taboo in modern western societies, it has been central to the production of many institutional discourses (e.g. medical discourse, legal discourse). According to Michel Foucault in his acclaimed series of books *The History of Sexuality* (1978), between the seventeenth century and the mid-twentieth century, sex became a nonexistent subject, a topic that could not be normally talked about and to which “silence was the rule” (p. 3). Furthermore, there could be penalties if anyone insisted on making sexuality more visible than it was socially allowed at the time. This suppression of sexuality created a repressive system where sexuality could not exist, “had no right to exist and would be made to disappear upon its least manifestation – whether in acts or words” (Foucault, 1978, p. 4). In order to achieve the suppression of sexuality, it was first necessary to subjugate sexuality at the level of language, excluding from the lexis words related to sex and controlling the free circulation of sex in speech. However, from the eighteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century, a new developing phenomenon

occurred at the level of discourse: despite the prohibition to talk directly and publicly about sex, there was a proliferation of discourses concerned with it. Thus, sex became a central topic in the discourses of medicine, psychology, criminal justice and in the discourses related to social control, such as the media discourse.

Even though the situation has changed from the mid-twentieth century onwards and talking about sex has now become an almost compulsory practice, the previous period of suppression of sexual representation caused a great impact in societies, especially in relation to talking about sexualities and specifically about queer sexualities. As Foucault (1978) points out:

[...] for decades now, we have found it difficult to speak on the subject [of sex] without striking a different pose: we are conscious of defying established power, our tone of voice shows that we know we are being subversive and we ardently conjure away the present and appeal to the future, whose day will be hastened by the contribution we believe we are making. (p. 6-7)

The effects of the previous suppression of sexuality (Foucault, 1978) and the still current abject status of queer sexualities (Butler, 1993; 1999) can be perceived in the way the media represents social actors, even though the situation has been changing due to feminist and queer activism. Biased and prejudicial representations are frequently present in the representation of queer social actors, especially in the mass media, which aims at a mass audience. Nonetheless, the very presence of these biased representations allows for deconstruction and resignification. Following the ideas proposed by Foucault, instead of being prohibitive, power is “productive, so that societal censors might be involved in the generation and proliferation of discourses and representations that they propose to banish” (Salih, 2012, p. 139). Hence, suppression and exclusion culminate in the production of presence and inclusion. It is also important to point out that all manifestations in the form of language (in this case, how representation occurs) are not totally under the control of the *rhetors*<sup>4</sup> of these

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<sup>4</sup> The “initial maker of a sign complex”. (Kress, 2010, p. 36)

manifestations, what Butler refers to as *excitable speech* (1997). In relation to the possibility of agency and the responsibility of the producer of a text in relation to his/her writings, Butler argues that

Untethering the speech act from the sovereign subject founds an alternative notion of agency and, ultimately, of responsibility, one that more fully acknowledges the way in which the subject is constituted in language, how what it creates is also what it derives from elsewhere. Whereas some critics mistake the critique of sovereignty for the demolition of agency, I propose that agency begins where sovereignty wanes. The one who acts (who is not the same as the sovereign subject) acts precisely to the extent that he or she is constituted as an actor and, hence, operating within a linguistic field of enabling constraints from the outset. (Butler, 1997, p. 15-16)

The production of writers are therefore constrained by social and historical variables. Language and discourses precede and exceed those who utter them (Salih, 2012). However, this different approach to agency does not exempt text producers from being criticized regarding the ideologies and discourses reproduced in their writings. I believe that as long as prejudice remains to be reiterated in the form of naturalized representations, especially in the mass media, deconstruction of these representations should and must be an issue in the analyses of texts.

This thesis is therefore concerned with how social actors who possess a sexuality or gender identity typically seen as non-normative are represented in the mass media. Through the possibility of spreading news to massive audiences, the mass media holds the power to create and maintain ideologies in accordance with specific institutional, moral and political values, generally of a traditional kind. The range of dissemination of such ideologies is so high that what is repeatedly reported on the news will certainly affect the lives of those who live in our society and experience prejudice on a daily basis, since prejudice always depends on reproduction. Nevertheless, due to its wide audience, the media is also able to disseminate more inclusive and less

discriminatory ideologies to the benefit of those who suffer from prejudice. In such contemporary times, the media holds the power of opinion maker, and therefore of society changer.

Critical Discourse Analysis – the main theoretical framework that underlies this thesis – is a powerful semiotic approach that aims to fight prejudice and biased representations through the unveiling of unconscious and/or implicit stereotypes in discourse (Fairclough, 2003). The repressive biased and manipulative media representations and the hesitational/obsessional ways – as paradoxical as it may sound – used to refer to sexuality, especially to queer sexualities, are the main aspects explored in the analysis proposed in this study.

## 1.2 Context of Investigation

In order to discuss the context in which this study is located, it is important firstly to discuss the context of the researcher. As an out of the closet gay academic, I find myself reading news reports related to homosexuality, transsexuality or to queer social actors on a daily basis – both in the mainstream media and in more alternative media. When I read articles in the media intended to the masses, I am always very critical of the ways social actions and actors are represented, observing that in fact people are frequently *mis*represented or that queer people are defined solely on the basis of their sexuality when this sexuality differs from the heterosexual norm. As a gay researcher in the area of discourse studies, I was thus motivated to conduct research on the media representation of the group to which I belong, since this is a topic I relate to.

When it comes to the broader social context in which this research is inserted, it is important to state that we still live in a very conservative society, despite the efforts and achievements that have been made by activist groups in the past decades, and the news reports presented here are cause and effect of this situation. Although much has already changed, stereotypical views in relation to homosexuality and other forms of non-normative sexualities still persist; achievements in the LGBT cause always face strong opposition, especially from those who hold very conservative religious beliefs. In 2014, Brazil elected its most conservative congress since the end of dictatorship in the 1980s<sup>5</sup>, many congress people are members of a so-called evangelical front,

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<sup>5</sup> Source: <http://politica.estadao.com.br/noticias/eleicoes,congresso-eleito-e-o-mais-conservador-desde-1964-afirma-diap,1572528>

including the current congress president. Prejudice is given voice through the mouths of conservative congressmen who have the political power and space to disseminate their hate speech in relation to minorities – especially sexual minorities – and thus open space to the production and reproduction of biased discourses. Such biased voices are then reproduced through the media, which projects to the great public the idea that what news reports are doing is the objective representation of factuality (Caldas-Coulthard, 1997).

### 1.3 Objectives

This study aims to investigate how news about crimes involving queer social actors in the position of criminals and/or victims are reported and how these social actors are semiotically represented in the Brazilian and British press through the analysis of semiotic aspects of these texts (verbal and non-verbal language). The objectives of this study are to develop a descriptive analysis of such representations, to unveil possibly biased news representations linked to the sexual orientation and/or gender performance/identity of the social actors involved, and to develop a comparative analysis between Brazilian and British popular news websites.

#### 1.3.1 Research questions and hypotheses

Following the objectives proposed in the previous subsection, the current study will thus be guided by the following research questions:

- (1) In which ways are social actors represented through ideational/representational semiotic<sup>6</sup> choices in news reports on crimes involving queer social actors?
- (2) Are the biased views of society in relation to sexualities also semiotically present in such news reports? If so, which are the semiotic choices used to construct/maintain bias?
- (3) What are the semiotic differences and similarities in terms of representation between the Brazilian and British reports?
- (4) What are the semiotic differences and similarities in terms of representation between the criminals and victims depicted in the reports?

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<sup>6</sup> Both verbal and non-verbal language.

The ideational/representational choices mentioned in the research questions above include: (1) choices in the Appraisal system from Systemic Functional Grammar (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014; Martin & White, 2010), (2) categories from the representation of social actors (van Leeuwen, 2008), and (3) multimodality (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996; Machin, 2007; van Leeuwen, 2008). More on each analytical framework that is used in this thesis is present in the theoretical sections of Chapters II and III.

Given the research questions proposed above, the main hypothesis that permeates this study is that queer social actors are represented as abject because of their sexuality. Sexuality is seen as the core of their identity, and the representation of these social actors will be dependent of their sexuality. This is similar to the representation of women in the media, who also have their identity intrinsically connected to sexuality or to activities that are naturalized as belonging to a supposedly ‘weaker sex’ (Figueiredo, 1995; Heberle, 1997; Abreu, 2012). Especially when it comes to the criminals involved in the analyzed cases, another hypothesis is that people who commit crimes and possess a non-normative sexuality have their criminal essence enhanced exactly because of their abject sexual status, as if their sexual behavior were an explanation to the perpetration of crimes.

## **1.4 Method**

### **1.4.1 Data collection and criteria for data collection**

In order to achieve the objectives proposed in this investigation, data composed of news reports of crimes involving queer social actors were collected from news websites. The media from which the reports were taken included the *Mail Online* and *G1* news websites, which are very popular sources of news in the United Kingdom and Brazil, respectively. These reports of crimes were collected from different geographical locations so that I could develop a comparative analysis between the media of the two different countries.

The criterion for choosing these two specific sources of news was their popularity among mass audiences. *G1* is the most accessed online source of news in Brazil, it is the main news website of the *Globo Organizations* and it is one of the main sources of news to the general Brazilian public. The *Mail Online* is the online version of the *Daily Mail*, a sensationalist conservative British tabloid newspaper that is the second best-selling daily newspaper in the United Kingdom after *The*

*Sun*<sup>7</sup>. The reason why the *Mail Online* was chosen over *The Sun* is due to the facilities presented by the online search engine of the *Mail Online*'s website. Both *GI* and the *Mail Online* aim at a lower-middle class audience and, even though *GI* or the broadsheet newspapers published by *Globo* are not considered tabloids like the *Daily Mail*, they carry many similar features, such as sensationalism and exploitation of news, which transform them in a sort of tabloidized source of news. Similarly to the *Mail Online*, the media vehicles controlled by *Globo* also generally present a more conservative and right-winged view of society.

After looking through the news websites for reports of crimes, I decided to choose three different cases to analyze, due to their relevance and repercussion in the media: all of them were cases that the mainstream media covered in detail, they received great attention from the general public (especially in social media) and all the three cases had a series of published articles about them.

Another aspect of these cases that influenced my choice was how different the queer social actors in each of the cases were. One of the cases depicts a bisexual male as a criminal (according to his statement during his trial, reported by the media), the second case depicts a supposedly homosexual male as a victim, and the third case depicts a transgender woman as both victim and criminal. This variability opened up space for a comparative analysis of how criminals and victims have their identity represented differently in accordance with their sexuality.

Lastly, the three cases occurred within similar time frames. Two of the cases – the Dewani Case and the Lamp Case – occurred by the end of 2010, whereas the Veronica Case occurred in the beginning of 2015, only months after the Dewani Case was judged in the South African courts.

### 1.4.2 The data

The three different cases mentioned above were used as a basis for the analytical chapters. The first analytical chapter made use of the verbal texts in all of the three different series of reports on crimes involving queer social actors: the Lamp Case and the Veronica Case, both in Brazil, and the Dewani case in Great Britain. The second analytical chapter deals with the images and other visual resources used

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<sup>7</sup> Source: <http://www.pressgazette.co.uk/node/48913>



in the aforementioned data. In total, fifteen news reports were collected for the analysis proposed in this study, five articles from each one of the cases. A very brief contextualization of the cases and details of the process of collecting the articles is given in the following subsection. More information on each of the cases, including details about the judicial processes and the participants, are provided in the analytical sections of Chapter II.

#### ***1.4.2.2 The G1 data***

The *G1* corpus was collected having in mind two specific cases: the Lamp Case on Paulista Avenue and the Veronica Case. The choice for *G1* as a source of news was due to the fact that it is the most accessed news website in Brazil and it belongs to the *Globo Organizations*, which is the most powerful media conglomerate in Brazil and one of the most powerful ones in the world. *Globo* is therefore one of the main media vehicles responsible for the dissemination of information throughout the country and, to the majority of the population, the only regular source of information. Regarding the collection of data, a simple search on *G1* was conducted in order to have a broad view of all the published articles pertaining to the specific cases.

The first case, henceforth referred to as the Lamp Case, was chosen to be analyzed because of its repercussion in the Brazilian media when it occurred, in 2010. The case basically consists of a group of young males who were walking on Paulista Avenue early in the morning and were randomly attacked by a group of youngsters with fluorescent lamps apparently due to homophobia.

After conducting an initial search on *G1* and having in mind all the published articles on the case, I decided to collect articles from the day of the aggression (including the very first article published on the subject) to the moment the hearing against the aggressors started. Since it was a well discussed case at the time, many of the news reports were repeated and brought very little new information. Therefore, only articles that presented a considerable amount of new information or a new perspective on the case were collected, reaching a total of five articles.

The second case, henceforth the Veronica Case, concerns a transgender prisoner who attacked a prison officer in April 2015 in São Paulo and suffered extreme physical violence from the police. Similarly to the other chosen cases that compose the data of this study, it also had great repercussion in the mass media. It is a recent case that received

great attention from the dominant journalistic media due to the commotion produced by social media (e.g. Facebook, Twitter, Whatsapp). However, by the time the data collection was conducted, the case was at its beginning and only a few news reports had been published. Bearing that in mind, only five articles were collected for a more detailed verbal and semiotic analysis. Like in the Lamp Case, the criterion used for this collection was the amount of new information added to the case.

#### ***1.4.2.3 The Mail Online data and procedures for data collection***

For the *Mail Online* data, the Dewani Case was chosen, a crime involving the murder of a bride. This case was chosen because of its immense repercussion in the British media, as it is also the objective of this research to conduct a geographically comparative analysis. The case deals with accusations against Shrien Dewani, a rich British-Indian entrepreneur, for the murder of his wife during their honeymoon in South Africa – more about the case will be presented in the analytical chapters. Due to the fact that this is a long case, which has been in the media for more than four years, I will also analyze how the representation of the social actors changed as investigations on the case progressed.

As regards the procedures for data collection, an initial search was conducted using the tabloid's website to access all the pieces of news that involved the Dewani case, so that I could obtain some statistical data. The second phase of the collection consisted of choosing five pieces of news for a more detailed analysis. After a preliminary analysis, I noticed that the case had two big moments of media coverage: when the crime in question happened, in 2010, and when the trial was about to begin, in 2014. Thus, I decided to gather most data (four news reports) from the second semester of 2014, since at that time rumors concerned with Dewani's sexuality were getting stronger. One news report from 2011 – when rumors first started – was collected for comparative purposes, that is, to analyze if the representations had changed. Another criterion for the selection of the articles from 2014 was the focus on Dewani's sexuality that was already expressed in the headlines. Concerning the article from 2011, it was chosen because the headline already presented the British press' obsession with a possible "gay threat", this time in relation to how a South African prison could be harming and dangerous to Dewani, since he could suffer aggressions and be sexually abused.

### 1.4.3 Analytical procedures

The corpus of the study, composed of pieces of news about crimes involving social actors that present non-normative sexualities, will be analyzed under the light of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Queer Theory. These theories view discourse as both construing human relations and at the same time being construed by social norms and aim at analyzing explicit semiotic items to unveil hidden power relations and ideologies contained in the discourses that are present in texts (Caldas-Coulthard, 2008). Hence, such theories are typically used to deconstruct biased representations.

The analytical frameworks that will be applied to my data as mentioned above (Appraisal Theory from Systemic Functional Grammar, the representation of social actors and multimodality) view language as a system that is socially constructed and influenced. Therefore, these frameworks are an ideal support to analyses of discourse from a critical perspective.

For all the cases under investigation, the verbal analysis will be conducted at the ideological level supported by the aforementioned linguistic theories. In other words, the texts will firstly be scrutinized in order to unveil the possible discourses and ideologies that underlie the use and choice of certain words that represent the social actors involved in the cases. The texts will also be analyzed according to their evaluative effect.

Finally, an analysis of the non-verbal features of the texts, such as images and typography, will be conducted based on Multimodality and The Grammar of Visual Design theories. The objective of the multimodal analysis is the same as the one for the verbal analysis: to unveil the discourses behind the use and choice of multimodal features in the news reports. Therefore, categories from The Grammar of Visual Design (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996) will be applied to the data to complement and support the multimodal critical discourse analysis<sup>8</sup>.

## 1.5 Significance of the Study

In concluding this introduction, I want to point out that the main aim of this study is to highlight discrimination against the queer community in the discourses of journalistic media in order to achieve

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<sup>8</sup> A confluence of Multimodality and Critical Discourse Analysis. More on this topic is presented on Chapter III.

some kind of social awareness and perhaps social change. This sort of media was chosen because it possesses the power of influencing and shaping society since it provides viewers with a single perspective of social reality. As it will be discussed in the theoretical sections of this thesis, social subjects are capable of reshaping and restricting discourse, and this makes social change the main objective in analyses of discourse from a critical perspective. Throughout this work, I intend to examine how queer social actors are represented in the journalistic media and thus possibly make readers more aware of the unequal power relations that may be hidden in such representations. If people are aware of how prejudice can be reproduced through linguistic choices, they may act upon it and rethink how they represent the world through their own linguistic choices. Such awareness also makes it possible for common readers to become more critical in relation to what is transmitted by the mass media. After all, prejudice only continues to exist through the reiteration of prejudicial and biased discourses.

## **1.6 Organization of the Thesis**

This thesis is divided into four main chapters. After the first and introductory chapter, the two following chapters firstly present the theoretical background that will serve as a basis for the analysis conducted in that chapter, followed by the analysis itself. Chapter II aims at developing a verbal analysis of how social actors are represented in terms of linguistic choices in each of the chosen cases. Appraisal (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014; Martin & White, 2010) and the representation of social actors (van Leeuwen, 2008) are used as analytical tools for the verbal analysis. In Chapter III, I discuss the ideologies and discourses that underlie the choice of visual resources present in each of the cases, using Multimodality (Machin, 2007) and categories from *The Grammar of Visual Design* (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996) as analytical tools.

The last chapter that comprises this thesis is dedicated to connecting the dots of what was discussed in the analytical chapters, revisiting the research questions, and presenting the final remarks to this thesis. This chapter aims at discussing how the semiotic choices (both verbal and non-verbal features) become a unity to *mis*represent queer social actors through biased discourses on the basis of the prejudicial ideologies possessed by the producers of news reports. The chapter also seeks to discuss the limitations of this study and formulate some suggestions for further research that deals with sexuality and

representation of social actors, which is something that has been receiving growing attention in the academia, especially in the area of discourse and social studies.



## **CHAPTER II**

### **CRIMINALS AND VICTIMS: THE VERBAL REPRESENTATION OF QUEER SOCIAL ACTORS IN REPORTS OF CRIMES**

#### **2.1 Initial Remarks**

In this chapter I will analyze the verbal features in the collected reports of my data: the Dewani Case, the Veronica Case and the Lamp Case. I will also introduce the theoretical background that served as a basis for the verbal analysis. I start by presenting the concept of language as social practice, which is the concept that will guide this analysis. I will also discuss the main characteristics and objectives of Critical Discourse Analysis, the main theoretical framework of this thesis. Subsequently, I will introduce Systemic Functional Linguistics and the categories I chose to use in the analysis of the reports: the appraisal system (Martin & White, 2005) and the categories of inclusion/exclusion, nomination and categorization of social actors (van Leeuwen, 2008).

#### **2.2 Language as Social Practice and (Critical) Discourse Analysis**

Language has always been the way through which people communicate with one another and convey messages, in order to construct a social order bound by collective interests and purposes. However, language does more than just serving as a communication tool; it is also constitutive of many aspects of society, such as the reproduction of power relations among groups or within groups who live in a specific community (e.g. how employees talk to their employers). In other words, it is a means through which discourse is realized and, consequently, the main way through which ideologies are perpetuated. Discourse, ideology and power are therefore interconnected, since the maintenance of power is usually achieved through the “ideological workings of language” (Fairclough, 1989, p. 2). Discourse is seen here as language in use, not only as a system of abstract linguistic forms, but also a system for making meaning that serves different functions and communicative purposes in different contexts of situation as a type of social practice, simultaneously reflecting and shaping society (Fairclough, 1989; Fairclough, 1992; Brown & Yule, 1983 as cited in Jaworski & Coupland, 2006, p. 1; Jaworski & Coupland, 2006, p. 149).

Given the fact that discourse is a social practice materialized in texts<sup>9</sup>, it is not devoid of ideologies, previously constructed assumptions working in the service of power<sup>10</sup> in order to implicitly produce, reproduce and/or maintain unequal relations of power (Fairclough, 1989, p. 2).

Ideologies and power relations have an intrinsic relation because ideological assumptions embedded in particular social conventions depend on the power relations that underlie the conventions (Fairclough, 1989, p. 2). These conventions are “a means of legitimizing existing social relations and differences of power simply through the recurrence of ordinary, familiar ways of behaving which take these relations and power differences for granted” (Fairclough, 1989, p. 2). Therefore, discourses can be used as a deployment of (or resistance to) dominant ideologies (Jaworski & Coupland, 2006). The mass media, especially in reporting news, has a major role in the maintenance of dominant ideologies and biased discourses (e.g. sexist discourse, homophobic discourse, racist discourse, classist discourse) and any other discourse due to its position in contemporary societies. It holds the power of representing the world in particular ways to an enormous audience through a process of naturalization of power asymmetries. This process of naturalization is achieved through choices of representation, such as choosing to foreground a piece of information and background others, or choosing to represent someone in a certain way rather than in a different way.

Discourse Analysis (DA) is therefore an interdisciplinary field<sup>11</sup> that deals with “how the speakers of a language identify and construe themselves and others, acting through a linguistic code as subjects within a social context” (Caldas-Coulthard, 1997, p. 15). One branch of DA is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), a theory mainly associated with the British linguist Norman Fairclough, which focuses on the

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<sup>9</sup> Text in the broader sense, constituted of language in both written and spoken forms (semiosis).

<sup>10</sup> An abstract system responsible for the creation and maintenance of hierarchical relations.

<sup>11</sup> According to Jaworski and Coupland (2006), the interdisciplinary aspect of DA emerges from the fact that most disciplines (especially the human and social sciences) “need to deal with inter-relations between discourse and concepts such as social structure, social relations, conflict, ideology, selfhood, postmodernity and social change” (p. 6). Therefore, DA is an important field to many areas of study, such as in applied linguistics, psychology, sociology, and anthropology to mention a few.



“bidirectional link between language and society, taking into account sociopolitical and cultural aspects of discourse” (Heberle, 2000, p. 117). This critical approach, as pointed out by Heberle (2000) when she refers to Fairclough’s work, is connected to the study and analysis of (asymmetrical) power relations, showing through the analysis of explicit linguistic elements how “discourses reinforce and are reinforced by the existing status quo, the existing socio-economic structure of society” (p. 117). Social and functional approaches to language, such as Systemic Functional Linguistics, a framework that will be further discussed in this chapter, are used as descriptive tools by most critical discourse analysts.

An important point suggested by CDA practitioners is that social subjects, despite being shaped by discourse, are “capable of reshaping and restructuring social practices” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 45), which makes social change the ideal objective in analyses of discourse from a critical perspective.

### 2.3 Language and Sexuality

As stated in the introductory chapter of this thesis, sexuality is still considered a taboo in our society. It has been, however, a key element in the production and maintenance of many institutional discourses. Taking into account Foucault’s ideas expressed in his Repressive Theory (Foucault, 1978), repression still has its effects projected onto our lives when we see the prejudice that non-normative sexualities suffer, be it in the form of physical, verbal or representational violence. The Repressive Theory claims that for the past hundreds of years it has been prohibited to openly talk or discuss about sex and such prohibition changed the way people construe sexuality and gender. When it comes to verbal and representational violence, language<sup>12</sup> plays a central role and in many instances, it is through language that such violence is realized.

Besides being an important tool in the employment of repression, language plays a major role in the construction of sexual identities by creating the polar categories of homosexual and heterosexual, or transgender and cisgender. Judith Butler (1999) argues that the way language is used is phallogocentric and pervasively masculinist and hence constitutive of women as the unrepresentable. Following Butler’s line of thought and taking into consideration the heterosexual matrix upon which society is constructed - a

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<sup>12</sup> Language as semiotics, involving all modes of communication.

“heteronormative logic [...] grounded in a binary relationship that simultaneously determines *opposition* and *complementarity* between the masculine gender and the feminine gender<sup>13</sup>” (Alós, 2013, p. 54) -, it is also possible to conceive queer sexualities as the unrepresentable.

Therefore, discourse as representation legitimates and gives visibility to certain social practices and identities (e.g. heterosexual love and desire, marriage, the nuclear family), and background others (e.g. same-sex love and desire, “queer” communities, transgendered men and women). When a non-normative practice is given visibility, this visibility is usually used to expose its status of “deviance” from the norm. In order to conquer visibility and become representable, some subjects and certain social practices need to become part of what Butler calls the matrix of cultural intelligibility. In other words, they must “maintain relations of coherence and continuity among sex, gender, sexual practice, and desire” (Butler, 1999, p. 23). Such relation of coherence may be exemplified by the common-sense concept of heterosexual relationships: the male biological sex is supposed to present masculine traits, perform a masculine gender and have sexual relations with a person of the female biological sex, who performs a feminine gender.

In this sense, homosexuals and transgender people constitute a social group seen as “others”, excluded from the privileged system of heteronormativity. This system presupposes a relation of coherence between gender, sex and desire based on heterosexual and cis-gender standards. Due to the marginal status of non-normative sexualities, being a part of the queer community brings negative consequences to its ‘members’. The frequent sensation of being the keeper of a secret (or of an “open secret”) and having constantly to negotiate with the “closet” in order to explain their sexuality (or not) is a causality queers have been suffering, turning the closet into the “defining structure for gay oppression of this century” (Sedgwick, 1990, p. 71). Being ‘found out’ is a constant fear in the life of many gay men and lesbian women, and even those who are quite open about their sexuality have to deal with complicated situations regarding their sexual orientation all the time. As Sedgwick (1990) points out

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<sup>13</sup> Minha tradução. Original: “A lógica heteronormativa [...] está calcada em uma relação binária que simultaneamente determina a *oposição* e a *complementaridade* do gênero masculino e do gênero feminino” (Alós, 2013, p. 54).

[...] every encounter with a new classful of students, to say nothing of a new boss, social worker, loan officer, landlord, doctor, erects new closets whose fraught and characteristic laws of optics and physics exact from at least gay people new surveys, new calculations, new draughts and requisitions of secrecy or disclosure. Even an out gay person deals daily with interlocutors about whom she doesn't know whether they know or not; it is equally difficult to guess for any given interlocutor whether, if they did know, the knowledge would seem very important (p. 68).

Using language as a performative act has an important role in the construction and maintenance of the closet. Performativity interprets language not only as a system of communication, but as a system also used to construct or perform a certain identity (Butler, 1999). Language as performativity may produce homosexuality as unspeakable and build social actors' performance as 'closeted', for when one performs gender in accordance with the heterosexual matrix, one's gender performance does not have to be questioned or explained. Through the use of language, social actors constantly and performatively produce gender performance, which is directly related to the 'closeted' state of homosexuality. The same goes for transgender people who have to pass for a certain gender and be convincing (especially in terms of appearance) in order to be assimilated by society. As long as one displays both the proper performance of gender and language expected from sexed bodies (acting and talking 'like a man' or 'like a woman'), follows the normatively coherent pattern sex-gender-desire, and does not speak of one's queer sexuality, there is less risk of being 'forced out of the closet'.

One way of understanding how language can be used to construct one's gender performance, represent social practices and represent relationships among participants in an interaction is through the analysis of explicit semiotic items. In this sense, Systemic Functional Linguistic is an ideal framework for the analysis of linguistic items in relation to social constructions, since it considers language not only as a structure, but as a meaning-making system that shapes and is shaped by society.

## 2.4 Systemic Functional Linguistics

Proposed by the English linguist Michael Halliday in the 1960s, Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) is a linguistic framework that views language from a social semiotic perspective, as one among many other semiotic systems (or systems of meaning) related to human experience (Halliday & Hassan, 1989). It is frequently used as a linguistic theory in the area of Critical Discourse Analysis, as it permits discourse analysts to work on many research fields, with different types of text through the analysis of lexicogrammatical items, taking into account the social and cultural context of what is being analyzed (Figueiredo, 2000B; Barbara & Macêdo, 2009). Through the analysis of language from a functional and critical perspective, it is possible to unveil the ideological workings of language and possibly raise social awareness, one of the steps in the achievement of social change, the main objective of Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 2003, p. 3).

One way of analyzing how ideologies and discourses are instantiated in texts is through the use of Systemic Functional Grammar, a grammatical and analytical framework that was developed based on the principles of SFL.

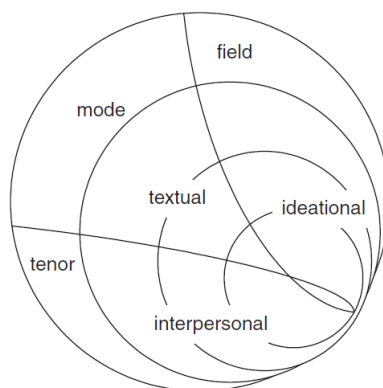
### 2.4.1 Functional grammar

Following this social semiotic perspective on language presented by SFL, Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) is a type of grammar and analytical tool proposed by Halliday that differs from formal grammars in the sense that it sees language as a social phenomenon. Even though both formal and functional grammars conceive language as a set of structures, the former perceives language as a pure and fixed structure, emphasizing the innate linguistic structures common to speakers of different languages, whereas the latter emphasizes the functions language plays within a given context. Thus, SFG is concerned with the structure, function and meaning of language, taking into consideration that every choice in language use is influenced by social and cultural contexts (Haratyan, 2011).

SFG provides a stratified model of language that takes into account extralinguistic and linguistic levels of texts in which one level of language is realized through the subsequent inner level. Extralinguistic levels are concerned with the context in which a given text is produced. The outermost contextual level is called *context of culture*, which is “sometimes described as the sum of all the meanings it

is possible to mean in a particular culture” (Butt et al., 2000, p. 3). The subsequent inner contextual level is the *context of situation* or register, a level that is concerned with the specific context in which a text is produced and comprises three contextual parameters: *field*, *tenor* and *mode*. The *field* deals with what is going on in a situation; *tenor* deals with who the participants are and their relationship; *mode* deals with the type of text being made and the role that is played by semiotic systems (Butt et al., 2000; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014).

The parameters present in the context of situation are expressed across the linguistic levels of texts through metafunctions, the kinds of meanings language serves. The *field* is expressed through the ideational metafunction, which is concerned with the construal and representation of human experience, including who did what to whom and under what circumstances; *tenor* relates to the interpersonal metafunction, a kind of meaning concerned with the establishment of personal, social and power relations among participants; *mode* is expressed through the textual metafunction, a mode of meaning that is concerned with the organization of a text and its building as a coherent and cohesive structure (White & Martin, 2005; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). The relationship between the context of situation and its metafunctions is illustrated in Figure 1:



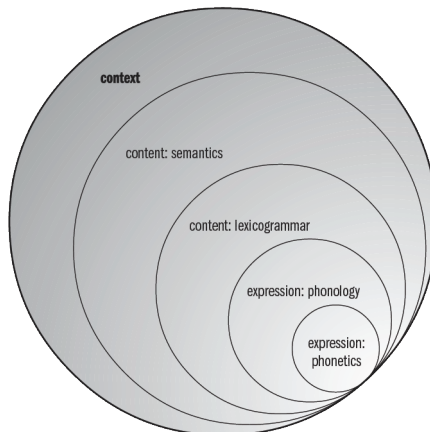
**Figure 1 - Context of situation and metafunctions (Martin & White, 2005, p. 12)**

The linguistic levels or strata of texts are divided into levels of content and expression. The levels of content are *discourse semantics* and *lexicogrammar* and the level of expression is comprised of

graphology, phonology and signing. Regarding the content levels, Halliday & Matthiessen state that:

[...] grammar has to interface with what goes on outside language: with the happenings and conditions of the world, and with the social processes we engage in. But at the same time it has to organize the construal of experience, and the enactment of social processes, so that they can be transformed into wording. (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p. 25).

Given this need to establish an interface between grammar and variables outside language, the content levels were separated into two different strata. Discourse semantics is the most abstract of the linguistic levels as it is concerned with meaning beyond the clause (Martin & White, 2005), in which “experience and interpersonal relationships are transformed into meaning” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p. 25). This stratum of meaning is realized through lexicogrammar, a less abstract content level concerned with the transformation of meaning into wording. Finally, lexicogrammatical resources are realized through graphological, phonological or signing patterns at the expression level, the most concrete of the strata of language. Figure 2 illustrates the stratification of language from a functional perspective.



**Figure 2 - Stratification of language (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p. 26)**

Since one of the objectives of this thesis is to analyze the representation of social actors in terms of evaluative language, only the interpersonal metafunction is further explored here. According to Martin & White (2005, p. 7), this metafunction articulates interpersonal meaning and construes tenor at the level of discourse semantics through three distinctive systems that complement one another: negotiation, involvement and appraisal. Negotiation concerns speech function and is realized at lexicogrammatical level through mood and tagging. Involvement “focuses on non-gradable resources for negotiating tenor relations, especially solidarity<sup>14</sup>” (Martin & White, 2005, p. 33), and is realized in lexicogrammar through a variety of linguistic items, such as proper names, technical/specialized lexis, slang, among others. Finally, appraisal is the interpersonal system at discourse semantics level concerned with the language of evaluation and how such interpersonal meaning is enacted at the lexicogrammatical and expression levels and its connection to extralinguistic strata. The appraisal system is one of the theoretical frameworks used in the verbal analysis of this thesis and will be discussed in more detail in the next subsection.

#### 2.4.2 The appraisal system

Appraisal is a system developed by Martin and White (2005) to analyze interpersonal meanings in terms of evaluative language. While it does not figure in *Halliday's Introduction to Functional Grammar* (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014), it was developed and “evolved within the general theoretical framework of SFL” (Martin & White, 2005, p. 7). As a system, it maps the various possibilities of lexicogrammatical realization that convey evaluation at the semantic level. Since appraisal is seen by Martin and & White (2005) as belonging to the stratum of discourse semantics, it is expected that these interpersonal meanings have diverse grammatical realizations. In their description of evaluative language, Martin and White (2005) propose three major subdivisions of appraisal: attitude, engagement and graduation. Due to the limitation of length in this thesis, I will only discuss each of these categories in general terms and explain their specificities in the analysis whenever it shows necessary.

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<sup>14</sup> Solidarity refers to the proximity between participants in an interaction and its general point is that “the better you know someone the more meanings you will share and the less you need to say to share them” (Martin & White, 2005, p. 31).

Attitudinal meanings are concerned with the mapping of feelings as regards emotion, ethics and aesthetics and are polarized as negative or positive attitudes. Emotions are analyzed under the category of *affect* and can fall under the categories of dis/inclination, un/happiness, in/security or dis/satisfaction. Ethics are analyzed under the category of *judgment*, which evaluates attitudes based on the way people behave. Judgments are construed as those of social esteem or those of social sanction. Judgments of social esteem deal with how normal (normality), how capable (capacity) and how dependable or resolute (tenacity) someone is. On the other hand, judgments of social sanction deal with how truthful (veracity) and how ethical (propriety) someone is. The final category of attitude is *appreciation*, which is concerned with aesthetical evaluations. Appreciations are divided into reactions (related to affection), composition (related to the perception of complexity and balance) and value (related to cognition and how worthwhile something is). One important feature of attitudinal meanings is that they are usually graduated, moving along a low to high scale in terms of force. It is also very important to point out that since language is seen by SFL as functional, a given lexical item may vary its meaning depending on the context.

Engagement is the second major category of appraisal and it deals with how the authorial voice engages with other voices and positions. Following a Bakhtinian notion that all texts are dialogic, engagement thus aims at describing how this authorial voice positions itself in relation to the heteroglossia present in the text, be it in regard to people they are relating to, ideal readers or the backdrop of other voices on the topic that is being discussed (Martin & White, 2005). The system of engagement first differentiates *monoglossic* from *heteroglossic* texts as it claims that there are no texts that are truly monoglossic. Texts that are typically interpreted as monoglossic present no other explicit voices and provide taken for granted information; however, Martin and White (2005) state that these texts can only provide this kind of information because they construe an imagined reader who shares the same values as those from the authorial voice. Another situation in which this imagined reader comes to surface in apparently monoglossic texts is in series of bare/categorical assertions used as argumentation, a situation that construes an issue that is still up for discussion and an imagined reader that needs to be convinced. In explicitly heteroglossic texts (i.e. where other voices are explicitly present), engagement may occur through *expansion* or *contraction*. When expanded, the text allows other voices in the text and entertains dialogism through his/her own voice



(*entertainment*) or through the voices of others (*attribution*), generating relations of *distancing* or *acknowledgment*. For the discussion on attributive engagement, I will also make use of Caldas-Coulthard's (1997) ideas on types of reporting verbs. When the text is contracted, heteroglossia is perceivable but discourse promotes categoricity, excluding dialogical alternatives or representing them as not applying by either proclaiming or disclaiming information.

Graduation is the final category of appraisal and it also plays a dialogistic role through which writers/speakers graduate their assertions in terms of *force* and *focus*. Through graduation, they align more or less with the positions being advanced in the text. This category is very important as it complements evaluations of attitude and engagement. According to Martin and White (2005), graduations of attitude “construe greater or lesser degrees of positivity or negativity” (p. 135) whereas graduations of engagement express degrees of rhetors’ “intensity, or the degree of their investment in the utterance” (p. 136).

As useful as the appraisal system is for the kind of analysis I propose here, this system does not consider, for instance, how social actors are categorized, nominated or excluded in discourse. Thus, I will also make use of van Leeuwen's (2008) ideas on the representation of social actors.

### 2.4.3 Representation of social actors

Another work derived from Halliday's notion of language as social semiotic and the functional principles that underlie Systemic Functional Linguistics is van Leeuwen's framework (2008) on the representation of social actors (term coined by him in order to address the participants of social practices). According to the author, it is crucial to understand the difference between the ‘actual’ social practices and the representation of these practices, considering that a given social practice may be represented in many different possible ways. There are elements constitutive of all social practices, such as actions, location, time and, most importantly for this research, participants, that are not necessarily present in the representation of a social practice.

In his framework, van Leeuwen argues that the social actors of a specific social practice can be represented in a variety of ways. For the purposes of the analysis developed in this work, only the following categories of representation are considered: *exclusion* (and *inclusion*), *nomination* and *categorization*.

Representations may include or exclude social actors according to text producers' needs, interests and purposes and the audience they are intended to (van Leeuwen, 2008). Regarding the exclusion of participants, there are three distinctive subcategories: *total exclusion*, *suppression* and *backgrounding*. While total exclusion excludes both the social actor and any activity he/she was engaged in, leaving no trace of his/her existence in the representation, suppression and backgrounding include the actions and exclude some or all the actors involved, leaving a trace to be tracked. In suppression, specifically, the actors are not mentioned anywhere in the text, whereas in backgrounding the social actors are mentioned elsewhere in the text, but not in relation to a given action, being "deemphasized and pushed into the background" (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 29).

Social actors can also be represented in terms of their unique identity (*nomination*) or in terms of identities and functions shared with a group (*categorization*). Categorization encompasses the subcategories of *functionalization* (representation based on the activities social actors conduct) and *identification* (representation based on what social actors are). In the case of identification, social actors can be represented through *classification*, *relational identification* and *physical identification*. Classification deals with the categorization of social actors in relation to the classes of people that are created, maintained and differentiated by a given society (for instance: classes of people based on religion, ethnicity, wealth and sexual orientation). Relational identification categorizes social actors in accordance with their personal or work relations. Physical identification represents social actors in terms of their physical characteristics.

## **2.5 The Analysis: Contextualizing the Dewani Case**

Shrien Dewani and Anni Hindocha were born to wealthy families and met through mutual friends in 2009. After an 18-month courtship, Dewani and Hindocha had a fancy and expensive wedding in Mumbai by the end of 2010. After the wedding celebration, they flew to Cape Town, in South Africa, where they had planned to spend their honeymoon. On the second day of their trip, Shrien and Anni's taxi was hijacked and they were driven around the poor and dangerous township of Gugulethu. Shrien Dewani managed to escape the hijacking, but Anni was driven off and killed, and her body was found the next morning together with the hijacked vehicle.

Some days after the murder, Dewani returned to the United Kingdom as three suspects of the murder were arrested. After the interrogations with the suspects, South African authorities started to believe that Dewani might have been involved in the hijacking and murder. Due to such suspicion, Dewani was arrested and sent to a psychiatric center in England, alleging that his mental health had deteriorated since the murder. After a long diplomatic and judicial process, Dewani was extradited to South Africa in April 2014 to participate in a trial as the fourth suspect for Anni's murder.

Short after Dewani's arrest, rumors regarding his sexuality started to appear in the media. In 2011, British tabloids published articles reporting that Dewani used to have secret encounters with Leopold Leisser, a male prostitute from Birmingham. When Dewani was extradited to South Africa and the trial was about to begin, the number of news reports about his sexuality and sexual habits increased to a point where most of the articles focused almost exclusively on these topics, especially because the prosecution intended to use his sexuality as an incriminating factor. On the first day of the trial, Dewani confirmed that he was bisexual and the judge deemed this fact irrelevant to the case, infuriating the prosecution and the media. Finally, in December 2014, Dewani was acquitted of all charges regarding the case, a fact that was also received with very negative criticism by the media.

More details on the case can be seen at the end of Appendix C, where the *Mail Online* provides a timeline of the murder.

## **2.6 Representation of Queerness as an Enhancement of Criminal Identities**

When I searched for "Dewani" on the *Mail Online*, I encountered about 250 hyperlinks that redirect to pages related to the case, an impressive number probably due to the controversial nature of the case. The majority of these links redirect to written news reports pertaining to the case, and a small number of hyperlinks redirects to videos and columnists' pages. Out of the 250 hyperlinks associated with the case that occurred in 2010, a large number concentrates on the period from the end of 2010 to the beginning of 2011, when there was the kidnapping and murder of Shrien Dewani's bride, Anni Hindocha, and the subsequent outbreak of the case in the press. Another high incidence of news reports on the case, constituting more than fifty percent of the total number of reports, occurred between October 2014 and December 2014, when there was the trial, acquittal of the accused,

and contestation of the verdict by the media. Among these most recent news reports, the majority of them concerns Dewani's sexual life, adding very little or nothing to the case. These reports only serve as speculation and fuel for sensationalism, and they produce an identity for Dewani that may be rejected by the most conservative/normative spheres of society, expressing the partial stance taken by the *Mail Online* as regards the case. It is important to recall that the *Mail Online*, the online version of the tabloid analyzed for this specific case, targets a conservative audience, who generally possesses more normative ideologies.

The British media seemed obsessed with blaming Dewani for the murder of his wife, even though there was lack of evidence on the part of the prosecution. One of the crucial arguments of the prosecutors against Dewani was his bisexuality, an argument that was rejected by the lead judge of the case, who deemed it "irrelevant"; however, the British media took this argument to a whole different level when there was a confirmation that Dewani was indeed bisexual. During the months that followed the beginning of the trial and the confirmation that Dewani regularly engaged in sexual relations with other men, the British tabloids turned their attention to the accused's sexuality in a way to construct his sexuality as a deviant behavior and Dewani as an immoral person and consequently a criminal. It is interesting to notice that before the confirmation that Dewani had sexual interest in other men, the *Mail Online* had never demonstrated any specific interest in this fact, treating it as rumor or speculation. At that time, the news revolved around more concrete evidence and descriptions, such as high quantities of money that were exchanged by Dewani or the tourist guide who claimed to have received a large amount of money to plan the murder. Even when rumors regarding Dewani's sexuality started to sprawl, such speculations were reported on the news, but the media did not focus exclusively on them. An example of that is the article from 2011 that is part of the data of this thesis: although this piece of news was published just a week after rumors began, it focused on the conditions Dewani might have encountered in South African prisons. However, since that moment it was possible to perceive the *Mail Online's* partiality in relation to Dewani.

Such partiality can be seen from the very beginning of the case when the *Mail Online* attempts to convince its readership that sending Dewani to a South African prison would *not* be an unhuman choice. In the aforementioned article published in 2011 that deals with a possible extradition of the accused, the *Mail Online* makes use of *engagement*

and *functionalization* of social actors to maintain its position in favor of the condemnation of the British entrepreneur. In the headlines of the article, the news website states that Dewani would be sexually abused if he were sent to a South African prison and then it *counters* this argument through the voice of authority (Example 1). In the first sentence, the use of quotation marks is a semiotic device used to *attribute* an utterance to an external voice; however, no external voice is presented in this sentence, which generates doubt in relation to who might have stated that Dewani would be sexually abused. In the following sentence, the previous sentence is *countered* through the contractive connective “but”, which eliminates the solidarity that had been produced in the first sentence. In order to align readers with its point of view, the *Mail Online* then *attributes* an opposing argument to a functionalized social actor (“prison inspector”) that belongs to the context that is being discussed (i.e. prisons) and thus possesses a certain degree of authority. This attribution is enacted through the verbal process “insists”, which *acknowledges* the position of the prison inspector in a sort of alignment with that of the news medium. Finally, the position that is being acknowledged is expressed through a metaphor of *appreciation* of positive polarity that is highly graduated in terms of *intensification of force* – “like a five-star hotel”. The verbal process used in the sentence is also a metapositional verb that interprets the voice of the social actor (Caldas-Coulthard, 1997, p. 93), and it suggests that such proposition has already been discussed many times by this highly authoritative voice.

Honeymoon murder: Dewani would be ‘sexually abused’ if he was sent to South African prison  
 But prison inspector insists he would be sent to facility ‘like five-star hotel’

**Example 1 - Different representations of social actors and attitudinal meanings**

This same situation can be seen in much more detail in the body of the text, where more social actors come into play. In the very first sentence of the text, the issue of sexual abuse is raised again, but this time *attributed* to a group (“a court”) and through the behavioral process “heard” (Example 2). Once again, this utterance generates doubt and uncertainty since the social actor from whom the court heard about the sexual abuse is *suppressed*. One more sentence is presented in the body of the text to support the argument that Dewani could be sexually

abused, this time including Dewani's lawyers as social actors (Example 3). In this sentence, all the negative attitudinal meanings in relation to life in prison are *attributed* to the lawyers through the verbal process "claim", which generates a *distancing* between the position of the lawyers and the position of the news medium, very differently from the *acknowledgement* produced by the process "insist" that is *attributed* to the prison inspector in the headlines. Moreover, since now voice was given to the *functionalized* lawyers, who also hold certain authority, the *categorization* of the previously called "prison inspector" changed: now he is *nominated* by receiving a name and his *functionalization* changes to "former High Court Judge" (Example 4), a position that is hierarchically higher than that of a lawyer and thus holds much more authority. Through the voice of this high authority, the news website counters the arguments against Dewani's extradition with a series of arguments that aim at convincing its readership that a South African prison would not represent a threat to Dewani's life, such as the ones in Examples 4 and 5.

Honeymoon murder suspect Shrien Dewani would be 'sexually abused' if he is sent to a South African prison a court heard.

**Example 2 - Attributive voice with the exclusion of social actors**

His lawyers claimed that he would be 'very vulnerable' to gang attacks and sexual abuse if he stood trial there.

**Example 3 - Distancing through attribution**

Yesterday, Deon Van Zyl, a former High Court Judge who now inspects prisons, said he receives a text message whenever an inmate dies and he had received one only this morning reporting a death.

**Example 4 - High functionalization and acknowledgement of voice**

And he [the former High Court Judge] suggested that if convicted, Mr Dewani would spend much of his sentence in the 'luxury' Malmesbury Medium A prison in the Western Cape.

**Example 5 - Highly intensified appreciation**

As pointed out by Martin and White (2005) in their discussion on the use of monoglossia, when the writer poses a series of arguments in favor of a position, the text "construes a reader who does not necessarily share the writer's views [...] – who is perhaps undecided

and looking for further guidance, or who, while already leaning in the writer's direction, is still interested in further argumentation" (p. 102). In this sense, the *Mail Online* uses a series of arguments attributed to a highly authoritative voice that counters two arguments attributed to less authoritative voices, which serves as an strategy to convince readers to align with the media's position. In fact, one of the voices holds virtually no authority as the producer of the argument suffers from suppression and is excluded from the text (Example 2). These argumentative moves confirm the partiality of the news medium in relation to the Dewani Case.

Moreover, in the transition between the argumentation against and in favor of Dewani's extradition, namely the one that the *Mail Online* counters and the one it supports, the news medium included a passage that discusses his possible role in Anni's murder, his intentions and his relationship with a male prostitute (Example 6). In this passage, voice is attributed to Dewani through the verbal process "confess", which makes the *Mail Online* *acknowledge* and align with what is being uttered; in this case, the *Mail Online* aligns with the idea that Dewani desired to find a way out of his marriage and it also adds the circumstance of time "just months before his wife was killed", to reinforce the fact that he should be treated as a suspect or even guilty. Moreover, the meta-propositional reporting verb "confess" also invokes a negative *judgment* of social sanction in terms of veracity, indicating that Dewani was the holder of a secret. The strategic position of this piece of information and the use of such process also suggests another argument in favor of Dewani's extradition.

The comments come a day after it was revealed that a gay escort would tell a court how the businessman confessed he needed to escape an arranged marriage just months before his wife was killed.

**Example 6 - Negative transition between generation of solidarity and countering**

From the moment that Dewani's bisexuality became public, after he mentioned this fact on the first day of trial in Cape Town, the attention and focus of the news turned to his sexuality and how it made him guilty of the crime. Besides that, it is easy to notice the position that the media takes in relation to Dewani, since the *Mail Online* makes clear its dissatisfaction with the judge's decision of not accepting the prosecutors' argument that Dewani had arranged his wife's murder because of his own sexuality. This dissatisfaction can be seen through

the use of attitudinal adverbs of appreciation such as “dramatically” (Example 7) and “bizarrely” (Example 8) to refer to the decision. There is also suppression of social actors when the news medium claims that there was anger in relation to the judge’s decision of deeming Dewani’s sexuality irrelevant for the case (Example 9). Suppression happens because the action “feeling angry” has all of its agents excluded from the text, not making it clear who felt such anger, also suggesting that anger, a negative attitudinal item of affect in terms of displeasure, was a widespread and universal feeling that was generated by such decision.

Dramatically cleared of killing his new wife on their honeymoon four years ago, Shrien Dewani will today fly home to Britain on a private aircraft chartered by his wealthy family.

**Example 7 - *Mail Online's* reaction to judge's decision I**

His sexuality had been a key aspect of the prosecution case. But judge Jeanette Traverso, ruled – bizarrely – that this evidence was irrelevant because of Dewani’s admission.

**Example 8 - *Mail Online's* reaction to judge's decision II**

Anger that judge dismissed issue of sexuality as irrelevant.

**Example 9 - Suppression of social actors in relation to the judge's decision**

If we consider the processes in the transitivity system (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014), we can see how the writers transform the accused’s sexuality in an incriminating element by using meta-propositional reporting verbs that interpret Dewani’s actions negatively. In a news report that focuses exclusively on Dewani’s double sexual life (Appendix D), the producers of the text use the verbal process “admit” in order to refer to the accused’s sexuality (Example 10). In the appraisal system, such process is seen as an attributive form of engagement that also invokes judgment of social sanction in terms of veracity, since a person who admits something had been hiding something. After conducting a search on a large database of English, Baker (2014) states that the process “admit” is frequently associated with illicit activities, such as robberies, thefts, kidnappings, among others. The process “admit” possesses a very strong negative semantic load and it also possesses a profound association with crime, thus also evoking negative judgment of social sanction in terms of ethics. Hence,



saying that Dewani “admitted he was bisexual” is another way of saying that his sexual identity is a criminal one (Baker, 2014). A similar situation occurs with the verbal processes “confess” (Example 11) and “deny” (Example 12) and with the material process “conceal” (Example 13), which are all used by the *Mail Online* in order to refer to the British millionaire’s sexuality. Within the judicial context in which the social actors are inserted (i.e. trials), these processes are commonly used to make reference to crimes and activities that go against the law.

Admitted he was ‘bisexual’ on first day of trial

**Example 10 - Crime-related verbal process I**

[Dewani] confessed to being bissexual and sleeping with male hookers.

**Example 11 - Crime-related verbal process II**

Dewani previously denied rumours he was a promiscuous homosexual.

**Example 12 - Crime-related verbal process III**

Bride’s father retains legal firm to sue Dewani for concealing he was gay.

**Example 13 - Crime-related material process**

Other linguistic strategies used in the creation of Dewani’s criminal identity are his representation as a social actor and the representation of his actions. Among the possibilities of representation of social actors and actions, the ones that call most attention in the analyzed corpus are categorizations through adjectification. After the emergence of rumors that Dewani had been involved in sexual relationships with men, the news medium affirms that Dewani had been being subject to investigations in relation to his “sordid private life” (Example 14). The adjective “sordid” is a highly intensified negative judgment of social sanction in terms of propriety, signifying how condemnable something is when it comes to ethics (Martin & White, 2005). This word is synonym to words that carry a very strong negative semantic load, such as abject, despicable, dirty, repugnant and, most importantly, morally degrading. It is the depiction of an immoral life that the *Mail Online* projects as the essence of Dewani’s identity; in the same news report, the writers also categorize Dewani as a “promiscuous homosexual” (Example 15). This description is very revealing since it associates Dewani with promiscuity, another highly intensified negative

judgment of social sanction that represents a life style that is construed as abject by society. The same description also uses categorization to classify (a form of identification) Dewani as a homosexual. The rumors that surrounded Dewani were that he engaged in sexual relationships with men in addition to having relationships with women; thus the classification of Dewani as homosexual is a way of invalidating or delegitimizing his bisexuality. There is, therefore, a commonsensical belief that bisexuality does not exist; if a man is having sex with other males, that automatically classifies him as homosexual. This same sort of delegitimization is also repeated by the *Mail Online* through other semiotic resources, as it will be discussed in Chapter III of this thesis. Lastly, the association of homosexuality and promiscuity is very detrimental to the queer community, since the view that homosexuals are sexually deprived sinners is reinforced and becomes naturalized. I am not posing a castrating argument in which people should not freely explore their sexuality, but I am rather questioning the use of the term promiscuity, which always already produces a negative evaluation of judgment. The problem here lies on the language that is used to describe the action, and not the action itself.

|  |
|--|
| Shrien Dewani faces scrutiny over his sordid private life. |
|--|

**Example 14 - Negative appraisal of Dewani's lifestyle**

|   |
|---|
| Dewani previously denied rumours he was a promiscuous homosexual. |
|---|

**Example 15 - Erroneous classification of Dewani's sexuality**

Another instance in which the delegitimization of Dewani's bisexuality occurs is when the news medium attributes voice to one of Anni's close relatives (even though it never attributes voice to Dewani's relatives) to reinforce the idea that Dewani does not have any interest in women. In Example 16, it is possible to see how heterosexuality is intrinsically connected to having sexual interest in *anyone* of the opposed gender; due to this supposed lack of sexual interest in Anni, Dewani's interest in women in general is immediately questioned. Such questioning is not due to this excerpt alone, but because it appears as an additional argument in a news report that mainly deals with Dewani's "gay life". Through Mashru's speech, the *Mail Online* describes, using appreciation and affect, how Anni felt in relation to Dewani's supposed lack of sexual interest. The appraisal strategy generates even more empathy for Anni and is once again very detrimental to Dewani. In Example 17, the *Mail Online* takes the delegitimization of bisexuality

even further by using the discourse signaling verb “add” to argue that Dewani was always very critical of Anni’s appearance in an attempt to show how he did not act as a man, creating the assumption that men should not be so critical or concerned with appearance. By doing so, the Mail Online assumes that women are the ones concerned with appearance and generates gender bias as well as it confuses gender performance and sexuality.

Behind the scenes, however, the relationship was in turmoil. Dewani and Anni rowed repeatedly and broke up several times during their 18-month courtship because of his ‘controlling’ behaviour and lack of sexual interest in her.

Her cousin Sneha Mashru, who was close to Anni, said: ‘Anni felt embarrassed and hurt, and we both felt it was weird. Anni and I speculated that maybe he was a virgin or perhaps just being proper.’

**Example 16 - Mashru's speech about Dewani's sexuality**

Mrs Mashru added that Dewani was always ‘very critical’ of Anni’s appearance.

**Example 17 - Dewani's sexuality under scrutiny**

The prejudice reproduced by the *Mail Online* is also present when it redundantly mentions that Dewani and Leopold Leisser (a male prostitute from Birmingham) used to have “sessions of gay sex” (Example 18). Paul Baker (2014) affirms that the reader already knows that Leisser and Dewani are two males who engage in sexual intercourse with one another, making it unnecessary to use the adjective “gay” to categorize the kind of sex in which they engaged. As it is pointed out by the author, “how many times do we read about people having “straight sex” in similar news stories (especially when it’s obvious from the context)?” (Baker, 2014). The same redundant use of this categorization is repeatedly present throughout the news reports, as it can be seen in Examples 19 and 20. Dewani’s sexual relationship with Leisser is presented through the meta-propositional reporting verb “reveal”, which once again interprets Dewani’s actions negatively as a secret, similarly to what was previously discussed about the verbs “confess” and “admit”.

'German master' who took part in gay sex sessions with Shrien Dewani reveals gratitude of murdered wife's parents after he revealed details of sexual relationship

**Example 18 - Redundant use of "gay" as a categorization**

Lawyers who used his fetish for gay sex as a 'motive' for murdering Anni may face bid for malicious damages

**Example 19 - Sex between men as fetish**

Certainly, lurid tales of gay sex, bondage clubs and trysts in hotel rooms with rent boys were not something that the accused ever wanted to emerge.

**Example 20 - Redundant use of "gay" as a categorization**

The *Mail Online* also calls Dewani's sexuality and desire for masculine bodies a "fetish for gay sex" (Example 19), degrading part of his subjectivity and desires by representing them as a mere fantasy. In relation to this representation of homosexuality, Paul Baker (2014) argues that

Referring to gay sex as a fetish, or conflating it with one, is highly questionable. A fetish usually refers to a sexual fixation with objects, body parts or situations that are not conventionally viewed as sexual. The word also has connotations of (at least statistical) abnormality, and kinkiness" (Baker, 2014).

Such conflation of homosexuality and fetishism relate homosexuality to what is usually discursively constructed as a phase, a psychological disorder or fixation, a construction that undermines the subjectivity and sexual experience of queer people. All of these categorizations are representative of what I have heard during my entire life coming from the mouths of conservative people when it comes to their opinion about homosexuality. All such representations construe homosexuality as an abject zone (Butler, 1993; 1999), a zone to be occupied by those who cannot enjoy the position of subject.

Through the analysis of the evaluative items used by the *Mail Online* in relation to Dewani's private life, all doubt has been put to rest when it comes to the ideological position the news medium assumes in relation to homosexuality as an immoral behavior. In Example 20, the

news medium makes use of the concurrence “certainly”, which is a type of proclamation of low reluctance in the engagement network that rejects dialogic alternatives (Martin & White, 2005). The idea that this concurrence represents as the truth is that Dewani did not want his history of “gay sex” and “bondage fetish” to emerge. In order to evaluate the social practices that involve homosexual relations, the *Mail Online* makes use of the adjective “lurid”, an attitudinal item of negative appreciation in terms of reaction that also invokes negative judgment of social sanction in terms of ethics. By doing so, the *Mail Online* represents homosexuality as a *certainly* shocking and therefore reproachable practice. Furthermore, the discourse promoted by the *Mail Online* is even clearer when it cohesively links a supposedly lack of respectability to having a gay life through the use of the connective “for”, the endorsement “prove” and the negative appreciative appraisal of composition “elusive” (Example 21).

But the one thing he [Dewani] has craved all his life – respectability – will prove elusive now. For his secret gay double life, particularly his penchant for violent sex with rubber-clad male prostitutes, will now face renewed scrutiny [...]

**Example 21 - Cohesive link between "respectability" and "gay life"**

The *Mail Online* also makes use of strategies of linguistic legitimation (van Leeuwen, 2007) in order to question the veracity of the information transmitted by Dewani and also to question his acquittal. This situation is very similar to that of Dewani’s possible life in a South African prison that was discussed in the beginning of this section. When it was publicized that Dewani had intentions of suing the prosecutors for trying to use his sexuality as a motive for the murder of Anni Hindocha, the news medium makes use of *authorization* when it brings the voice of a scientific authority (a specialist in the field) to attest that there are cases in which the accused sues the witnesses for defamation, even when they spoke the truth in court (Example 22). Once again the *Mail Online* brings the voice of a lawyer to defend Dewani and the voice of an academic expert (higher functionalization) to counter the arguments in favor of Dewani.

As a complement to my argument that the news medium intends to question Dewani’s decision of suing the prosecution, the *Mail Online* makes use of the structuring reporting verb and attribution of acknowledgement “said” to give voice to the attorney at the University of Witwaterstands’s law clinic (high authority/functionalization) when it

refers to those who try to sue the police. Notwithstanding, the *Mail Online* usually gives voice to Dewani through negative meta-propositional verbs and attributions of distancing. The instances that are related to Dewani's intentions of suing the prosecution are also highly modalized, which can be seen as either a judgment of social esteem in terms of capability or as examples of epistemic modality that transform Dewani's intentions into mere possibilities, such as the ones in Example 23. Such questioning may only occur because the news medium wants to convey the idea that prosecutors were right in treating Dewani's sexuality as an incriminating factor.

Mr. Jordi, an attorney at the University of Witwaterstand's law clinic, who specialises in claims against the police, said there have been defamation cases against witnesses in the past even when they had told the truth in court.

**Example 22 - Use of linguistic legitimation**

Dewani could now SUE over his sexuality [...]

Shrien Dewani could sue South African authorities for attempting to use his sexuality as evidence against him, a lawyer said today.

[...]Dewani could seek damages

[...]’He could have a case for malicious prosecution’

Shrien Dewani could sue South African authorities [...]

‘They can make a claim where the prosecution brings up material they know is inadmissible to blacken the character of the accused.’

**Example 23 - Modalization of Dewani's decision**

Through the analysis of the linguistic representation of Shrien Dewani as a social actor amidst a controversial case of kidnapping and murder, it is possible to see the mass media's non-factuality, partiality and ideological stances from the beginning of the reports. As a possible criminal who sees his sexuality represented as immoral and deviant, and transformed in an essential part of his criminal identity, Dewani suffers from a sort of hate crime through the symbolic violence perpetrated by the British media. This “crime” is imperceptible to the eyes of the

common reader, since it works at the abstract level of ideologies. However, it leaves traces to be followed and analyzed.

Paul Baker's (2014) important analysis of the case claims that the British media seems to be obsessed with gay sex. In a certain point of his short article on the Dewani case, the author mocks the fact that the British press is so hypocritical that it does exactly what it criticizes, highlighting that "a *Mail* headline on the day of the trial's end blamed 'prosecutors obsessed with gay sex' for the case's collapse. That's rich, since the press seems just as fixated" (Baker, 2014). At the same time that the *Mail Online* mentions the obsession of the prosecution with Dewani's sexuality and the use of his sexual encounters with men as a means of bringing his reputation "down to earth", it also reproduced this kind of obsession. As it was demonstrated throughout this analysis, Dewani had his sexuality constantly associated with the crime of which he was being accused. His private life was delivered to the public in detail as a way to lead more conservative audiences to doubt his character and respectability based on his sexuality. The media always treats homosexual desire as abnormal and undesirable, which is a result of how the Christian west sees sex as a "grounds for anguish and moral conflict" (Weeks, 1998, p. 64).

Perhaps Dewani perpetrates a "crime" even worse than that of possibly arranging the murder of Anni: he affirms to be bisexual, a sexual orientation that frequently suffers from invisibility and which does not even seem to be a real possibility before the eyes of the *Mail Online*. Through linguistic choices, the *Mail's* recurrent questioning of his bisexuality demonstrates the discredit such sexuality receives from society. Feria (2013) claims that when one thinks about sexual diversity, one enters a game that only considers homosexuality, bisexuality, transsexuality and heterosexuality, which is socially seen as the norm, and ignores other possibilities of sexualities. However, it was possible to perceive through the media representation of Shrien Dewani that the possibilities seem be even smaller, since bisexuality is not seen as a concrete possibility of sexual diversity. In fact, it is seen as an imaginary position behind which the individual tries to "hide" his/her true sexuality, one that can fit into the binary pair gay or straight.

## **2.7 The Analysis: Contextualizing the Veronica Case**

In April 2015, three images of a case in which an arrested transgender woman bit off part of the left ear of a prison officer and subsequently suffered physical aggressions from the police appeared in

social media. The first image depicted the prison officer and his dilacerated ear, the second image depicted the ripped off part of his ear in a bottle, and the third image depicted the transgender woman, Veronica Bolina, with torn clothes (that exposed her bare butt and right leg) lying on the ground next to an armed police officer. After these images were released on the internet, many newspapers and news websites started publishing news reports about the case, usually focusing on the aggression committed by Veronica and the injuries suffered by the prison officer.

When more images that depicted Veronica appeared online, it was possible to see how badly injured she was, especially her face. The very strong and graphic images of the wounds she suffered prompted an online commotion that culminated in the creation of the *We're all Veronica*<sup>15</sup> movement. It was only after this online commotion that newspapers started publishing news reports that focused on the aggressions Veronica suffered under custody instead of focusing exclusively on the aggression suffered by the prison agent.

## **2.8 The Abjection of Transsexuality and its Role as a Component of a Criminal Identity**

When I started the verbal analysis of the Veronica Case, the main difference I found in comparison to the Dewani Case was the journalistic stance that *GI* takes. Whereas the *Mail Online* – the news source of this thesis for the Dewani Case – takes a very sensationalist and more explicitly subjective approach by using a wide range of intensified attitudinal lexis, *GI* is almost devoid of evaluations in terms of attitude and builds its articles about the Veronica Case around attributions of voice. The articles published by *GI* are also considerably shorter than the ones published by the *Mail Online*, they present a smaller variety of images and they do not exceedingly speculate about the private life of the social actors involved in the crime. These choices give *GI*'s readership a greater sense of factuality and it is more difficult for general readers to perceive hidden ideologies promoted by the news medium. However, it is possible to unveil the prejudicial discourses promoted by *GI* in relation to Veronica by analyzing the nominations and categorizations that occur in the texts, the accessibility of voice that is given to social actors and how the attributions of voice are expressed.

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<sup>15</sup> Original: *Somos todas Verónica*.



Before I discuss how Veronica is represented as a social actress, I will firstly address the issue of voice, perspective and partiality in the reports of this case. Differently from what happens in the *Mail Online*, which uses many categorical assertions, subjective evaluations, contractions in terms of engagement, and attributions of voice to a variety of social actors, firstly *GI* chooses to build its texts mainly around attributions alone. These attributions, which do not represent factuality since they are only reporting what others said regarding the case, tell the story mainly through the point of view of the police. This limited perspective on the case already produces partiality as regards the way Veronica was treated by the police. After the creation of the “We’re all Veronica” movement in social media, voice is also attributed to others, such as NGOs, government representatives and Veronica’s mother. However, the representations of the violence committed by and the violence inflicted on Veronica change drastically. *GI* then starts to use more categorical assertions to describe the aggression Veronica committed against the prison officer, considering it a certainty. When it comes to the aggression she suffered from the police and the statement she gave in which she does not blame the police for her injuries, the situation is always reported in a layering structure through attributive clauses (somebody said that somebody else said) and therefore through the introduction of another voice (e.g. a funcionária Marli). This causes a distancing effect and one can question the veracity of what is being reported- ‘who said what? How can we know if this is true?’ (Example 24 and Example 25). These choices construct the aggression inflicted by the police as something that is still debatable since it presents the aggression as something that someone said, differently from the aggression she committed, which is already taken for granted and no more under scrutiny. In the only instance where *GI* categorically affirms that she suffered violence from the police, the news medium adds a justification to the process as a way to justify such violence (Example 26) although it never questions the motives for which Veronica attacked the prison officer or adds a justification (Example 27).

|  |
|--|
| A defensoria diz haver indícios de que Verônica foi coagida. |
|--|

**Example 24 - Lexical item that indicates possibility**

A funcionária pública Marli Ferreira Alves declarou que Verônica lhe disse que foram policiais que bateram nela.

Verônica apanhou de policiais e não de presos em cela, diz mãe.

**Example 25 - Attributive clauses to describe the aggression against Veronica**

Policiais bateram no rosto de travesti para ela soltar orelha de agente.

**Example 26 - Categorical assertion about the aggression against Veronica under a circumstance**

[...] um carcereiro entrou na cela para retirá-la quando Verônica o atacou com uma mordida na orelha.

**Example 27 - Lack of justification for the aggression Veronica inflicted**

The stance *GI* takes in relation to Veronica's battering becomes very clear when it changes a highly graduated process to a process of lower intensity in terms of probability. In an attributive clause in the form of a quotation where a public defender is given voice to discuss the aggressions Veronica suffered, the government representative uses the process "evidenciar" to state that the presence of police officers during the recording of Veronica's statement indeed produced an intimidating environment (Example 29). This process is a highly intensified judgment of social sanction in terms of veracity, since it is only a few steps behind from the process "to prove" in a grading scale. Nevertheless, when *GI* once again attributes the same statement to her, this time through a paraphrased citation, it changes the process to "sugerir", a much less intensified lexical item (Example 28). Such change demonstrates that the news medium purposefully altered Veronica's coercion during the recording of the statement from a high probability to a much lower possibility.

Para a defensora, o áudio disponibilizado na web e as declarações de Verônica à Defensoria Pública foram feitos na delegacia onde ela foi agredida anteriormente e sob a presença de policiais, o que sugere constrangimento.

**Example 28 - Change in degree of engagement**

“Tal cenário evidencia uma situação de constrangimento nas declarações dela, num ambiente em que, em tese, sofreu agressões e maus tratos”, disse Juliana. “A presença dos policiais foi ostensiva e intimidatória”.

**Example 29 - Judgment of social sanction (veracity)**

In terms of attitudinal lexis of affect and appreciation, *GI* chooses never to condemn the aggressions Veronica suffered. This is possibly due to the fact that the news medium only considers the fact that the aggression was perpetrated by the police a possibility and, as it has just been stated, *GI* justifies the violence in the only instance where it considers the aggressions a fact. Affect and appreciation that evaluate the aggression and how Veronica might have felt in relation to the situation only appear in instances attributed to other people, such as in Example 30. In addition, the only instances where Veronica is humanized and is not characterized or evaluated as a monster who ripped a prison officer's ear appear only in attributive clauses (Example 31)

“Minha filha é doce, educada, vaidosa e muito guerreira”, disse [a mãe].

**Example 30 - Attribution of voice to Veronica's mother (appreciation)**

“Verônica Bolino, torturada, humilhada e exposta pela Polícia Civil de São Paulo, a mesma que deveria proteger seus direitos e sua vida. [...]”, escreveu o parlamentar [Jean Wyllys].

**Example 31 - Attribution of voice including affect**

Regarding *GI*'s representation of Veronica as a social actress, the most prominent linguistic feature present in the news reports about the Veronica Case are her categorizations. As a prisoner in a Brazilian police department, it would be expected that Veronica would be classified in relation to the context in which she is inserted. However, Veronica is very rarely classified as “o/a preso/a” throughout the analyzed articles; instead, she is incessantly identified and classified as “o/a travesti<sup>16</sup>” (Example 32 and Example 33). This leads me to question

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<sup>16</sup> In this thesis I chose not to translate the term *travesti* to “transvestite”, since the two terms have very different connotations in English and in Portuguese. The term *travesti* does not only identifies men who dress and

the necessity of classifying Veronica in accordance with her gender identity in a prison context, since the prison officer she attacked is always functionalized as either “carcereiro” or “agente prisional” and never classified, for instance, as “cisgender officer”. The constant classification of Veronica as a *travesti* and, in fact, the need to classify her as such, happens because her gender identity defies the norm as it does not follow the matrix of heterosexuality, which presupposes a subject that expresses a supposed coherence between sex, gender and sexuality. Such insistent classification suggests that being a *travesti* is a core part of her identity that surpasses her classification as a prisoner. Since her classification as a prisoner is almost always substituted by her classification as a *travesti*, it is possible to say that her gender identity is seen as criminal. Moreover, *GI* states that, before Veronica was arrested, she (classified as “o travesti”) had had an argument with a transsexual (Example 34). It is important to point out that Veronica had never spoken to *GI* and therefore she had never stated whether she wanted to be recognized as a *travesti*, transgender woman, transsexual, or simply as a woman. Thus, classifying Veronica and the acquaintance with whom she had an argument in different ways implies that they belong to different categories of people: one of them is an arrested criminal and classified as *travesti* whereas the other one is not a criminal and therefore classified as a transsexual. In the Brazilian culture, the category of *travestis* usually evoke a more marginalized group of people in comparison to transsexual; *travestis* are seen as dangerous, working on the streets as prostitutes, and hiding razors under their tongues. *Travestis* are then typically seen as marginal and criminals in nature.

Travesti atacou agente de segurança no 2° DP.

Travesti é ouvida por promotores.

**Example 32 - Classification of Veronica as a *travesti***

Um preso mordeu e arrancou a orelha de um carcereiro [...]

[...] o travesti irá responder por lesão corporal grave.

**Example 33 - Masculine gender inflection in Veronica's categorization**

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perform like women, but it also has very strong connotations of poverty, marginality and prostitution.

Segundo os agentes, o travesti discutia com um transexual em um apartamento.

**Example 34 - Differences in classification in terms of gender identity**

The way Veronica's categorization occurs in the first published reports of the case when it comes to gender inflection is also very problematic and is representative of the stance the news medium takes in relation to transgender people. Differently from English, all nouns in the Portuguese language are inflected in accordance with gender, and categorizations require authorial voices to choose whether they are going to represent a person as male or female. Before the "We're all Veronica" movement started, *GI* chose to categorize Veronica through masculine inflections, thus classifying her as "o preso" or as "o travesti" (Example 33 and Example 34). Once again it is necessary to remember that Veronica never declared whether she considered herself a *travesti* or a transsexual woman. Even if she had stated that she was a *travesti*, this category is composed of those who were born with the male genitalia and perform a feminine gender, although they do not see themselves as women but rather as *travestis*, a different category. Nonetheless, the members of this group generally refer to each other through feminine inflections. Hence, the use of the masculine inflection as a way to refer to Veronica means the delegitimization of and disrespect to her gender identity. It can be seen as the linguistic equivalent to the crime police officers inflicted on Veronica when they shaved her long and feminine hair, exposed her male features and made her wear masculine clothes. Veronica's categorization in terms of gender inflection only changed to the feminine when the case gained prominence in social media and the "We're all Veronica" movement gained force. This corroborates the widespread idea that social media now possesses a very strong influence on mass media.

Even so, after the creation of the movement and subsequent change in gender inflection, *GI* finds it necessary to remind readers of her birth as a male by nominating Veronica with her masculine birth name (Example 35). Such nomination does not add anything to the case and only serves the purpose of reinforcing the idea that she is a *travesti*, someone who does not follow the norm. The news medium also gives emphasis to her birth name and makes use of the material process "usar", which gives the idea of a temporary action. Such choice emphasizes the idea that the true identity of a *travesti* is masculine and their feminine identity is a sort of disguise. Such situation could have been easily avoided through the use of a relational process, such as

“cujo nome social é”. Another choice made by *GI* that impacts negatively on the representation of trans people is the use of “condição sexual” in order to refer to gender identity (Example 36). The noun “condição” has a negative connotation that is also often associated with pathologies, and the adjectivation “sexual” reiterates the commonsensical idea that gender is inherently connected to sexual orientation. All of these choices are yet another way to delegitimize *trans* identities.

[...] informa que Charleston Alves Francisco, de 25 anos, que usa o nome social de Verônica Bolina [...]

**Example 35 - Nomination of Veronica through her birth name**

O delegado apontou, ainda em nota apontada pela secretaria, que Verônica, por causa da sua condição sexual, pode solicitar uma sala separada do restante dos presos [...]

**Example 36 - *GI*'s understanding of gender identity**

Another aspect of the Veronica Case that drastically changed after the creation of the “We’re all Veronica” movement was the crime itself. Before the movement started, there had been no mention of the aggressions inflicted on Veronica or the humiliation that she suffered at the hands of the police. What prompted the reporting of the case was the circulation of three images in social media that depicted the ripped ear of the prison officer, the ripped-off part of his ear in a bottle, and a police officer bearing a gun next to Veronica, who was lying down facing the ground, wearing masculine clothes, naked from the waist up, and with her pants ripped, exposing her butt – a clearly humiliating state. However, the first two pieces of news about the case only report the aggression the prison officer suffered and how his right ear was ripped off by the teeth of a *travesti*, even though it was clear from the beginning that Veronica was also subjected to physical violence, as the images that leaked on the internet confirmed. When *GI* presents information regarding the images that leaked in social media, it solely categorizes Veronica as the aggressor and the prison agent as the victim, who is also modified by the adjective “injured”, as it can be seen in Example 37. In this same excerpt, it is also possible to see that when more details of the image in which Veronica appears are presented, *GI* only states that she was detained by police officers, without any mention of the violence she suffered. This representation is repeated in all of the analyzed articles, even when the case began to generate a great

commotion in social media, the “We’re all Veronica” movement started and *GI* found it necessary to report the humiliation Veronica suffered. The only difference in the reporting of the pictures is that, after the movement starts, Veronica is reported as being detained and half naked (Example 38). The partial reporting of the aggression she committed in contrast to the reporting of the aggression she suffered is also supported by visual resources, which are analyzed in Chapter III.

Fotos da vítima ferida e do agressor, que não tiveram os nomes divulgados, circulam no Facebook e WhatsApp. Três imagens compartilhadas nas redes sociais mostram: o carcereiro sem a parte superior da orelha direita; a orelha arrancada num copo; e o preso detido por policiais.

**Example 37 - Description of Veronica's image**

Fotos que circularam na internet de orelha de carcereiro (à esquerda) arrancada por Verônica (à direita), que apareceu seminua nas fotografias que vazaram pelo Facebook.

**Example 38 - Small change in the description of Veronica's image**

Although the aggressions Veronica suffered start to be reported after the creation of the movement, many linguistic strategies are used to reinforce that the aggression she committed is more serious than the ones she suffered. The first strategy is the constant repetition throughout the articles of what she did to the prison officer, which creates a graduation of high intensity: in the three articles published after the movement started and which also deal with the aggressions Veronica suffered, it is repeated more than ten times that she ripped the prison officer’s ear off. Another constant repetition in these same articles is the fact that Veronica attacked her neighbor, a 73 year-old woman, who is always categorized as either an “idosa” or as a “senhora”, categories that indicate vulnerability on the part of the neighbor and may invoke empathy for her and hatred towards Veronica. Another strategy used to diminish the impact of the case is the representation of the group to whom the case may be a concern: through collectivization, *GI* states that Veronica’s pictures infuriated LGBT rights organizations, giving the impression that no other communities were appalled by the incident (Example 39).

A divulgação das fotos [...] indignou organização de direitos LGBT [...]

**Example 39 - Collectivization to diminish the impact of the case**

The linguistic choices made by *GI* in the reports of the Veronica Case are representative of the news medium's efforts to erase the violence suffered by Veronica. Through appraisal, categorizations, nominations and other linguistic items, *GI* firstly ignores the violence against the prisoner by focusing on the violence she committed to a prison officer. Given the impossibility of continuing such neglect due to the repercussion of the case and pressure of social media, *GI* then chooses to efface Veronica's identity as a citizen who possesses rights by constantly reiterating her abject identity and diminishing the violence committed against her. Veronica's abject identity as a *travesti* is then associated to that of a criminal, as if being a criminal were part of her inner self. Through the repetition of categorized/appraised items, the news source also emphasizes the violence Veronica inflicted in contrast to the violence which was inflicted on her, which is also supported by the limitation of the scope of popular reaction to the case.

## **2.9 The Analysis: Contextualizing the Lamp Case**

In November 2010, two young men were walking along Paulista Avenue in São Paulo early in the morning when one of them was suddenly attacked and hit on the face with fluorescent light bulbs by a group of five youngsters wearing designer clothes. The group, who later attacked other people along the avenue, was composed of four underage boys and a 19-year old young man. The assaulted boys claimed that the group had attacked them due to homophobia, since one of the offenders asked them if they were 'together' and called them 'faggots' before hitting the boys with the light bulbs. The attack was recorded by a street camera and went viral on the internet, which caused an online movement in social media against the offenders and homophobia.

Later on the same day, the group of offenders was recognized, arrested and sent to a police department. The offenders then claimed that the attack was triggered by a supposed harassment they had suffered from the victims. The attacked boys vehemently denied such harassment. The minors were temporarily sent to a legal facility for underage offenders and the 19-year old offender was charged for the assault. However, he disappeared before a trial could have been held.



## 2.10 The Lamp Case and Street Violence: A Comparative Analysis

As seen in the previous section, Veronica Bolina is described as having the dual function of criminal and victim in the published reports about the Veronica Case. In the last section of this chapter, I will analyze, for comparative purposes, the linguistic similarities and differences in terms of verbal language between her representation and the representation of the criminals and victims in the Lamp Case. I will also analyze the differences between the representation of social actors in the reports of the Lamp Case and the representation of Shrien Dewani, in the reports of the *Mail Online*, discussed above. The differences in terms of visual resources will be analyzed in the next chapter.

The first clear difference between the Veronica Case and the Lamp Case is the immediacy of attention that the latter received from the media. The victims of the Lamp Case were attacked around 7 in the morning of November 14<sup>th</sup>, 2010 and one hour later a short report about the attack had already been published by *GI*, which was followed by a longer and more detailed report later on the day. The Veronica Case was only publicized one day after the attack and it only represented Veronica as a criminal. She was only reported as also being a victim four days after the aggressions because of popular pressure. Such difference of time can be explained through an intersection of class and race, which will also play an important role in the representation of the social actors. The Lamp Case occurred on one of the most famous avenues of Brazil, surrounded by upper class neighborhoods and important business centers. The victims were also white males who were returning from a party in one of the most expensive areas of São Paulo. By contrast, the Veronica Case occurred in a police station in a less prestigious area of the city and Veronica is a poor black *travesti* (as *GI* calls her). This difference in the timing of the publications lights fire to the current discussion about the value of life, as many argue that the lives of those who live in subaltern and abject zones, such as the poor and transgender people, are worth less than the lives of those who have privilege.

The categorizations of both victims and criminals in the Lamp Case are also different from the ways Veronica is categorized. All social actors in the Lamp Case, regardless of being victim or criminal, are either classified according to their age (Example 40) or functionalized according to their job or study position (Example 41). The victims are also frequently classified as “vítimas” (Example 42) and the aggressors are sometimes classified as “agressores” or even as “suspeitos”

(Example 43), which diminishes their criminal status in terms of graduation. The aggressors are also indirectly classified as being rich, since *GI* reports they wore designer clothes at the moment of the attack. This class allocation only serves to inform the reader that they were not thugs from a *favela*, and thus should (and would) not be treated as such. Veronica, on the hand, is never categorized as a victim (only as an aggressor) and she is constantly classified as a *travesti*, even though she is also young and could have been classified as a “jovem”, as the criminals in the Lamp Case constantly were (Example 42). Once again, it is possible to see how a transgender identity surpasses all other categories and is seen as the core of one’s subjectivity. The criminals of the Lamp Case, possibly due to their high social class, are categorized as “normal” members of society.

Jovem foi encontrado desmaiado.

Rapaz é agredido na Avenida Paulista

**Example 40 - Classification in accordance with age**

Estudante diz que foi agredido [...]

**Example 41 - Functionalization in accordance with study**

Imagens [...] mostram o jovem desferir golpes com lâmpada fluorescente numa vítima.

**Example 42 - Classification of the victim in accordance with the context of aggression**

Os cinco agressores foram detidos.

Enquanto os quatro adolescentes suspeitos de envolvimento em agressões a pedestres [...]

**Example 43 - Classification of the aggressors in accordance with the context of aggression**

Although both cases are similar in the sense that there is a low incidence of attitudinal terms, the use of engagement in this case is different from the Veronica Case and more similar to the Dewani Case. *GI* makes much more use of categorical assertions to describe what happened during the attacks and it also reports the story in the form of a linear narrative, which makes it easier for readers to follow and it also gives a greater sense of factuality and truthfulness to the situations

described. This is similar to what happens in the reports of the Veronica Case in relation to the aggressions committed by Veronica when her position as a victim is under discussion. In the Lamp Case, attributions are only used as a support to confirm the categorical narrative that was reported by the news medium, as can be seen in Example 44. *GI* also classifies the aggressors as “agressores” through a bare assertion, which constructs an imagined reader to whom the factuality of these assertions is taken for granted and is not up for discussion. This representation is different from the Veronica Case, in which the aggression she suffered is highly modalized and is not represented as a taken-for-granted fact. My hypothesis is that these victims are given much more credibility in comparison to Veronica due to class and possibly due to gender and race statuses.

O grupo de agressores continuou caminhando e, na altura do número 700, atacou com lâmpadas fluorescentes o estudante de jornalismo Luis Alberto, de 23 anos, que saía de uma lanchonete com outros dois amigos. “Quando passaram pela gente, vimos que um deles levava duas lâmpadas grandes nas mãos. Ele me chamou. Quando virei, ele já me atacou no rosto com a lâmpada. Em seguida, usou a outra lâmpada”, contou.

**Example 44 - Attribution (acknowledgement) to confirm previous categoricity**

Such credibility is also made clear through the kinds of verbal processes used by *GI* to attribute voice to the social actors. Differently from what happened in the Veronica Case, only attributions of acknowledgement (or neutral structuring reporting verbs) are used to report the story told by the victims. These processes possess the power to emphasize the truthfulness of *GI*'s categorical assertions about the case, since they appear immediately preceding, following or complementing such categoricity. The processes also emphasize the linear nature of the reports as they evoke a certain neutrality and do not possess any level of graduation that may present them as untrue or even doubtful (Example 44 and Example 45).

De acordo com as testemunhas, um agressor gritou: “Suas bichas, vocês são namorados. Vocês estão juntos”.

“Me deram uma chave de braço, e continuaram a bater”, disse.

**Example 45 - Acknowledgement as a tool to emphasize credibility**

Although *GI* does not consider the aggression just a possibility and it is categorical as regards the description of the aggression, the news source is much less assertive when it comes to the reasons for the attack. One of the witnesses of the attack states that the aggressors classified the victims as “bichas” before they hit them. However, when it comes to indirect reports made by *GI* about the motives behind the aggression, assertiveness is diminished through the use of modalization or lexis that indicate possibility, which transform homophobia into a possibility, similarly to what was done in the Veronica Case. As it can be seen in Example 46 and Example 47, there is the modalization of the verb “ter”, which questions the fact that the victims were thought to be gay by the aggressors. Even though *GI* generally acknowledges the statements given by the defense or the family of the accused, the news medium creates a relation of distancing through the verbal process “alegar” when it comes to the possibility of homosexuality and it also makes use of a linguistic strategy – “chegar a” – that in this case indicates an extreme situation that intensifies the doubt produced by “alegar” (Example 48). The same sentence has its probability diminished even more by the modalization of “ter”. Such use of modalization regarding homosexuality demonstrates that *GI* is very careful in its treatment of homosexuality and considers it a delicate topic.

Duas vítimas disseram a polícia que teriam sido confundidas com homossexuais.

**Example 46 - Modalization in relation to homosexuality I**

Os delegados também apuram se a motivação do crime foi homofobia – as vítimas teriam sido confundidas com gays.

**Example 47 - Modalization in relation to homosexuality II**

Eles chegam a alegar que os cinco jovens suspeitos – quatro deles adolescentes teriam sido “assediados”.

**Example 48 - Distancing in relation to homosexuality**

Finally, one of the most interesting aspects of the reports is the manner through which the aggression is represented. As can be seen in Example 49, the aggression is described as an “espancamento”, which is

a highly intensified lexical item to describe physical violence. In the Veronica Case, the aggressions she suffered are never intensified in a similar way, even though the violence inflicted on her was much more severe than the violence that was inflicted on the victims of the Lamp Case.

O estudante Gabriel Alves Ferreira, de 21 anos, presenciou o espancamento de um colega de 23 anos [...]

**Example 49 - High graduation to describe the aggression**

This analysis demonstrates how the topic is dealt much more carefully in comparison to the Veronica Case or the Dewani Case. *G1* is reluctant to make bare assertions about homosexuality or homophobia and constantly uses modalization to deal with these topics. Nevertheless, when it comes to the physical attacks themselves, *G1* gives considerable credibility to what the victims stated and makes use of categoricity in the form of linear narratives to describe the incident, differently from the Veronica Case, in which all accusations in favor of Veronica and against the police are highly modalized or attributed, therefore having a distancing effect. Lastly, the categorizations of the social actors are also different, as in the Lamp Case they are always categorized according to their age, context of aggression or according to their jobs. Veronica, on the other hand, is constantly categorized according to her gender identity. All of these differences seem to be influenced by the social context in which the social actors in the Lamp Case are inserted: they are all rich (or at least not poor), white, apparently heterosexual males in a prestigious neighborhood.

## 2.11 Final Remarks

In this chapter I analyzed how verbal language is used to construct the public identity of queer criminals and victims in reports of crimes. Due to the multimodal nature of news reports, in the next chapter I will continue the analysis of the same cases through a multimodal perspective and discuss the implications of the choices of images to the cases and how these choices are complementary to the linguistic strategies used by the *Mail Online* and *G1* that were discussed in this chapter.



## CHAPTER III

### IMAGES IN THE NEWS AS AN IDEOLOGICAL FRAMING

#### 3.1 Initial Remarks

After conducting a verbal analysis of the news reports pertaining to three different crimes, I will in this chapter conduct a visual analysis of other multimodal features present in the collected news reports. In order to conduct such analysis, the images that are present in the news reports collected from *GI* and the *Mail Online* and serve as a support to the news were extracted from the reports, thus forming a fourth body of data to be used in this thesis. This chapter therefore aims at giving an overview of the area of multimodality and how it may connect to critical analyses of discourse. I will also examine the analytical tools and categories that were used in this specific study and apply them to my data. The specific objective of my analysis is to demonstrate how visual resources are used as a support to verbal language in order to create a multimodal unity that misrepresents queer social actors and reproduces bias, especially when it comes to the representation of queers as criminals. In these cases, the multimodal resources serve to enhance and legitimize their criminality on the basis of their sexuality.

#### 3.2 Multimodality and its Importance to CDA

Communication is multimodal, presenting itself in a variety of ways – verbal, images, sound, video (a confluence of images and sound), gestures, typography –, each one of them producing meaning to a reader<sup>17</sup>, which may or may not differ from the meaning that was initially intended by the *rhetor* (Kress, 2010). As verbal language can be studied in order to unveil the ideologies that lurk behind the words, all other multimodal resources can (and should) be analyzed in the same way, as they also carry ideologies that are transmitted to the readers during the process of interpretation. In some situations, there is no need for a multimodal analysis, as it is possible to understand a situation without a need for “any context, or any consideration of nonverbal communication” (van Leeuwen, 2004, p. 9). This does not apply in the

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<sup>17</sup> Reader and viewer are used here interchangeably as synonyms to interpreter or audience, the one who observes, interprets and creates meaning out of a multimodal resource.

case of news reports, which compose a genre that usually presents more than one type of multimodal resource.

When it comes to the analysis of news reports, there is an array of other variables that need to be taken into consideration other than just words, especially images and typography. In this sense, news reports constitute a multimodal genre (even though most of it is constituted of verbal language), generating a multimodal unity. As van Leeuwen argues:

Perhaps we should view posters and similar texts [...] as single, multimodal communicative acts, especially inasmuch as the cohesion between the verbal and the visual is usually enhanced by some form of stylistic unity between the image, typography and the layout (van Leeuwen, 2004, p. 7)

Understanding how a multimodal resource adds to the verbal language that is used in a news report in order to constitute this cohesive unity is thus of great importance to analyses of texts. The analysis of multimodal resources creates the possibility to understand what such resources imply for the news that is being reported; it helps unveil the ideologies behind the use of such resources; it allows for an understanding of the relation of cohesion between the verbal text and image; and it places under scrutiny the intentions of the *rhetor*. In other words, an attempt to conduct a critical discourse analysis of news reports without taking into consideration the multimodal variables would result in an incomplete study.

### **3.2.1 The Grammar of Visual Design**

Since news reports are usually filled with images as an additional support to the written report, the analysis of images becomes an important aspect for this thesis. One of the main frameworks used nowadays to analyze images is Kress and van Leeuwen's *The Grammar of Visual Design* (1996), which is concerned with the basic elements that define visual language, its patterns and processes, as part of the constitutive role language plays in society. Their approach to the study of semiosis is relevant to the present research because it offers a set of categories for the analysis of images, which in combination to the analysis of verbal language, may help to deconstruct the representation of the social actors that are present in the news reports.

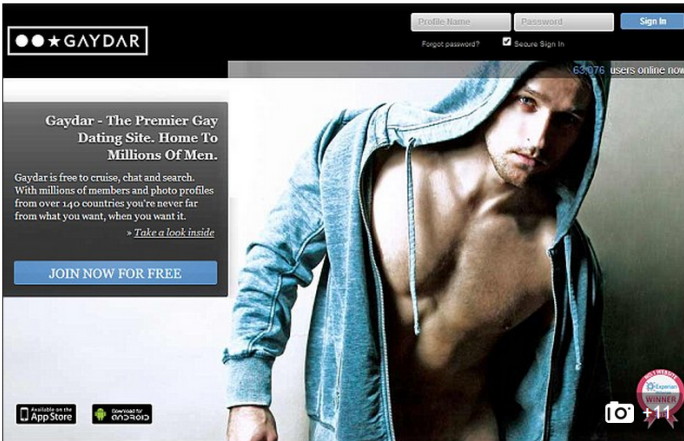


Among all the categories proposed by Kress and van Leeuwen for the analysis and description of visual language, I will focus here on the position of the viewer and the position of the interactants in the images in relation to *gaze*, *angle* and *perception*. Gaze refers to the presence or absence of eye contact between participants, be it the contact between the viewer and the person depicted in an image, or the contact between the participants within the image. While direct gaze establishes a direct connection between participants, *demanding* a reaction from them, which makes the viewer become an active participant in the interaction, indirect gaze transforms the image into an *offer* to be observed and demands no reaction from the viewer. In a similar way, angle and perception also create distinctions in the relationship between image and “interpreter”. When images are depicted from a frontal view, the viewer makes part of the same world of the subject depicted in the image since they share an eye line, which does not happen when the subject is depicted from an oblique point of view. Moreover, images can provide the viewer with a sense of power or importance when they depict represented participants from a high angle, constructing them as inferior or distant, whereas images with a low angle produce an opposite effect (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996).

### **3.3 Images as a Means to Enhance Deviance**

An important semiotic aspect that is present in the analyzed news reports and contributes to the construction of Dewani’s public identity is the use of images. A great number of the images used in *The Mail Online*’s reports depict Dewani, Anni and their relatives before and after the marriage, something common and understandable in this type of case. However, after the confirmation of his bisexuality and the change of focus in the media towards Dewani’s sexuality, the mention of his sexual habits and his use of gay dating apps and websites became quite regular in the body of the news. In addition, the news medium also published images of these apps and websites in the news reports as examples of his sexual behavior, such as the ones in Figure 3 and in Figure 4.

When one a source close to the businessman's defence team was yesterday asked outside court about the fact that Dewani was surfing fetish and gay websites - sometimes simultaneously - he replied curtly that 'his computer was logged onto them, not him, there is a difference.'



'Surfing on his honeymoon': Dewani logged onto gay dating website Gaydar (above) while he and his new bride waited for an internal flight after two nights at a luxury safari lodge

**Figure 3- Gay man facing the camera 1**

Prosecutor Adrian Mopp attempted to argue that since Dewani had consistently described himself as a gay man seeking other gay partners on 'hook-up' websites such as Gaydar and Recon, the court should hear more about his conflicted feelings towards hew new bride.



'Premier gay dating site': Dewani logged on to hook-up website Gaydar (above) on October 15, 2010, as he prepared for his £200,000 wedding in Mumbai later that month, Mr Leisser alleged

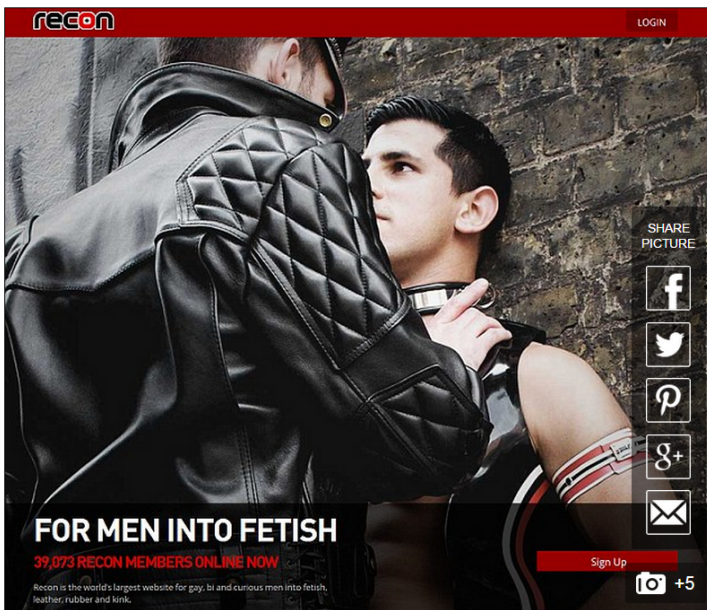
**Figure 4 - Gay man facing the camera 2**

Critically speaking, it proves necessary to question the effects that the choice for these images cause or may cause. Tabloids (in this case, the news website of a tabloid) are a source of news that aim to

reach mass audiences. The *Daily Mail*, a very sensationalist and conservative tabloid as pointed out previously, possesses an audience composed in its majority of conservative people or people who have tendencies to normative opinions. Hence, the publication of such images has the power to shock the intended audience, as they represent big and muscular semi-naked men in sensual (or sexual) positions targeted at other men. Figures 3 and 4 are depicted from a frontal view, which indicates that the viewer and the subjects depicted in the image share the same world – in other words, these images place the conservative readers of the *Mail Online* in the world of gay sexual encounters. Both depictions also present a direct gaze, as if the subjects in the image were demanding readers to join them in their “sordid” (as the news medium puts it) lifestyle. Taking into consideration that the model in Figure 3 is naked from the waist down and the model in Figure 4 is apparently touching his genitals under his overall, these images are demanding readers to participate in gay sex. This demand is more observable in Figure 4, in which the model’s gaze is depicted looking down at the viewer, which confers him a position of authority in relation to the viewer and gives the impression that he is evaluating the viewer as a prospective hookup.

One of the published images (Figure 5) even depicts a young boy wearing a metal collar (such as those used in dominance/submission fetishist sexual relations) “trapped” against the wall by another man who is wearing a leather jacket and hat, under the title “For men into fetish”. Society is full of taboos in relation to sex, and sex between men is always already under a position of abjection for many. In a similar way, fetish such as sadomasochism (henceforth S&M) also suffers from abjection as a “non-natural” relation, sick and twisted, even when it happens between heterosexual individuals. When it comes to fetish between gay men, one can imagine that the situation becomes far more complex, since fetish and the free expression of desire are axes of human sexuality that remain taboo and under all kinds of prohibition to a great part of the population. The publication of such images in articles pertaining to a case in which the sexual identity of the accused is presented as central seems to serve the purpose of enacting distance, distrust, and even repulsion from the public opinion. The relevance of Dewani’s identity in the case is represented in the prosecution’s attempts to use his sexuality as an incriminating factor. The public opinion in relation to his identity is also of great importance, since the population plays an important role in rushing the judiciary to solve the case.

An interesting strategy to support this ideology is the incessant repetition of similar images in all the pieces of news concerning the accused after the rumors and subsequent confirmation of his bisexuality.



For men into leather, rubber and kink: Leisser also set up a profile on Recon (above) under the name GermanMaster1, where he offered 'escort services' with emphasis on 'fetish, sadomasochism and role-play'

Judge Jeanette Traverso disagreed and ruled that the e-mails were inadmissible as was the vast majority of what Leopold Leisser was prepared to say.

**Figure 5 - Men from a gay dating website page**

The same enactment of distance and fear can be seen in Figure 6, where there is the framing of a face that is hidden in the dark. In this image, there is the depiction of a muscular male wearing fetishist clothing and a leather cap that prevents the viewer from seeing his eyes. Taking into consideration the analytical category of *gaze* (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996), even though the male depicted in the image is apparently facing the camera, it is impossible to confirm if his gaze matches the viewer's gaze, also making it impossible to determine if he is demanding a reaction from the viewer. Due to such doubt, this kind of image produces an uncomfortable feeling, in which the viewer does not know his/her relationship with the displayed image. This feeling of discomfort is enhanced if one takes into consideration the angle of the

camera used in this picture. This unknown S&M practitioner with covered eyes is depicted through a frontal view and is apparently gazing down at the viewer, which gives him a position of authority or power in relation to the viewer, thus projecting him as a dominant figure.



'World's largest hook-up site for men into fetish gear': Court documents revealed Dewani surfed the bondage website Recon (above) the day after his wife's body was found

Meanwhile, the role of a middle man who recruited two hit men on behalf of Dewani's driver today emerged as a more significant player in the killing of Mrs Dewani.

**Figure 6 - Man's face hidden in the dark**

The images published by the *Mail Online* of a key witness in the case, a male prostitute with whom Dewani used to maintain sexual relations, seem to have the same objective as those from the aforementioned gay dating apps and websites. Leopold Leisser, known on dating websites as the “German master”, met Dewani in many occasions to have sex sessions involving S&M fetish. Leisser was mentioned in all of the four analyzed reports after the wave of rumors about Dewani’s sexuality, and in three of them these mentionings were accompanied by the images below (Figure 7 and Figure 8). It is once again a pair of images that were constantly repeated and they possibly generate a feeling of distrust due to the general social disapproval regarding S&M practices and prostitution. These images also construct

Dewani's identity as even more deviant and dirty due to the abject position of fetishism and S&M in our current society.

The same idea of gaze and angle may also be applied to the images of Leopold Leisser. In the first picture, the angle matches the eye line of the viewer, which puts the viewer and Leisser in a position of equality; Leisser's gaze neither encounters the viewer's gaze, which transforms him in an *offer*, an image to be simply observed, and does not demand anything from the observer. However, in the second picture the opposite effect happens. The cap is covering his eyes at the same time that his position in the image may give the impression that he is directly looking at the viewer. This choice does not clarify if Leisser is either demanding something from the viewer or if he is just an *offer*. Such unclear depiction may generate a sense of uncertainty or doubtfulness in the reader. His gaze is also depicted in a top-down direction, which grants him power in relation to a less empowered viewer.



**Figure 7 - Leopold Leisser I**



**Figure 8 - Leopold Leisser II**

Adding these images as a visual support to the verbal language used in the Dewani Case opens the possibility for disapproval in the reader in relation to the case itself. Dewani may be interpreted as non-reliable due to his so-called "sordid lifestyle". Readers' opinions of Dewani's public identity may be influenced by the use of such images that depict people who enjoy sadomasochism as part of their sexual life, like Dewani himself. Sadomasochism is, after all, a sexual practice that

is generally seen as sick and twisted, or like in the *Mail Online*'s words, sordid and a sign of promiscuity. Moreover, the direct gaze used in most of the images also demands a reaction from the viewers in relation to the images, forcing them to be a part of that world they may disagree with. In most of the images, a low angle is also used, which gives the personas in the picture, those with a lifestyle that diverges from that of most of the readers, a position of power in comparison to the viewers.

Many of the published images of Dewani himself were from the time he was in a relationship with Anni. All of these images, which repeatedly appeared throughout the collected news reports, portray smiling Anni and Dewani, giving the idea of happiness. As it was discussed in Chapter II, one of the main points defended by the news medium when it comes to Dewani's sexuality is that the accused was forcing himself into a fake relationship with Anni. By publishing images of a happy couple (such as the one in Figure 9), the *Mail Online* generates a contradiction. When such contradiction is perceived by the readers, they have to choose a side to support. Since the news website presents numerous arguments against Dewani in a cohesive manner, it leads me to believe that the *Mail Online* was trying to make the readers question what they saw in the images. Thus, one of the effects that might have been produced by this selection of images was doubt concerning the happiness expressed by Dewani, adding to the whole feeling of uncertainty and unreliability that surrounds Dewani's story.



**Figure 9 - Dewani and Anni depicted as a happy couple**



The images of Dewani that were not from the time before Anni's murder portray the accused during the trial. There are two main similarities between these images in the collected reports: the angle and the gaze. In all the images, Dewani is either depicted from a high angle or gazing at the floor, sometimes both. The high angle frequently depicts Dewani in a position of inferiority in comparison to the reader, as if readers were higher in a sort of moral hierarchy (Figure 11) – I say moral hierarchy because the social actor in question is a possible criminal. In other images, Dewani appears staring at the floor with a blank look (Figure 10). He also often appears with semi-closed and apparently tired eyes, giving the impression of a defeated man. This depiction of Dewani may also add to the representation of guilty that the *Mail Online* is trying to convey.



**Figure 10 - Dewani's gaze**





Figure 11 - Dewani from a high angle

### 3.4 The Ideological Role of Typography

Besides the analyzed verbal evidence and the analysis of images that suggest sensationalism and obsession by the media in relation to homosexuality, other semiotic features present in the texts are also worth investigating. The use of typography is one of such features. According to Machin (2007), the typographical style as well as the use of flourishes and other signs are meaning potential. Therefore, typography is also responsible for conveying ideologies and thus one of the aspects through which discourses are reproduced.

In a report published by the *Mail Online* right after Dewani's acquittal, which refers to the possibility that Dewani could sue the prosecution for trying to use his sexuality as evidence against him, typography plays an ideological role to convey the media's opinion regarding the decision. As Machin (2007) points out, the interpersonal metafunction – the one that expresses the relationship between participants and their “attitudes towards what is being represented” (p. 92) – can be expressed in typography through size. In other words, emphasis to certain information may be given by using upper-case or bold fonts. In the aforementioned report on Dewani's decision, the *Mail Online* makes use of the verb “sue” in upper-case in the headlines. This semiotic choice for the use of upper-case, which is not common in the *Mail Online*, suggests that the news medium aims at emphasizing (and intensifying in terms of gradation) the verb “sue”. In this same report, Dewani's actions are also highly modalized. Modalization is one of the instantiations of the interpersonal metafunction at clause level (Halliday

& Metthiessen, 2004), in this case realized through modal verbs, which transform Dewani's decision into mere possibilities. The semiotic choice for the upper-case SUE together with the constant modalization that occurs in the report suggest that the *Mail Online* questioned the legitimacy of Dewani's decision of suing the prosecution (Example 50).

Millionaire Dewani could now SUE over his sexuality.

**Example 50 - Upper-case as a tool for emphasis**

In another report that focuses exclusively on Shrien Dewani's sexuality, the fact that he is bisexual is between single quotation marks (Example 51), a semiotic mark that is generally used to present another's voice, to give emphasis, or to show that a piece of information is susceptible to questioning. Since the *Mail Online* does not directly include Dewani's voice in relation to this piece of information and interprets it through a metapositional verb, the use of the inverted commas is either emphasizing or questioning the information. Following the *Mail Online*'s logic presented so far, such as their attempts to delegitimize Dewani's bisexuality that was discussed in Chapter II, it is possible to argue that the *Mail Online* is indicating that the accused is homosexual and, therefore, had never had any interest in Anni, which led him to plan the murder.

Admitted he was 'bisexual' on first day of trial.

**Example 51 - Single quotation marks as a sign of doubt**

The analysis presented here regarding the visual representation of the case in the *Mail Online* suggests that the use of visual resources aim at enhancing the criminal identity of the accused. The constant repetition of appellative and sexual images that represent the sexuality of the defendant as deviant and the questioning of information through emphatic multimodal resources are representative of the media's attempts to blame Dewani for the crime. Moreover, the media's negative opinion in relation to the judge's decision of not considering Dewani's sexuality relevant can be seen through its obsession with gay sex and attempts to prove that Dewani's sexuality should indeed be taken into consideration.

### 3.5 Images and the Abjection of Transsexuality

This subsection is dedicated to the analysis of the images used by *GI* in the reports of the Veronica Case. Throughout this analysis, it is my intention to demonstrate once again how manipulative the media can be and how the public opinion surrounding a social actor may be constructed through the use of images. In this particular case, the non-normative gender identity and performance of the aggressor as a *travesti* seems to be an important component to her criminal behavior, which is enhanced by the choice of images in the news reports.

In the first report that was published regarding this case, three different images are mentioned in the body of the text: the attacked agent without a part of his right ear; the ripped off part of his ear in a bottle, and the aggressor being arrested by police officers. However, only one of the three images was used: the one that depicts the fragmented body of the attacked prison officer (Figure 12). As it can be seen in Figure 12, the only element that is focused and emphasized in the image and that the viewer can make sense of is the ripped ear of the prison agent. There is nothing else in this image to engage with, and this makes the viewer focus exclusively on the ripped ear. The presence of this single image, which is very strong and explicit, certainly helps to make viewers feel disgusted and frightened in relation to the aggressor, who is constantly classified as “o travesti” instead of being categorized as a common prisoner. The fragmentation of the body also disables viewers from engaging with the prison agent through gaze, making the bleeding ripped ear something to be observed and judged solely on the basis of the level of physical violence.



**Figure 12 - Attacked prison officer**

In the same news report, there is the presence of another image that aims at distancing viewers from what occurred in the case. Figure 13, which was taken by *GI* and was not among the images circulating online, depicts the prison in which the incident happened. The use of this image serves as a contextualization to the case, visually depicting the variable *field* of this sort of incident. The *field* is the part of the context of situation related to the ideational metafunction, representing what is going on in a certain situation or what it is about (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). This image represents the prison as an object zone, making readers believe that this sort of event happens within the boundaries of this zone. These boundaries function as a separation between viewers – taking into consideration that *GI* targets at a middle class audience – and the prison, which is a representative of marginal life. The representation of these boundaries may serve to distance viewers from the case and its participants. The choice for the production of such boundaries, the choice for not depicting Veronica, and the choice for presenting the fragmented body of the prison agent makes it impossible for viewers to either have a broader and clearer view of the case or to feel any sort of empathy towards the aggressor. On the contrary, the choice of images creates a clear empathy with the prison agent alone due to the focus on his ripped ear.



**Figure 13 - The prison where the Veronica Case occurred**

These same ideas are reinforced in the second piece of news concerning the case, where once again only the picture of the prison agent and his ripped ear are published, even though it is repeated in the

body of the text that three images were made available in social media. The attempts of *GI* to condemn Veronica as a monster are enhanced in this second report, since the topic of the piece of news is the length of time and the difficulties that police officers went through in order to make Veronica release the prison agent's ear from her mouth. This topic, supported by the picture of the dilacerated ear, helps in the construction of this monstrous identity for Veronica, who had not yet had a single visual appearance in the reports.

As mentioned in the contextualization of the case in Chapter II, three days after the first published report of the case on *GI*, images of Veronica with a disfigured face as a result of physical aggressions appeared on the internet. When a considerable commotion and repercussion in social media started, *GI* also started publishing photos of her face before and after she was arrested, showing her for the very first time. Moreover, only after this larger repercussion in social media, *GI* published for the first time the image that had been available since the beginning of the case together with the repeated image of the prison agent (Figure 14) – from this point onward, these images would be present in almost all the reports concerning the case.



**Figure 14 - Prison agent and Veronica**

As it is possible to see in this image (Figure 14), the abuse suffered by Veronica was evident since the first images appeared on the internet. From another picture that was not published by *GI*, it is

possible to see that Veronica has breast implants as she is topless thus exposing her breasts, a part of the body that is socially perceived as very intimate for women and *travestis* alike. In other words, Veronica had been humiliated and exposed. In Figure 14, it is also possible to see an armed policeman (or maybe a prison officer) standing next to her. After observing this image, it is possible to understand its implications and the ideological reasons for its absence in the previous news reports published by *GI*. The previous articles on *GI* aimed at producing empathy between readers and the prison officer who had his ear ripped by Veronica, as well as leading its audience into perceiving Veronica as a monstrous criminal. If such image had been published in these articles, it would create a rupture in the construction of the news around empathy with the victim, since it would show that Veronica had also been subjected to physical aggression and humiliation. If one considers van Leeuwen's ideas on the exclusion and inclusion of social actors and applies these ideas to the use of images, it would be possible to say that Veronica suffered from visual *suppression* (van Leeuwen, 2008). That happens because the social action in which she was involved is still present in the choice of images published by *GI*: the image of the prison officer and his ripped ear makes it possible to recover another social actor involved in the situation – someone must have done that to him. However, Veronica does not figure anywhere in the selection of images. Veronica's exclusion demonstrates how manipulative the media can be since it can represent social actors in whichever way it desires. The news website decided to visually exclude Veronica in the first reports because her state (humiliated and injured) could generate empathy and pity from readers, whereas *GI* was trying to enact these feelings in relation to the prison officer.

After the “We’re all Veronica” movement started, *GI* shifted its focus from the sole construction of Veronica as a criminal to a more investigative coverage. However, it is also possible to perceive through the analysis of the images that Veronica's representation continues to be problematic.

In the same news report where Veronica's initial image appears for the first time, *GI* also published an image of her injured face next to an image of her appearance before she was arrested (Figure 15) – this set of images would also be constantly repeated in other reports. In the image where it is possible to see her injured face, it is also possible to see that the aggressions she suffered disfigured her face so much that she looks like a monster. Ironically, transforming Veronica into a monster is what *GI* had been attempting to do with her identity since the

beginning, solely representing her as the *travesti* who ripped a man's ear off with her own teeth. It is also clear that the aggressions she suffered aimed at exposing her as a biological male, disrespecting her gender identity and choice for performing femininity. Veronica had her long hair shaved, she wore male-targeted clothing, her face is more square-shaped because of the aggressions, and her implanted breasts had been previously exposed.



**Figure 15 - Veronica before and after she was arrested**

One of the most interesting aspects of Veronica's depiction in the image mentioned above (Figure 15) is the *angle* through which it was shot and her *gaze*. Even though she is disfigured and looks like a monster, she is shot from a low angle, which gives her a position of power in relation to the viewer; she is also looking directly into the viewer's eyes, demanding a reaction. This sort of depiction can be seen from two opposite perspectives depending on the ideologies of the viewer. On the one hand, to more liberal audiences who support human rights, such as the members of the "We're all Veronica" movement, this image can be seen as an act of resistance, showing that Veronica is still standing, as a person who can fight for her rights. On the other hand, if this image is seen by more conservative audiences, such as those who

politically align with the *Globo Organization's* ideologies, it could be seen as an affront: a poor black *travesti* who lives on the margins of society, criminal, monstrous and disfigured, who dares to be in a higher hierarchical position than that of the viewer. If this image is interpreted through the conservative point of view, it is another addition to the construction of a negative public identity to Veronica. In other words, depending on the audience of the news reports, the composition of this image can produce different effects and therefore interpretations.

Lastly, the image chosen to be used as Veronica's portrait before the aggression is also problematic as it is representative of many stereotypes surrounding transpeople. In the mainstream media, *travestis* are generally depicted as prostitutes, either as poor prostitutes who possess very masculine features and are considered trashy or as hyper sexualized and objectified prostitutes. Instead of choosing to represent Veronica through a daily-life photo, the picture used to represent her is that of the hyper sexual hooker. In this image, she is wearing heavy make-up, little clothing, showing the accentuated curves of her body and she is gently touching her hair while staring at the viewer with her mouth slightly open. Through her top-down *gaze* at the viewer and body language, which depict lust, it is as if she were waiting for a response from the reader to join her. This sort of image carries many similarities to those one may encounter on porn websites, such as the one in Figure 16 retrieved from the porn website *Brasileirinhas*, one of the most famous and well-known in Brazil.



**Figure 16 - Brazilian porn actress**



The use of the image that depicts Veronica hyper sexually (Figure 15) – who is reported to be a hairdresser, and not a prostitute – helps to reinforce stereotypes in relation to transgender people, especially because this is the only picture of Veronica before the aggression that is present and repeated in all of the pieces of news. Both prostitution and transsexuality are seen by most of society as deviant behaviors, practices to be condemned and prohibited. Hence, to associate even more the image of a transgender woman who committed a crime to that of promiscuity and prostitution is to enhance the already socially constructed criminal and abject “nature” of the social actress in question.

The analysis of images used in the news reports of the Veronica Case aimed at describing how the choice of visual resources was used to reinforce the idea of Veronica as a criminal and less of a victim. Even though people in social media have been claiming for justice for Veronica, the images on *GI* contributed to reproduce stereotypes related to transgender people in the media. The initial reports of the case before the outbreak of campaigns in favor of Veronica projected the image of the prison officer as a victim and Veronica simply as a criminal. After the online commotion started, the strategy of excluding images of Veronica could not work anymore. This led *GI* to publish images that could accentuate the immoral and monstrous sides of Veronica, depicting her as a hyper sexualized *travesti* and as a disfigured monster from an angle that conveys power, respectively. The semiotic choices in the reports pertaining to the Veronica Case follow the trend in mass media of always misrepresenting poor *travestis* as criminals. In a similar way to what happened in the Dewani Case in relation to homosexuality, this time transsexuality is seen as an incriminating factor.

### **3.6 Empathy and Visual Representational Dissonance in the Lamp Case**

The use of multimodal resources differs considerably in the Lamp Case in comparison to the other two cases. Out of the five analyzed reports, two of them did not contain any images. In the other analyzed cases, the number of visual resources supporting the verbal text was abundant, especially in the Dewani Case. In the other reports on the Lamp Case, there was the repetition of two similar images (Figure 17 and Figure 18). Both images depict the victim who had a fluorescent lamp broken upon his face by a group of random youngsters while he

was walking on Paulista Avenue in São Paulo, apparently due to homophobia.



**Figure 17 - Victim in the Lamp Case I**



**Figure 18 - Victim in the Lamp Case II**

Both images depict the same social actor under a similar perspective: once again we have a fragmented body that enables viewers only to partly see his face, which is badly injured because of the attack

with the lamp. Even though the presentation of the images is somewhat similar to that of the prison officer in the Veronica Case, they possess some important differences. The objective of the images also seems to be the creation of some empathy within the reader in relation to the case to make readers understand and feel sorry for the victim. However, this time the body is not so fragmented, allowing viewers to observe the expressions on the victim's face. Besides that, the focus of the images is not on the injuries that the victim suffered, trying to establish a feeling of empathy through the seriousness of the physical violence. The focus turns to the boy's apparently tired eyes as his gaze seems to be directed at nothing, generating a feeling of sorrow and suffering. Thus, empathy is created in these images through emotional and psychological suffering. This empathy differs from what happens in the Veronica Case in relation to the prison officer, where *GI* attempts to create empathy through physical pain. Moreover, in Figure 18 the victim's gaze is top-down directed at the ground from an oblique view, giving him a sense of powerlessness and vulnerability. Due to all of these features that are apparent in these pictures, it seems that these images aimed at connecting the viewers and the victim.

Another important and different aspect in the news of the Lamp Case is the complete lack of images of the aggressors. Among the five boys accused of the attack, four of them were underage and therefore it would not be possible to publish any images of them. Nevertheless, one of the boys involved in the crimes was a nineteen-year-old named Jonathan Rodrigues, who never had any of his images published by *GI*. That leads one to question the differences between Jonathan Rodrigues and Veronica Bolina, and why one of them has the right not to be exposed in the media. Jonathan is treated with the same visual suppression of social actors that is present in the reports of the Veronica Case: the social action in which he was involved is presented, other social actors are also present, but no images of him are displayed. However, this suppression apparently happens for a different reason. All of the accused in this case are from an upper-middle class or upper class background, one of them being the grandson of an Italian mafia leader (Freitas, 2010). All of the accused are white boys who live in the noble areas of São Paulo. The exclusionary act of not including pictures of Jonathan Rodrigues is due to his social status, which allows him to have this sort of protection and privilege. The same does not happen with Veronica, who is part of an always already abject community, the transgender people, which in her case intersects with other zones of social abjection: the black and the poor.

### **3.7 Final Remarks**

In this chapter I discussed the importance and implications of visual choices in each of the analyzed cases as well as how these choices serve as complements to the discourses that are produced and reproduced by the journalistic media in relation to the social actors represented in the cases. In the next and final chapter of this thesis, I will bring together the main ideas that were presented in the analytical chapters in an attempt to connect the dots regarding the representation of queer criminals and victims in news reports by the mass media.

## CHAPTER IV FINAL REMARKS

### 4.1 Initial Remarks

In this final chapter I will firstly attempt to tie the knots of what was discussed in the analytical chapters and then revisit the research questions and hypotheses I proposed in this study. I will then discuss the limitations of this study and give some suggestions for further research on the same topic. Lastly, I will briefly discuss the social importance of studies such as this one as my final words.

### 4.2 Connecting the Dots

Throughout this thesis, I demonstrated how semiotic resources (verbal and non-verbal language) were used by the journalistic media to represent queer social actors in reports of crimes. In the analyzed cases, there was the depiction of three very different social actors in terms of their functions in the cases: Shrien Dewani is represented as a criminal, the attacked boy in the Lamp Case is represented as a victim, and Veronica is reported as both victim and criminal.

Exclusion and inclusion of social actors in the selection of analyzed cases proved to be one of the most prominent features. Even though Veronica is reported as both victim and criminal, this double depiction only happens after the creation of the “We’re all Veronica” movement in social media. Until that moment, she had been excluded from the selection of images published by *GI* and backgrounded through verbal language, even though an image of her highly injured body was available from the beginning of the case. By contrast, *GI* chose to include the prison officer who had been attacked by Veronica, thus representing her only as a criminal and him as the only victim. Differently from Veronica, none of the criminals in the Lamp Case had any of their images published throughout the series of articles on the case, including the only accused who was not under 18 years of age. They are also nominated and categorized in a different way in comparison to Veronica, since their representations are constructed with much more carefully and respectfully. This might have been caused by their difference in social status: Veronica was already a criminal in jail, a poor black *travesti* who integrates the abject zones of society – a marginalized individual. The criminals from the Lamp Case were upper-

middle/upper class heterosexual white males whose social privileges may have granted them such kind of protection from the media.

Even when Veronica is represented in the news reports as a victim (but still a criminal), her overall depiction is not the same as the one presented for the victim in the Lamp Case. The only similarity between Veronica and the boy in the Lamp Case is that both of them have their physical injuries displayed through images, but the aggressions are represented quite differently. The boy has his fragmented face depicted from an oblique angle, which transforms him into just an *offer* to the readers, something to be observed. The focus of the images is on his eyes, which present a sad look that aims at producing pity. On the other hand, Veronica has her whole body and pulverized (as the media calls it) face represented in her image. Her transgender body – which still presents feminine features overlaid by masculine features as an effect of the physical aggression that she suffered – is depicted from a low angle that confers power to Veronica, who is also directly gazing at the viewer and *demanding* reaction, producing an intimidating figure. In fact, the depiction of the attacked boy in the Lamp Case is similar to the depiction of the attacked prison officer in the Veronica Case. The image of the prison officer also presents his fragmented face and focuses on his physical injury (e.g. his ripped ear), which might generate a feeling of empathy and pity towards the prison officer and a feeling of fear towards the *travesti* who caused such a horrible injury. This difference about the representation of injuries can also be verbally seen, since the victims in the Lamp Case are reported as having been “espancadas” by the aggressors, whereas the aggressions Veronica suffered are never intensified through such high graduation.

Regarding the similarities between the representation of Veronica and Dewani as criminals, I demonstrated how images were used by the media as a multimodal resource to attain its objectives: to represent them as the criminals of the cases on the basis of their queer sexualities. The news reports on the Dewani Case are filled with images of men that connote sex, constantly associating Dewani with three generally abject behaviors: gay sex, promiscuity and sadomasochism. These images might increase the distrust in the accused if seen by conservative readers – who are the target-audience of the news medium. His actions are also negatively appraised through judgments of social sanction and his sexuality is always connected to deviance, a reproachable practice, a crime. When it comes to Veronica’s representation, she is depicted as the hyper sexualized *travesti*, which

matches with common depictions of prostitutes and porn actresses available on the media. This representation also connotes the abject categories of prostitution and promiscuity, which are frequently associated with *travestis* in popular belief. Associating these abject categories with the accused might add negatively to their public identity, thus helping to consolidate their doubtful personality and consequently their criminal identity.

The way through which *GI* and the *Mail Online* give voice to others and engage with other voices (such as presenting highly functionalized authorities to counter Dewani's arguments) are also representative of the manipulation on the part of the media in favor of a single side of the story. Partiality and non-factuality are thus important features in these news reports. In addition, both *GI* and the *Mail Online* present biased, limited or prejudicial opinions about the criminals as regards queer sexualities and transgender identities, which are always represented via negative appraisal (especially those of negative judgment), categorizations and, in the case of Veronica, gender inflections and nominations that serve to constantly remind the reader she is not a cis-gender woman, thus disrespecting her choices and identity.

In conclusion, in this thesis I illustrated how popular news websites which target mass audiences make use of linguistic strategies in order to manipulate how the identities of queer social actors are represented in news reports. When criminals possess a non-normative sexuality, the socially deviant status of their sexuality becomes an incriminating factor that needs to be emphasized and somehow transmitted to the audience. In the analyzed cases, some of the ways through which these unperceived representations occur are the use of images, exclusion and inclusion of social actors, associations, evaluative language, nominations, and categorizations in favor of what the media desires to represent. Choices in the use of such linguistic/semiotic features proved to be a subtle way through which biased and manipulative discourses can be reproduced.

#### **4.3 Research Questions Revisited**

In this subsection, I return to the research questions I proposed in the beginning of the thesis and which guided me through this work and I attempt to briefly answer them based on the findings of my analysis.

- (1) In which ways are social actors represented through ideational/representational semiotic choices in news reports of crimes involving queer social actors?
- (4) What are the semiotic differences and similarities in terms of representation between the criminals and victims depicted in the reports?

All the theories and analytical frameworks used in this analysis proved to be revealing to some extent when it came to the representation of queer social actors. The main finding of this thesis, which corroborates the initial hypothesis I had in relation to the selected news reports, suggests that queer social actors, when reported as criminals, have their non-normative sexuality/gender identity represented as a central part of their criminal identity. When these social actors are represented as victims, their representations changed according to other factors, such as race and class. In the case of the poor black transgender woman Veronica Bolina, the media diminished her function as a victim as much as possible in order to emphasize her criminal identity as well as it many times disrespected her gender identity. On the other hand, when the victims were white upper class cis-gender (and apparently heterosexual) males in a prestigious neighborhood of São Paulo, the issue of sexuality was treated differently, much more carefully as it was seen as a delicate topic. The rich criminals in the Lamp Case are also treated differently for they are not as exposed as Veronica was and enjoy a certain protection from the media.

Both the journalistic media analyzed in this study – *GI* and the *Mail Online* – also proved to be partial and also manipulative of its audience, as they made use of specific linguistic strategies to project their own version of facts. As pointed out in first and second chapters of this thesis, such manipulation is dangerous since the general public usually believes that hard news is an objective report of factuality. Through language, the media is capable of producing detrimental public identities to the social actors involved in crimes, which will certainly affect the way they are seen by the masses and possibly have some effect on the way judicial processes occur. Fortunately, in contemporary times, social media is very influential and may have the power to partially alter the way social actors are represented in the mass media (such as in the Veronica Case).

- (2) Are the biased views of society in relation to sexualities also linguistically present in such news reports? If so,



which are the linguistic choices used to construct/maintain bias?

Yes, they are. As pointed out in the answer to the previous research questions, the criminal queers have their sexuality represented as part of their criminal identity, which corroborates the conservative concept of non-normative sexualities as a deviant behavior. The *Mail Online* connects homosexuality and promiscuity or deviance through the use of appraised lexical items. It also presents limited notions of sexuality, especially bisexuality, through the use of associations and appraised items. *GI* reinforces stereotypes in relation to transgender people, especially *travestis*, as a marginalized and criminal identity and it also delegitimizes such identity, mainly through nominations, categorizations, associations and gender inflection.

(3) What are the semiotic differences and similarities in terms of representation between the Brazilian and British reports?

There are not many noticeable differences between the Brazilian and British media when it comes to the representation of queer social actors. Most of the differences are related to the journalistic stance the news medium takes. Differently from *GI*, the *Mail Online*, since it is a tabloid's website, makes use of a great number of images in the reports and frequently makes use of appraisal of attitude and appreciation. The main similarity between the two media is how they represent queer social actors as criminals: these social actors have their queerness represented as a core part of their criminal nature. Such representations are similarly constructed by both *GI* and the *Mail Online* through categorizations, nominations and manipulative attributions of voice.

#### **4.4 Limitations of the Study and Suggestions for Further Research**

The main limitation of this study concerns the size of the collected corpus. Due to time constraints, I only collected data about three different cases in two different sources of news that made up a total of fifteen articles. Hence, I would suggest that researchers who are interested in this same topic consider building a bigger corpus composed of a variety of cases from a variety of news sources, also including prejudice against many other identities that live in abject zones, such as gays, lesbians, bisexuals, transpeople (e.g. *travestis*, transsexuals, drag queens, drag kings), asexual people, polyamorous people, and many others.

Another limitation of this thesis concerns the analytical categories used in the analysis. Even though the chosen categories sufficed the purpose of this research, many others could also have been used. The decision for excluding other possible categories of analysis was due to time and length constraints. Thus, it would be interesting if others chose to use different (or more) categories of analysis, such as more categories of the representation of social actors, GVD, or analyses of the realization of other metafunctions from Systemic Functional Grammar at lexicogrammatical level.

#### **4.5 Some Final Words**

I would like to bring this thesis to a closure with a personal statement regarding my experience in writing it. Since I started working with Critical Discourse Analysis and fell in love with studies on queer issues, I could not avoid questioning and asking myself the real value of academic work on these topics. “What’s the use of all of this?” and “How is it going to bring any change to life in society?” were some of the questions that were in my mind (and many of my friends asked me the same questions when I told them what I studied). I do not have the answers yet. Sometimes I feel frustrated that all the theories and discussions we have in academia may not mean anything to the ‘real world’. But then I remember the domino effect and Fairclough’s ideas on social awareness and how it may bring social change. I hope therefore that those who will read this work, use it in their classes, or cite it as an example of awareness raising. I hope they will also be contaminated as I was during my research. *In memoriam* of Professor Ruqaiya Hasan, who influenced much of the past and current work on functional linguistics and unfortunately passed away as I was finishing this study, I will come full circle and finish with her epigraph cited at the beginning of this thesis, since I also have this idea that “there is a continuity from the living of life on the one hand right down to the morpheme on the other” (Hasan, 1984, p.57). Like her, I also believe that language and society work in a bidirectional way and the opposite is also true: there is a continuity from the ‘morpheme’ up to the living of life.

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## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX A – Article on the Dewani Case (05/05/2011)

**Honeymoon murder: Dewani would be 'sexually abused' if he was sent to South African prison  
But prison inspector insists he would be sent to facility 'like five-star hotel'**

Honeymoon murder suspect Shrien Dewani would be 'sexually abused' if he is sent to a South African prison a court heard.

His lawyers claimed that he would be 'very vulnerable' to gang attacks and sexual abuse if he stood trial there.

The comments come a day after it was revealed that a gay escort would tell a court how the businessman confessed he needed to escape an arranged marriage just months before his wife was killed.

Yesterday, Deon Van Zyl, a former High Court Judge who now inspects prisons, said he receives a text message whenever an inmate dies and he had received one only this morning reporting a death.



Suspect: Shrien Dewani (right) arrives at Belmarsh Magistrates' Court for his extradition hearing accompanied by supporters

And he suggested that if convicted, Mr Dewani would spend much of his sentence at the 'luxury' Malmesbury Medium A prison in the Western Cape.

'It looks far too much like a five-star hotel,' said Mr Van Zyl. 'That's the impression being created by some of the prisons.'

He added that conditions within the country's 259 operational prisons were improving but more work still needed to be done.

Mr Van Zyl said that if he was sent to South Africa, Mr Dewani would be placed in a remand centre while he awaits trial. If he was then convicted he could face serving his sentence at a medium or maximum security prison.

He said all prisoners should be 'treated with dignity and in line with basic human rights' which were constitutionally protected in South Africa's bill of rights.

Earlier the extradition hearing at Belmarsh Magistrates' Court heard that prosecutors believe Leopold Leisser is the final piece of the jigsaw and could provide the motive behind their claim that the millionaire businessman hired a hitman to kill his beautiful bride Anni.





Changing fortunes: Dewani, pictured with his bride Anni on their wedding day last November (left) and arriving at court for the hearing. The Munich-born man has agreed to give evidence if Dewani is extradited to Cape Town to face trial for murder, kidnap, robbery and obstructing justice.

Details of a statement written by Mr Leisser were revealed as a hearing to determine whether Dewani should be extradited began at Belmarsh Magistrates' Court in south-east London yesterday.

Hugo Keith QC, for the South African authorities, said Dewani effectively told the witness he was trapped into marrying Anni by family pressure and was desperate to 'find a way out of it'.

He said: 'The witness records how having met Dewani in September 2009 he told him in April 2010 how he was engaged or about to be engaged and how he had to get married.'

'He said although she was a nice, lovely girl who he liked, he could not break out of the proposal to get married in any way because he would be disowned by his family. He went on to say to the witness that he needed to find a way out of it.'

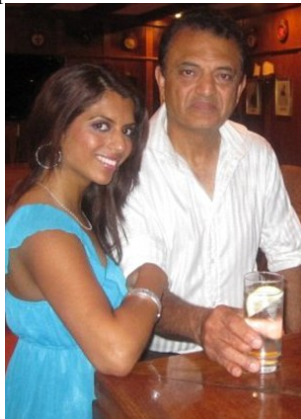


Ordeal: Anni's parents, Vimod and Nilam Hindocha, were two of the dozens of relatives attending the extradition hearing

A judge, who was not told the identity of the witness, heard his potentially vital statement was only disclosed to Dewani's legal team a fortnight ago after he agreed to testify in South Africa.

Care home owner Dewani, 31, is accused of hiring a contract killer to murder his Swedish wife Anni, 28, in a staged car-jacking as they were driven through a notorious township last November.

Mrs Dewani died from a single bullet which passed through her hand before penetrating her neck as she apparently tried to defend herself. Mr Dewani escaped unscathed after being thrown from the car before she was kidnapped.



Victim: Anni Dewani, 28, pictured here with her father Vimod Hindocha, was killed in a carjacking while on honeymoon in South Africa

Dozens of family members from both families descended on the court as Dewani, dressed in a tracksuit, sat slumped in the dock, mumbling to himself with his eyes half-closed before being excused to return to hospital for treatment.

They have refused to speak to each other since Zola Tongo, the couple's unofficial tour guide, pointed the finger at Dewani in a plea bargain for his part in the conspiracy that cut seven years from his sentence.

He claimed Dewani asked him if he knew anyone who could 'have a client of his taken off the scene' and offered him 15,000 rand (£1,375) to arrange the murder and make it look like a random attack.

The police case hinges on Tongo's account, CCTV of Dewani passing him a package three days after the murder and witnesses who claim the accused changed a large amount of money at an illicit exchange.

Dewani, who is suffering post traumatic stress disorder and severe depression, remains on suicide watch at a secure mental health unit near to the family home in Bristol where he is being assessed by psychiatrists.

His legal team are fighting extradition on the grounds that sending him overseas would breach his human rights because his life would be in danger and the prison system could not care for his unstable mental condition.

Dewani's family, which has always fiercely denied that he murdered his wife or is gay, declined to comment.

The hearing continues.



Zola Tongo pictured during his trial in Cape Town High Court in December 2010



Flashback: Dewani collapsed after leaving Westminster Magistrates' Court following a bail hearing last month

## **APPENDIX B – Article on the Dewani Case (08-12-2014)**

**Millionaire Dewani could now SUE over his sexuality: Lawyers who used his fetish for gay sex as a 'motive' for murdering Anni may face bid for malicious damages**

**Care home owner could have a case against South African prosecutors**

**He could claim his sexuality was unfairly exposed as part of the case  
Lawyers say: 'Dewani could seek damages for malicious prosecution'**

Shrien Dewani could sue South African authorities for attempting to use his sexuality as evidence against him, a lawyer said today.

In their bungled prosecution, state lawyers tried to argue that his liaisons with gay prostitutes revealed a possible motive for wanting his wife murdered as a 'way out' of the marriage.

The move apparently prompted Dewani to reveal on day one of the trial – via a written explanation of his not guilty pleas – intimate details of his private life in a bid to negate the claims.

It paved the way for his defence team to call for their client's sexuality to be deemed irrelevant to his murder trial - and Judge Jeanette Traverso duly agreed, angrily throwing out their submissions on more than once occasion.

South African lawyer Peter Jordi said Dewani could seek damages if he can show prosecutors had unjustifiably used his sexuality as evidence.

He told MailOnline: 'He could have a case for malicious prosecution.'





Shrien Dewani could sue South African authorities for attempting to use his sexuality as evidence against him, including intimate details of sex sessions with gay prostitute Leopold Leisser (right)

'Defendants can recover expenses for the harm they have suffered and infringement of rights of personality suffered by being falsely prosecuted.

'They can make a claim where the prosecution brings up material they know is inadmissible to blacken the character of the accused.'

Mr Jordi, an attorney at the University of Witwaterstand's law clinic who specialises in claims against the police, said there have been defamation cases against witnesses in the past even when they had told the truth in court.

'If an advocate made a defamatory statement during the course of the proceedings, which was not relevant to the proceedings, then equally the advocate could be held liable,' he added.

'It is not enough that the information published is truthful. It must be in the interest of the public to receive the information.'





State lawyers tried to argue that his liaisons with gay prostitutes revealed a possible motive for wanting his wife Anni (pictured) murdered as a 'way out' of the marriage

The prosecution had lined up a number of witnesses to testify to Dewani's homosexuality, including Leopold Leisser, known as the German Master, and a detective from Scotland Yard who retrieved a bundle of sexually-explicit e-mails between Dewani and an older man. But Judge Traverso furiously accused the prosecution of presenting 'irrelevant' evidence when Leisser took the stand to detail sex sessions he and Dewani had in the months leading up to the honeymoon murder.

The allegation that Dewani had told the Birmingham-based escort – who specialises in fetishism and role play - that he needed 'to find a way out' of his engagement to Anni and other conversations they'd shared, was not allowed to be shared with the court, the judge ruled.

Prosecutor Adrian Mopp attempted to argue that since Dewani had consistently described himself as a gay man seeking other gay partners on 'hook-up' websites such as Gaydar and Recon, the court should hear more about his conflicted feelings towards his new bride.

'Premier gay dating site': Dewani logged on to hook-up website Gaydar (above) on October 15, 2010, as he prepared for his £200,000 wedding in Mumbai later that month, Mr Leisser alleged

For men into leather, rubber and kink: Leisser also set up a profile on Recon (above) under the name GermanMaster1, where he offered 'escort services' with emphasis on 'fetish, sadomasochism and role-play'

Judge Jeanette Traverso disagreed and ruled that the e-mails were inadmissible as was the vast majority of what Leopold Leisser was prepared to say.

She also ruled out as hearsay much of the testimony from Sneha Mashru, Anni's first cousin, who had been asked to testify about how Anni felt sexually rejected by him.

However, Mr Jordi said Dewani's chances of a successful claim were slim.

'I would not be prepared to represent him because my advice would be that he has got a weak case.

'It is harder to prove because the onus is on the defendant to show it was malicious.

'In the particular case in question, it seems that the material may have been relevant (it was brought up in the plea explanation by the accused, for example).

'The claimant should be wary of launching proceedings.'

Mannie Witz, a senior defence barrister who specialises in murder cases, said Dewani would face another dilemma if he decided to sue as it would force him into the witness box.

He told MailOnline: 'In such a claim, the onus would be on Dewani to prove that the case against him was malicious, meaning he could not avoid giving evidence under oath.

'He simply couldn't do that, judging by the various versions he has given police over time and now to the court in his plea explanation, he is likely to make a shocking witness.

'No lawyer acting for him would advise him to do that.'

## APPENDIX C – Article on the Dewani Case (09/10/2014)

**'I'm filthy-minded, perverted and submissive': How Shrien Dewani used Gaydar to trawl for group sex with men as young as 18**

**Dewani set up profile on gay dating website under the name 'asiansubguy'**

**He accessed Gaydar two days before he 'plotted wife's honeymoon murder'**

**'States preference for for 1-on-1 sex or group sex... with gays or bisexuals'**

**His lawyers are expected to argue that his account logged in automatically**

**Bosses from Gaydar and fetish site Recon are set to testify against Dewani**

**'Link man' who hired two hit men played far bigger role in plot, court heard**

**Defence lawyers continue to question hitman 'hired to carry out the murder'**

**Mziwamadoda Qwabe, 29, was convicted of killing Anni Dewani in carjacking**

**Admits he received no instructions about how or where she would be killed**

Shrien Dewani described himself as 'submissive, filthy-minded and perverted' in his profile on a gay hook-up website, it was claimed today.

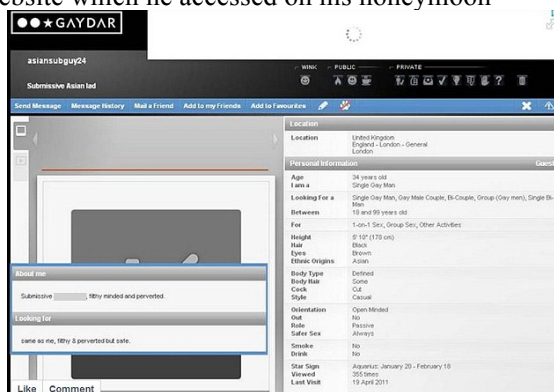
The millionaire used the logon 'asiansubguy' to access Gaydar on his honeymoon two days before he allegedly arranged the murder of his wife Anni, court papers suggest.

On a profile cited as belonging to him, it states a preference for hooking up with men aged between 18 and 99 years old 'for 1-on-1 sex, group sex or other activities... with single gays or bisexuals'.

It describes the user as a 'passive' partner who practiced safe sex 'always'.



Shrien Dewani (pictured outside court today) reportedly described himself as 'submissive, filthy-minded and perverted' in a profile on a gay hook-up website which he accessed on his honeymoon



Trawling for men: A profile believed to have been used by Dewani on the gay hook-up website Gaydar shows the user is looking 'for 1-on-1 sex, group sex or other activities... with single gays or bisexuals'

Describing his body type as 'defined', Dewani apparently cites himself as 'submissive c\*\*\*\*\*', filthy-minded and perverted' who is looking for like-minded partners the 'same as me, filthy and perverted but safe.'

Dewani was a member of Gaydar from 2004 until deactivating his account a week after her murder.

Gaydar boasts of being 'the premier gay dating site. Home to millions of men'.

Leopold Leisser, the gay escort Dewani admits to having liaisons with, is expected to give evidence in court next week, having met Dewani via Gaydar.

In his statement to police, British-based Mr Leisser, known to his clients as the German Master, said Dewani liked to be physically and verbally abused with fetish paraphernalia and racially-insulting names.

An admissions bundle released by the court yesterday suggested Dewani had also surfed a gay fetish hook-up website the day after his murdered wife's body was found.

The 34-year-old, who claims to be bi-sexual, used the logon name of 'asiansubguy' to take out premium membership of Recon, according to his admissions statement released by the court.

The term 'sub' is believed to refer to 'submissive'.

The document shows he was signed into Recon the day before Mrs Dewani was killed and two days after she died, staying logged on for several hours.





Anni Dewani's uncle, Ashok Hindocha (left) and State prosecutor Shireen Riley (right) arrive at court

Recon describes itself as the 'world's largest hook-up site for men into fetish gear' and has 38,000 members.

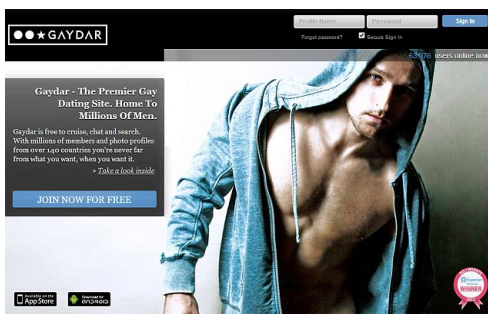
Senior executives from gay and fetish websites Gaydar and Recon are scheduled to be early witnesses for the state against Dewani in his murder trial.

Described by court insiders as 'technical experts', two senior figures from Gaydar and Recon are being flown to South Africa by prosecutors who are keen to demonstrate that Dewani's secret life as a gay man was a strong motive for wanting his new bride killed.

It will be essential for prosecutor Adrian Mopp to establish that electronic devices owned by Dewani could only have been logged into the sites if he was actually operating his phone or computer himself, using his chosen user names and password.

It is thought that Dewani's lawyers will seek to cast doubt over the fact that it was the Bristol-based businessman who was actively visiting the sites and that as a premium paying member, his phone or laptop could connect to them automatically.

When one a source close to the businessman's defence team was yesterday asked outside court about the fact that Dewani was surfing fetish and gay websites - sometimes simultaneously - he replied curtly that 'his computer was logged onto them, not him, there is a difference.'



'Surfing on his honeymoon': Dewani logged onto gay dating website Gaydar (above) while he and his new bride waited for an internal flight after two nights at a luxury safari lodge





'World's largest hook-up site for men into fetish gear': Court documents revealed Dewani surfed the bondage website Recon (above) the day after his wife's body was found

Meanwhile, the role of a middle man who recruited two hit men on behalf of Dewani's driver today emerged as a more significant player in the killing of Mrs Dewani.

Monde Mbolombo has provided police with a new version of the part he played in the November 2010 murder in recent weeks which directly contradicted the evidence he gave at earlier hearings, it was revealed today.

One of the hit men convicted over the murder, Mziwamadoda Qwambe, has repeatedly downplayed Mbolombo's role during his testimony, including under fierce cross-examination by Francois van Zyl, insisting that Mbolombo was merely 'a link man'.

Mbolombo was granted immunity from prosecution in return for giving evidence against Tongo and the two hit men he briefed to carry out the contract killing.

He is expected to be called by the state in the weeks to come.

Mr van Zyl confronted Qwabe with phone records which showed Mbolombo called him repeatedly before and after the death of Mrs Dewani.

The defence has also obtained CCTV footage and audio recordings from the hotel reception desk where Mbolombo worked, in which he is heard to be giving Tongo instructions about providing gloves for the hit men, the court heard.

'If that is true then Monde was more than just a link. He's now part and parcel here of this whole plan,' Mr van Zyl told Qwambe.

Court proceedings adjourned early for the day after Qwabe complained of an upset stomach which made him 'too uncomfortable' to give evidence.

Earlier in the day, Dewani appeared extremely fidgety and had to leave the dock - his lawyer telling the court that his stomach was also bothering him.



Hitman: Mziwamadoda Qwabe (pictured, right, at an earlier hearing) claims he and an accomplice were promised R15,000 (£1,300) to shoot Anni Dewani in a carjacking on the couple's Cape Town honeymoon

Yesterday, Qwabe, 29, told the court how he and an accomplice were promised R15,000 (£1,300) to shoot Mrs Dewani in a staged carjacking.

But the millionaire's defence team made early gains towards clearing Dewani of any involvement by getting Qwabe to admit he had received no instructions about how or where his new bride would be killed.

Under cross-examination from defence counsel Francois van Zyl, Qwabe also admitted he had previously lied under oath. The former insurance worker told the trial yesterday how he was first told about the 'job' to kill the 28-year-old the previous night by Dewani's taxi driver Zola Tongo.

Qwabe, who was jailed for 25 years for his part in the execution, claimed Tongo told him: 'There was a husband who wanted his wife killed.'

He then organised the plot in a 20-minute meeting the following day – just hours before she was shot dead after they ambushed Tongo's cab.

But Qwabe admitted that despite accepting promise of payment for the hit, he had not discussed details about how she would be killed.

'You accepted an instruction to kill someone for R15,000 (£1,300 at rates at the time)... but you never even thought about how this person had to be killed?', asked Mr van Zyl.

Qwabe replied 'no'.



Shrien Dewani with his wife Anni, whom he is accused of murdering by hiring a hitman to stage a violent carjacking on their honeymoon in South Africa four years ago

He added that he did not discuss the method or who would do it.

In the next breath, however, he said before the night of the murder he gave his firearm to convicted gunman Xolile Mngeni.

He said they both knew a firearm was going to be used, but they did not know when or where.

'That's why I got a shock after she had been shot,' he explained.

Prosecutors claim 34-year-old entrepreneur Dewani wanted out of his marriage to Swedish-raised Anni and arranged a carjacking in which he survived and his wife did not.

Qwabe described how he and accomplice Xolile Mngeni – who has also been convicted for the murder – waited to intercept the couple's car as they toured a township.

After a first aborted attempt, they seized the car at gunpoint and released driver Tongo and Dewani unharmed – telling him to 'report the hijacking'.

As the hitmen drove on, Mngeni shot Mrs Dewani.

Qwabe said: 'I got a shock. I asked him what he had done? He said he had shot the lady.'

‘We had never discussed where she was going to be killed or how she was going to be killed.

Asked if he knew if she was alive or not, he said: ‘I didn’t take much notice.’

After disposing of evidence, they counted the money that had been left by Tongo in a pouch – and found just £860.

The trial resumes on Monday.

## THE TIMELINE OF THE HONEYMOON MURDER



### 2010

November 13 - Shrien and Anni Dewani's cab is hijacked as their chauffeur drives them through the rough township of Gugulethu on the outskirts of Cape Town on their honeymoon.

Dewani escapes but his wife is driven off and killed. Her body is found the next morning in the back of the abandoned vehicle. A subsequent post-mortem examination finds she was shot in the neck.

November 16 - Dewani leaves South Africa. Xolile Mngeni, from the township of Khayelitsha, is arrested by Western Cape Police.

November 17 - Mngeni is charged with the hijacking and murder.

November 18 - Police arrest a second suspect, Mzwamadoda Qwabe, also from Khayelitsha.

November 20 - Police arrest a third suspect, the couple's taxi driver Zola Tongo, from Cape Town.

November 23 - Dewani rejects speculation that he was somehow involved in the car-jacking, telling The Sun: 'People who suggest this could not have seen us together.'

December 7 - Tongo is jailed for 18 years after making a plea agreement with prosecutors. The taxi driver claims Dewani offered him 15,000 rand (£850) to have his wife killed - something strongly denied by the British businessman's family.

Dewani is arrested in Bristol under a South African warrant on suspicion of conspiring to murder his wife.

December 8 - Dewani, originally from Westbury-on-Trym, near Bristol, appears at City of Westminster Magistrates' Court in London and is remanded in custody as the South African authorities fight to extradite him.

## **2011**

March 3 - Dewani, who is said to be suffering from severe post-traumatic stress disorder, is sent to the Priory Hospital in Bristol.

April 20 - He is compulsorily detained under the Mental Health Act at Fromeside Clinic, a secure hospital in Bristol.

May 3 to 5 - Dewani's extradition hearing begins at Belmarsh Magistrates' Court in London. Prosecutors cite an unnamed witness who claims Dewani confessed he needed to 'find a way out of' his marriage months before the wedding.

August 10 - District Judge Howard Riddle rules that Dewani can be extradited to South Africa to stand trial.

September 20 - Wynberg Regional Court in South Africa hears claims that Dewani approached an airport shuttle service operator and sought a hitman to murder his wife almost immediately after the couple arrived at a five-star hotel in Cape Town.

September 28 - Home Secretary Theresa May signs an order for Dewani to be extradited to South Africa.

September 30 - Dewani lodges a High Court appeal against Mrs May's decision.



Prakash Dewani (right), father of British businessman Shrien Dewani and brother Preyen Dewani (centre) arrive with family members and legal representatives at the Western Cape High Court, South Africa, in May

## 2012

February 10 - The Western Cape High Court in South Africa hears that Dewani is to be added as the fourth accused when the murder trial eventually gets under way.

March 30 - The High Court temporarily halts Dewani's extradition, ruling that it would be 'unjust and oppressive' to order his removal. But the court said it was plainly in the interests of justice that he should be extradited 'as soon as he is fit' to be tried.

August 8 - South Africa's National Prosecuting Authority announces that Qwabe has pleaded guilty to murdering Mrs Dewani along with charges of kidnapping, robbery and the illegal possession of a firearm.

He is jailed for 25 years. In a statement as part of his plea deal, Qwabe said that after he and Mngeni staged the fake hijacking, he drove the car as Mngeni kept a pistol pointed at Mrs Dewani in the back seat before shooting her.

November 19 - Mngeni is found guilty of premeditated murder at the Western Cape High Court. He is also convicted of robbery with aggravating circumstances and illegal possession of a firearm and ammunition. But he is acquitted of Mrs Dewani's kidnapping.

December 3 - Dewani is allowed to switch from Fromeside to Blaise View mental health hospital in Bristol, described as a more 'open, relaxed and calm environment', after a court hears he is a 'husk' of his former self and 'adapted poorly' to treatment.

Xolile Mngeni is jailed for life for shooting Mrs Dewani.

### **2013**

February 13 - Dewani is admitted to hospital suffering chest pains, his family say.

April 11 - Dewani's mental health is said to have improved 'significantly,' a court hears.

May 15 - His QC Clare Montgomery tells another court update that his mental health has deteriorated.

July 1 - The full extradition hearing begins at Westminster Magistrates' Court.

July 24 - Chief Magistrate Howard Riddle rules Dewani should be extradited to South Africa. Lawyers acting for Dewani immediately announce their intention to appeal.

October 22 - Dewani's extradition is delayed as a panel of High Court judges decides the murder suspect can have a further hearing as there are outstanding legal issues the court must decide.

### **2014**

January 31 - Dewani, compulsorily detained in hospital under the Mental Health Act, loses his latest High Court bid to block his extradition after assurances about the suspect's treatment by South African authorities.

February 21 - The Judicial Office confirms Dewani is applying to the High Court to try to get his extradition case heard by the Supreme Court, the highest in the land, in an effort to delay his removal from the UK.

March 3 - Three High Court judges reject Dewani's current grounds of appeal, further paving the way for his extradition.

March 23 - South African officials confirm Dewani will be extradited on April 7.

April 7 - Hours before Dewani's departure, Anni Dewani's brother tells of the family's anguish in their quest for answers. Anish Hindocha tells ITV: 'We are just focusing on this case at the moment and it is hard to even start making the grieving process final yet because there are so many questions we need answers to.'

April 8 - Dewani arrives in Cape Town at around 8.15am ahead of a court hearing, having flown out of Bristol Airport the night before. He is later sent to a psychiatric unit. His family say in a statement: 'Shrien remains committed to proving his innocence in a court of law and uncovering the truth behind his wife's murder.'

May 12 - Staff at the Valkenberg Hospital in Cape Town where Dewani is being treated say the murder suspect's condition has improved. He will remain at the unit for further treatment, they confirm.

June 20 - Dewani's defence counsel Francois van Zyl tells Western Cape High Court his client will be 'fit to plead' at the start of his trial on October 6, subject to being found fit by a mental health panel.

October 5 - On the eve of the trial, Anni Dewani's family say they are looking for 'closure' before they can finally mourn.



## **APPENDIX D – Article on the Dewani Case (09-12-2014)**

**Secret gay double life of violent sex with rubber clad male prostitutes: Shrien Dewani faces scrutiny over sordid private life**

**Bride's father retains legal firm to sue Dewani for concealing he was gay**

**Vinod Hindocha says secret meant the couple's wedding was 'false'**

**Family want compensation for money spent on £200,000 wedding**

**Anger that judge dismissed issue of sexuality as irrelevant**

**Dewani previously denied rumours he was a promiscuous homosexual**

**Admitted he was 'bisexual' on first day of the trial**

**During Anni relationship he secretly met 'German Master' Leopold Leisser**

Dramatically cleared of killing his new wife on their honeymoon four years ago, Shrien Dewani will today fly home to Britain on a private aircraft chartered by his wealthy family.

But the one thing he has craved all his life – respectability – will prove elusive now.

For his secret gay double life, particularly his penchant for violent sex with rubber-clad male prostitutes, will now face renewed scrutiny as his dead bride's family plot legal action over his sordid private life.





Acquitted: Shrien Dewani (left) will now face renewed scrutiny as his dead bride's family plot legal action over his sordid private life, including his sex with rubber-clad male prostitute Leopold Leisser (right)

Vinod Hindocha, the father of Dewani's murdered bride Anni, has retained a London legal firm to sue his son-in-law for keeping secret the fact that he was gay, saying it meant the couple's wedding was 'false'.

'Which father in the world, including me, would allow their daughter to marry a person who sleeps with men?' he said. 'The whole wedding was a drama and was false.'

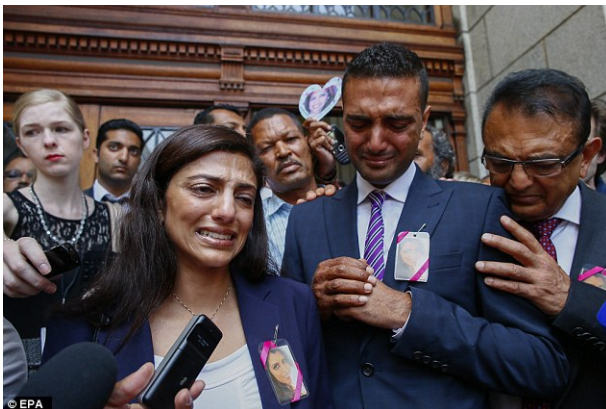
'I am going to sue him for that – not just for the money, but for the loss of my daughter.'

The family believe they have grounds for suing Dewani for leading Anni into marriage without revealing his sexuality, and for compensation for the money the Hindocha family spent on the three-day, £200,000 wedding.

They are furious, as are prosecution lawyers, that the issue of Dewani's sexuality was dismissed as irrelevant by the judge at the start of the trial on the grounds that this was not in dispute, leaving the prosecution without a motive to prove murder.



Legal action: Vinod Hindocha, the father of Dewani's murdered bride Anni, has retained a London legal firm to sue his son-in-law for keeping secret the fact that he was gay



Anger: Anni's family believe they have grounds for suing Dewani for leading Anni into marriage without revealing his sexuality. Pictured are her sister Ami, brother Anish and father Vinod

Anni parents: 'We had no idea about sex with mate prostitutes'



Yet, until the case began, Dewani had always vehemently denied rumours that he was a promiscuous homosexual, and had spared no expense to keep the truth out of the public domain. Having hired Max Clifford, the disgraced publicist, on a retainer of £30,000 a month within days of being named as a suspect for the murder in 2010, Dewani ordered Clifford to suppress details of his homosexual double life.

After the Mail contacted Clifford over allegations that Dewani had hired rent boys, the publicist — now serving eight years in prison for sexual assaults — insisted there was ‘no truth at all’ in the claims.

Clifford said: ‘Shrien Dewani has never had a sexual relationship with a man in his life – not ever.’

Clifford added that he had been ‘inundated’ with calls from young women saying they had slept with Dewani. He also threatened legal action against The Sun newspaper for printing claims of an affair by a gay prostitute called ‘the German Master’.

It was only on the first day of the trial when, as a series of witnesses prepared to testify he was gay, that Dewani admitted he was ‘bisexual’ in a three-sentence statement read to the Western Cape High Court.



Plans: Even as Dewani and Anni they planned their wedding in India, they argued over the colour of decorations, the theme for functions and the style of clothing

His sexuality had been a key aspect of the prosecution case. But judge Jeanette Traverso, ruled – bizarrely – that this evidence was irrelevant because of Dewani’s admission.

Crucially, this meant prosecution lawyers could not allege Dewani had plotted to have his wife killed because he was secretly gay.

Certainly, lurid tales of gay sex, bondage clubs and trysts in hotel rooms with rent boys were not something that the accused ever wanted to emerge. For appearance and status have always meant a lot to Shrien Dewani.

He grew up in a strict, respectable home, the son of a magistrate who ran a nationwide network of care homes, and had a property empire worth millions in Bristol.

Indeed, the family were considered so important in their home of Westbury-on-Trym that other worshippers would wait until they arrived before starting prayers at the Hindu temple where they were grandees.



Hired: Dewani ordered disgraced publicist Max Clifford to suppress details of his homosexual double life

After going to Bristol Grammar School, where he worked hard and got good grades in his A-levels, he studied for a BSc at the Manchester University Institute of Science and Technology, where he became general secretary of the National Hindu Students' Forum.

After graduating, he trained as an accountant and worked for Deloitte before joining his brother in the family business as a financial director. Even then, all the time he was hiding a secret.

For by his early 20s, he had joined a gay dating website called Gaydar, using the name 'asiansubguy' – a reference to the fact that he liked to be submissive during sex with men.

He used the same username to take out a £50-a-year premium membership of another gay dating site, Recon, which describes itself as the 'world's largest hook-up site for men into fetish gear'.

And he became a regular at the notorious Hoist nightclub in South London. Yet his strict family and religious background meant he kept the truth about his sexuality secret. There was also, increasingly,

pressure on him from his parents to get married, particularly after Preyen, his elder brother, settled down.

Shrien struggled in relationships with women. In 2008, he was introduced to a tycoon's daughter called Rani Kansagra. They were engaged within three months, but split up soon afterwards.

Three months after that relationship collapsed Dewani was introduced to Anni Hindocha, a Swedish engineering graduate, whose family had fled Uganda during Idi Amin's bloody rule, and built up a business and a new life four hours from Stockholm.

On a visit to see her cousin, Sneha, in Luton in 2009, she was introduced to Shrien by mutual friends. He invited her to see the Lion King at the Lyceum Theatre in London.

The pair continued to see each other, spending alternate weekends in Bristol and Stockholm. Shrien proposed to Anni at the Paris Ritz with a £25,000 diamond ring after flying his girlfriend out from London by private jet in 2010. Behind the scenes, however, the relationship was in turmoil. Dewani and Anni rowed repeatedly and broke up several times during their 18-month courtship because of his 'controlling' behaviour and lack of sexual interest in her.

Her cousin Sneha Mashru, who was close to Anni, said: 'Anni felt embarrassed and hurt, and we both felt it was weird. Anni and I speculated that maybe he was a virgin or perhaps just being proper.' Mrs Mashru added that Dewani was always 'very critical' of Anni's appearance.

Anni even broke off their engagement at one point. But Mr Hindocha says Dewani's father phoned him and pleaded that Anni could 'not do this' as it would bring the Dewani family's reputation 'down to earth' if he had a second failed engagement.

So Mr Dewani instructed his eldest son Preyen to get Shrien to be more affectionate, and Anni finally agreed to marry him, despite significant 'misgivings'.

Throughout their relationship, he had begun secretly meeting Leopold Leisser, known as the 'German Master', paying £400 for the first of several sex sessions four months after he started going out with Anni.



Family: The parents of Shrien Dewani, Prakash and Shila (centre) arrive at the Western Cape High Court

Anni and Dewani's rows continued. Even as they planned the wedding in India, they argued over the colour of decorations, the theme for functions and the style of clothing.

At one point, Anni texted her cousin: 'Fighting a lot with Shrien. Wish I never got engaged. Everyone tells me how fortunate I am...absolutely sick.' Yet when the £200,000 wedding finally did go ahead at the five-star Mumbai Marriott set on the banks of Lake Powai, there were few public signs of tensions as 300 guests watched Shrien and Anni dance to the hit Bollywood song Pehla Nasha – First Love.

But after they went to the honeymoon suite, there was little romance. Shrien scolded Anni for not folding her clothes and spent the night on the sofa, their marriage un-consummated.

'Crying has become my new hobby,' Anni told a friend in one text. She also told friends she was already considering divorce before they left for their fateful honeymoon in South Africa.

Anni's father, Vinod, said when he last spoke to her by phone on the afternoon of November 13 she said she had a 'lot to tell him' and needed to speak to him when she returned the following Tuesday.

They never spoke again. Later that night, Anni was shot dead after their car was hijacked in a township outside Cape Town, apparently on a sight-seeing tour because, according to Dewani, she wanted to see 'the real Africa'.

Hours after her body was found, police found Dewani had logged on to Gaydar, the gay dating site, from the luxury hotel where they had been staying in Cape Town.



Ashok Hindocha, the uncle of Anni, told the Mail: 'We couldn't care less if someone is gay or not.'

'But Shrien was determined to marry a beautiful heterosexual girl because he is so vain that he had to have a trophy wife. Whatever else happened, by marrying her knowing that he was gay, he had already ruined her life. For that we can never forgive him.'

## APPENDIX E – Article on the Dewani Case (14-12-2014)

**'German master' who took part in gay sex sessions with Shrien Dewani reveals gratitude of murdered wife's parents after he revealed details of sexual relationship**

**Leopold Leisser, 43, admitted he was nervous about meeting the family**

**But he said they were welcoming and treated him like a 'long lost son'**

**He said: 'It was surreal... them treating me like they'd known me for years'**

The gay prostitute who had sexual encounters with Shrien Dewani says the family of slain bride Anni treated him like a long-lost son when he met them as the 34-year-old millionaire faced a murder charge over the death of his wife.

Leopold Leisser, AKA 'The German Master', from Birmingham, met Anni Dewani's parents Vinam and Nilam Hindocha in Cape Town, South Africa.

Prosecutors claimed Dewani ordered a hit on Anni because he was gay and wanted a way to get out of his marriage without shaming his family.





Leopold Leisser, AKA 'The German Master', met Anni Dewani's parents Vinam and Nilam Hindocha in Cape Town, as Shrien Dewani faced a murder charge over the death of his 28-year-old Swedish wife



Grieving: Vinod and Nilam Hindocha with a photograph of their daughter on her wedding day. They met Mr Leisser in the Cape Town Lode Hotel during the trial in October

Dewani, who was cleared of plotting the murder last week and has now returned to the UK, admitted he was 'bisexual' in a three-sentence statement read to the Western Cape High Court, as a series of witnesses - including Mr Leisser - prepared to testify he was gay.

Mr Leisser, 43, admitted he was nervous about meeting the family in October, fearing they would judge him for how he makes his living.

He told the Sunday Mirror: 'I was apprehensive to meet them because of the line of business I am in and because of the nature in which I met Shrien.

'I was apprehensive and thought they would see me as a dirty, disgusting man. But it was the opposite. They were so grateful I had come forward.



Dewani was cleared of plotting the murder of his wife Anni last week and has now returned to the UK

'I was welcomed like a long lost son, in a way. It was surreal, sitting in a chair, surrounded by her family and them treating me like they'd known me for years.'

Anni's uncle Ashok Hindocha said: 'We have got nothing against homosexuality or what he does or that he is a prostitute.

'He is still a human being and we're grateful for what he did for us.'

After graduating, Dewani trained as an accountant and worked for Deloitte before joining his brother in the family business as a financial director.

By his early 20s, he had joined a gay dating website called Gaydar, using the name 'asiansubguy' – thought to be a reference to the fact that he liked to be submissive during sex with men.

And he became a regular at the notorious Hoist nightclub in South London. Yet his strict family and religious background meant he kept the truth about his sexuality secret.

There was also, increasingly, pressure on him from his parents to get married, particularly after Preyen, his elder brother, settled down.

Shrien struggled in relationships with women. In 2008, he was introduced to a tycoon's daughter called Rani Kansagra.

They were engaged within three months, but split up soon afterwards.

Three months after that relationship collapsed Dewani was introduced to Anni Hindocha, a Swedish engineering graduate, whose family had fled Uganda during Idi Amin's bloody rule, and built up a business and a new life four hours from Stockholm.

On a visit to see her cousin, Sneha, in Luton in 2009, she was introduced to Shrien by mutual friends.

The pair continued to see each other, spending alternate weekends in Bristol and Stockholm. Shrien proposed to Anni at the Paris Ritz with a £25,000 diamond ring after flying his girlfriend out from London by private jet in 2010. Behind the scenes, however, the relationship was in turmoil.

Dewani and Anni rowed repeatedly and, it is claimed, broke up several times during their 18-month courtship because of his 'controlling' behaviour and lack of sexual interest in her.



Leopold Leisser pictured shopping in Cape Town after giving evidence in the Shrien Dewani trial in October

Her cousin Sneha Mashru, who was close to Anni, said: ‘Anni felt embarrassed and hurt, and we both felt it was weird. Anni and I speculated that maybe he was a virgin or perhaps just being proper.’

Mrs Mashru added that Dewani was always ‘very critical’ of Anni’s appearance.

Anni even broke off their engagement at one point. But Mr Hindocha says Dewani’s father phoned him and pleaded that Anni could ‘not do this’ as it would bring the Dewani family’s reputation ‘down to earth’ if he had a second failed engagement.

So Mr Dewani instructed his eldest son Preyen to get Shrien to be more affectionate, and Anni finally agreed to marry him, despite significant ‘misgivings’.

Throughout their relationship, he had begun secretly meeting Mr Leisser.

Anni and Dewani’s rows continued. Even as they planned the wedding in India, they argued over the colour of decorations, the theme for functions and the style of clothing.

At one point, Anni texted her cousin: ‘Fighting a lot with Shrien. Wish I never got engaged. Everyone tells me how fortunate I am...absolutely sick.’



Shrien Dewani had begun secretly meeting Leopold Leisser, even after he started going out with Anni (pictured)

Yet when the £200,000 wedding finally did go ahead at the five-star Mumbai Marriott set on the banks of Lake Powai, there were

few public signs of tensions as 300 guests watched Shrien and Anni dance to the hit Bollywood song Pehla Nasha – First Love.

But after they went to the honeymoon suite, there was little romance. Shrien scolded Anni for not folding her clothes and spent the night on the sofa, their marriage un-consummated.

‘Crying has become my new hobby,’ Anni told a friend in one text. She also told friends she was already considering divorce before they left for their fateful honeymoon in South Africa.

Anni’s father, Vinod, said when he last spoke to her by phone on the afternoon of November 13 she said she had a ‘lot to tell him’ and needed to speak to him when she returned the following Tuesday.

They never spoke again. Later that night, Anni was shot dead after their car was hijacked in a township outside Cape Town, apparently on a sight-seeing tour because, according to Dewani, she wanted to see ‘the real Africa’.

Hours after her body was found, police found Dewani had logged on to Gaydar, the gay dating site, from the luxury hotel where they had been staying in Cape Town.

Ashok Hindocha, the uncle of Anni, told the Mail: ‘We couldn’t care less if someone is gay or not.’

‘But Shrien was determined to marry a beautiful heterosexual girl. Whatever else happened, by marrying her knowing that he was gay, he had already ruined her life. For that we can never forgive him.’

**APPENDIX F – Article on the Lamp Case (11-14-2010)**

**Rapaz é agredido na Avenida Paulista**

**Jovem foi encontrado desmaiado e levado pelo Resgate ao PS Vergueiro.**

**Cinco suspeitos foram detidos pela Polícia Militar e levados ao 5º DP.**

Um rapaz foi agredido, por volta das 7h deste domingo (14), na Avenida Paulista, na região dos Jardins, em São Paulo. De acordo com a PM, a vítima foi encontrada desmaiada na altura do número 700 da avenida e levada pelo Resgate do Corpo de Bombeiros para o PS Vergueiro.

Cinco suspeitos - todos menores de idades - foram detidos por policiais militares e levados para o 5º Distrito Policial, na Aclimação.



## APPENDIX G – Article on the Lamp Case (11-14-2010)

### Grupo usou lâmpadas como bastão para agredir jovem na Paulista

**Pelo menos três pessoas foram vítimas de grupo na manhã deste domingo.**

**Polícia deteve cinco e investiga se agredidos foram vítimas de homofobia.**



"Ele me chamou. Quando virei, ele já me atacou no rosto com a lâmpada", disse Luis (Foto: Leticia Macedo/G1)

Pelo menos três pessoas foram vítimas de agressão por parte de um grupo de cinco jovens que usava roupas de grife, na manhã deste domingo (14), na Avenida Paulista. A primeira agressão foi contra dois rapazes nas proximidades da Estação Brigadeiro do Metrô. Pouco mais tarde, eles atacaram mais um rapaz com duas lâmpadas fluorescentes perto do número 700 da avenida. Os cinco agressores foram detidos. Uma vítima foi levada para o hospital. A polícia investiga se os agredidos foram vítimas de homofobia. Isso porque, de acordo com testemunhas, um agressor gritou durante o primeiro ataque: "Suas bichas, vocês são namorados. Vocês estão juntos".

Um fotógrafo que pediu para ser identificado apenas como Rodrigo, de 20 anos, estava perto da Estação Brigadeiro na companhia de um amigo, de 19 anos, quando um grupo de rapazes se aproximou. Ao contrário do que a PM informou, testemunhas e vítimas dizem que os agressores não faziam parte de um grupo de skinheads. "Eles pareciam totalmente inofensivos. São boyzinhos mesmo. Eles usavam roupas de marca. Quando passavam pela gente, um deles me deu um

soco no rosto”, disse. O rapaz correu e se abrigou no Metrô. O amigo dele, porém, não teve a mesma sorte. “Quando liguei no celular dele, uma mulher atendeu dizendo que ele estava totalmente ensanguentado”, contou o fotógrafo.

O grupo de agressores continuou caminhando e, na altura do número 700, atacou com lâmpadas fluorescentes o estudante de jornalismo Luis Alberto, de 23 anos, que saía de uma lanchonete com outros dois amigos. “Quando passaram pela gente, vimos que um deles levava duas lâmpadas grandes nas mãos. Ele me chamou. Quando virei, ele já me atacou no rosto com a lâmpada. Em seguida, usou a outra lâmpada”, contou.

“Se não tivesse reagido, teria apanhado menos, mas eu não me arrependo”, contou. Depois de reagir, o restante do grupo foi para cima de Luis Alberto para defender o colega. “Me deram uma chave de braço e continuaram a bater”, disse.

Um radialista de 34 anos que passava pela Avenida Paulista presenciou o ataque na altura do número 700 e chamou a polícia. Quatro dos agressores são menores. Eles foram conduzidos ao 5º DP, na Aclimação.

## APPENDIX H – Article on the Lamp Case (11-15-2010)

### Pai de suspeito de agressão na Paulista diz que filho foi assediado

**Três rapazes ficaram feridos após violência em São Paulo. Quatro adolescentes e um jovem maior de idade foram detidos.**



Enquanto familiares das vítimas falam em ataques covardes, os pais dos suspeitos de agredir rapazes na Avenida Paulista, em São Paulo, neste domingo (14) defendem que tudo não passou de "uma grande confusão". Eles chegam a alegar que os cinco jovens suspeitos – quatro deles adolescentes teriam sido "assediados". As vítimas negam.

Os jovens foram detidos sob a acusação de terem agredido três pessoas com socos, chutes e golpes com lâmpadas fluorescentes. Na delegacia, foram identificados por outro rapaz, que contou ter sido agredido e assaltado pelo grupo. Duas vítimas disseram à polícia que teriam sido confundidas com homossexuais.

O estudante Gabriel Alves Ferreira, de 21 anos, presenciou o espancamento de um colega de 23 anos, na altura do número 900 da Avenida Paulista. Ambos estudam jornalismo. Segundo ele, o ataque não teve motivo. "Eles passaram por nós, depois se viraram, chamaram ele e atacaram com uma lâmpada fluorescente no rosto", disse. O rapaz caiu e continuou sendo atacado com socos e pontapés. "Eu e mais um colega ficamos em choque, não pudemos fazer nada. Tudo durou menos de dois minutos."

O diretor de teatro Marcelo Costa, pai de um dos menores de 16 anos acusado de agressão, defende que o filho e os amigos participaram de "uma briga como outra qualquer" e nega ter havido atitude

homofóbica. "Ele participou de uma confusão. Acho que ele errou, sim, em se meter em briga. Mas não foi como estão falando", afirmou.

O pai de Jonathan Lauton Domingues, único maior preso, admitiu que o filho tem pavio curto. "É um menino muito bonito e foi assediado por homossexuais. Ele pediu para parar, eles não pararam. Aí, virou briga", disse Eliezer Domingues Lima.

Os quatro adolescentes foram transferidos para uma unidade da Fundação Casa no Brás, região central de São Paulo, nesta madrugada. Jonathan foi levado para o Centro de Detenção Provisória de Pinheiros.

## APPENDIX I – Article on the Lamp Case (12-01-2010)

**Juiz manda voltar à delegacia inquérito sobre agressões na Paulista**

**Promotor solicitou que gravações sejam anexadas ao inquérito. Além disso, pediu os laudos dos exames feitos pelo IML com os agredidos.**



Estudante agredido com lâmpadas fluorescentes em 14 novembro na Avenida Paulista (Foto: Letícia Macedo/G1)

Enquanto os quatro adolescentes suspeitos de envolvimento em agressões a pedestres na região da Avenida Paulista seguem internados na Fundação Casa (ex-Febem), Jonathan Lauton Domingues, de 19 anos, também suspeito de participar dos mesmos ataques, continuará em liberdade. O juiz Daniel Luiz Maia Santos, da 1ª Vara Criminal da Barra Funda, na Zona Norte de São Paulo, decidiu nesta quarta-feira (1º), remeter de volta o inquérito sobre o caso, sem analisar o pedido de prisão preventiva do rapaz maior de idade, para o 5º DP, na Aclimação, região central. O juiz acatou requerimento do promotor Roberto Bacal.

O representante do Ministério Público solicita que sejam anexadas ao inquérito as imagens das gravações feitas por circuitos de segurança de prédios próximos de onde ocorreram as agressões, além dos laudos do Instituto Médico Legal (IML) com as vítimas dos ataques, que aconteceram no último dia 14 de novembro. O objetivo, segundo o promotor, "é esclarecer todas as circunstâncias delitivas", inclusive para

que o pedido de prisão preventiva por tentativa de homicídio seja analisado.

O delegado José Matallo Neto, titular do 5º DP, disse ao **G1** que terá de aguardar que o IML envie os laudos dos exames para poder anexá-los ao inquérito e, assim, remetê-lo de volta à Justiça. Por isso, não há uma previsão de quando o pedido de prisão preventiva de Jonathan venha a ser analisado. "Nós não recebemos ainda o resultado destes exames. Vamos ter de aguardar. E as imagens vão ter de ser degradadas, quadro a quadro, pelos peritos para também serem juntadas aos autos", disse Matallo Neto.

### **Júri popular**

Jonathan poderá ser levado a júri popular, informou nesta quarta-feira a assessoria de imprensa do Tribunal de Justiça. Para ir a júri, entretanto, é preciso que o Ministério Público ofereça denúncia e que a Justiça a acolha. O maior foi indiciado por tentativa de homicídio e formação de quadrilha e, por enquanto, está em liberdade.

Os quatro menores suspeitos de participar dos ataques também foram responsabilizados na conclusão do inquérito feito pelo 5º Distrito Policial, na Aclimação, e já estão internados provisoriamente na Fundação Casa, após determinação da Justiça da Vara da Infância e Juventude na terça-feira (23).

Apesar disso, a Polícia Civil também pediu a prisão preventiva de Jonathan na última sexta-feira (26). Mas por se tratar de um caso envolvendo tentativa de crime contra a vida, o juiz Eduardo Pereira Santos Júnior, do Departamento de Inquéritos Policiais do TJ-SP, acolheu na segunda-feira (29) o pedido do Ministério Público e "encaminhou os autos do inquérito policial de Jonathan Lauton Domingues a uma das varas do Júri", segundo nota divulgada no site do tribunal na noite de terça-feira (30).

Ainda segundo a informação do tribunal, em sua decisão, o juiz "determinou a remessa dos autos, sem se manifestar sobre o mérito da causa, e consignou que não poderia apreciar a representação do delegado de polícia pela prisão preventiva, uma vez que o Ministério Público entendeu se tratar de homicídio tentado e não ofereceu denúncia contra o acusado".

De acordo com o TJ-SP, ainda não há previsão para quando será analisado o pedido de prisão e quando a Promotoria irá se manifestar se oferecerá denúncia ou não contra Jonathan. No campo das hipóteses, o maior só será levado a julgamento se o Ministério Público denunciá-lo e a Justiça acolher esse pedido. Nesse caso, o juiz marcará

uma data para o júri, que será composto por sete jurados escolhidos entre pessoas da sociedade. Eles que irão decidir se o jovem deverá ser absolvido ou culpado das acusações.

Uma testemunha ouvida pela investigação do 5º DP chegou a relatar que foi segurada pelo maior enquanto os outros menores do grupo o batiam sem motivo aparente. Os delegados José Matallo Neto e Renato Felisoni também apuram se a motivação do crime foi homofobia – as vítimas teriam sido confundidas com gays.

### **Segundo inquérito**

Um segundo inquérito da polícia apura a acusação de roubo contra um lavador de carros que teria sido praticada pelo mesmo grupo. Uma audiência com o juiz da Vara da Infância e Juventude marcada para 9 de dezembro deve decidir se os menores serão absolvidos ou continuarão internados. O tempo máximo que eles poderão ficar, no caso de uma sentença condenatória, são três anos.

Imagens gravadas pelo sistema de monitoramento de câmeras dos prédios da Avenida Paulista mostram um jovem desferir golpes com lâmpadas fluorescentes numa vítima. Esse agressor teria 16 anos. Os outros três menores suspeitos têm idades entre 16 e 17.

### **Outro lado**

Procurada pelo **G1** nesta quarta para comentar o assunto, a defesa de Jonathan informou que soube da decisão do juiz e que se manifestará oportunamente.

**APPENDIX J – Article on the Lamp Case (12-17-2010)**

**Juiz ouve defesa de agressores da Paulista e decide se ficam internados**

**Testemunhas dos suspeitos devem falar na manhã desta sexta, em SP.**

**Quatro adolescentes que teriam participado de ataques estão internados.**



Estudante diz que foi agredido por adolescente que usou lâmpadas para bater nele (Leticia Macedo/G1)

O Juizado Especial da Vara da Infância e Juventude de São Paulo deve ouvir na manhã desta sexta-feira (17), a partir das 9h, as testemunhas de defesa dos quatro adolescentes suspeitos de promover agressões na Avenida Paulista no dia 14 de novembro, segundo apurou o **G1**. Após isso, o juiz deverá dar a sentença. Ele poderá decidir se os garotos serão punidos, continuando internados para cumprimento de medidas sócio-educativas, ou serão colocados em liberdade.

Os garotos, com idades entre 16 e 17 anos, estão internados provisoriamente na Fundação Casa (antiga Febem) após a Justiça decretar o recolhimento deles em 23 de novembro. A decisão pela internação partiu após imagens gravadas por câmeras de segurança de prédios da Avenida Paulista mostrarem os adolescentes agredindo pessoas. Numa das cenas, um garoto de 16 anos bate em um adulto com



lâmpadas fluorescentes, ferindo o rosto da vítima, sem qualquer motivo aparente.

O estudante de jornalismo Luís Alberto Betonio, de 23 anos, que aparece na gravação afirmou em entrevista ao Fantástico em 5 de dezembro que foi confundido com gays e vítima de homofobia. Em entrevista por e-mail ao **G1**, publicada em 6 de dezembro, o garoto suspeito pediu uma "**uma nova chance**".

Na última sexta (10), ele e os outros três menores de 18 anos de idade suspeitos das agressões foram ouvidos pelo juiz da Vara da Infância. Alguns deles assumiram em parte os ataques. Todos, no entanto, negaram que as agressões tenham sido motivadas por homofobia.

Ainda na semana passada, também haviam prestado depoimentos as testemunhas da acusação: vítimas e testemunhas das agressões.

### **Decisão do juiz**

Agora, nesta sexta, o roteiro deverá ser o seguinte: o juiz ouvirá as testemunhas de defesa dos adolescentes suspeitos e, depois disso, poderá dar a sentença. O magistrado decidirá se os quatro menores serão punidos, continuando internados para cumprir medidas sócio-educativas, ou responderão as acusações em liberdade. Se forem mantidos na Fundação Casa, os garotos poderão ser sentenciados a até 3 anos de internação. A liberdade deles, no entanto, estará condicionada a avaliações. Por esse motivo, existe a possibilidade de continuarem mais tempo internados na fundação.

### **Pedido de prisão**

Jonathan Lauton Domingues, de 19 anos, o único maior de idade do grupo suspeito dos ataques, continua em liberdade. Ele é também o único que responde criminalmente pelas agressões na região da Paulista. A Polícia Civil, no entanto, pediu a prisão preventiva de Jonathan à Justiça. O inquérito com os laudos e os vídeos das agressões gravados por câmeras de segurança dos prédios foram encaminhados ao Ministério Público e a Vara do Júri. Segundo a assessoria de imprensa do Tribunal de Justiça de SP não há informações ainda se a Justiça já analisou o pedido de prisão de Jonathan.

Os defensores de alguns jovens suspeitos dos ataques entrariam com recursos contra a internação deles no TJ-SP.

### **Pedido de multa**

Baseada numa lei estadual anti-homofóbica, a Defensoria Pública de São Paulo entrou na quinta-feira (16) com uma denúncia administrativa na Secretaria da Justiça e da Defesa da Cidadania para pedir que a comissão do órgão aplique uma multa de R\$ 80 mil para os cinco suspeitos de promover agressões na região da Avenida Paulista em 14 de novembro.

A defensora Máira Diniz, coordenadora do Núcleo de Combate à Discriminação, Racismo e Preconceito da defensoria, afirmou na quinta que duas das vítimas relataram para ela que a motivação dos ataques foi homofóbica.

De acordo com a coordenadora do Núcleo de Combate à Discriminação, Racismo e Preconceito da Defensoria Pública, ela irá basear seu pedido à secretaria na lei estadual 10.948 de 2001 de combate à homofobia.

Segundo a defensora, ela pediu a aplicação de multa de R\$ 16 mil para cada um dos cinco suspeitos. “O dinheiro poderá ir para um fundo de políticas públicas de diversidade sexual se a comissão da Secretaria da Justiça assim decidir”, falou Máira.

### **Outros casos**

Na madrugada do último domingo (5) houve mais um ataque contra homossexuais na região da Avenida Paulista. Câmeras de segurança registraram o momento em que as vítimas foram agredidas violentamente por um homem. Nos últimos meses, foram pelo menos seis ataques na região, com oito vítimas feridas.

## APPENDIX K – Article on the Veronica Case (04-13-2015)

**Preso arranca orelha de carcereiro em SP e fotos circulam na internet**

**Travesti atacou agente de segurança no 2º DP, Bom Retiro, na capital.**

**Fotos da vítima ferida e do agressor circulam no Facebook e WhatsApp.**



Carcereiro que teve pedaço da orelha arrancada (Foto: Reprodução/Facebook)

Um preso mordeu e arrancou parte da orelha de um carcereiro em uma delegacia na região central de São Paulo neste domingo (12). De acordo com policiais civis ouvidos pelo **G1**, um travesti atacou o agente de segurança quando era transferido de uma cela para outra na carceragem do 2ª Distrito Policial (DP), no bairro do Bom Retiro.

Fotos da vítima ferida e do agressor, que não tiveram os nomes divulgados, circulam no Facebook e WhatsApp. Três imagens compartilhadas nas redes sociais mostram: o carcereiro sem a parte superior da orelha direita; a orelha arrancada num copo; e o preso detido por policiais.

A equipe de reportagem apurou que o travesti havia sido preso em flagrante por policiais militares por suspeita de agredir uma idosa em um prédio na região da Bela Vista. Segundo os agentes, o travesti discutia com um transexual em um apartamento. Uma vizinha ficou incomodada e foi reclamar do barulho. Houve discussão e a mulher foi agredida pelo travesti.

Segundo policiais, o travesti foi detido e levado ao 78º DP, Jardins, onde teria sido indiciado por tentativa de assassinato. Os agentes ainda relataram que, dentro da delegacia, ele tentou agredir os PMs que fizeram sua prisão. Em seguida, ele foi levado à carceragem do 2ºDP, no Bom Retiro, onde atacou o carcereiro após mudança de cela.



Carceragem do 2º DP, Bom Retiro, onde preso arrancou parte da orelha de carcereiro (Foto: Kleber Tomaz / G1)

Quando mordeu a orelha do agente de segurança, o preso ficou com a parte que arrancou dentro da boca e só liberou depois de cerca uma hora, disseram os agentes.

Por agredir o carcereiro, o travesti irá responder também por lesão corporal grave. O G1 não conseguiu localizar o preso para comentar o assunto. Ele continua detido no 2º DP. Não há confirmação se tem advogado defendendo-o.

O carcereiro que perdeu parte da orelha também não foi localizado para falar. Ele foi levado ao Hospital das Clínicas, onde passaria por cirurgia. Os colegas dele levaram à unidade médica o que sobrou da orelha, para saber se seria possível um reimplante.

O G1 procurou a Secretaria da Segurança Pública para comentar o assunto, mas a pasta não havia respondido aos questionamentos até a publicação desta matéria.

APPENDIX L – Article on the Veronica Case (04-14-2015)

### **Ataque de travesti a carcereiro só parou após tiros para o alto, diz polícia**

**Segundo investigação, dois agentes entraram em confronto com detido.**

**Carcereiro teve parte da orelha arrancada durante ataque em delegacia.**



Carcereiro que teve pedaço da orelha arrancada (Foto: Reprodução/Facebook)

Um policial precisou atirar para conter neste domingo (12) o ataque de um travesti a um carcereiro no 2ª Distrito Policial, no Bom Retiro, Centro de São Paulo, segundo informações do boletim de ocorrência.

O preso mordeu e arrancou parte da orelha do carcereiro durante uma transferência de cela. Foram disparados três tiros na direção da briga, sem atingir ninguém. O travesti teria ainda ameaçado e agredido outro policial, segundo o boletim do caso.

De acordo com policiais civis ouvidos pelo **G1**, às 8h de domingo (12), o travesti de 25 anos atacou o agente de segurança quando era transferido. Além do carcereiro, de 36 anos, que teve um pedaço da orelha arrancada, a polícia registra que outro policial, de 54 anos, foi ameaçado pelo detento e ferido durante a confusão.

A secretaria não soube confirmar se o policial que atirou é o mesmo que ficou ferido. Segundo a investigação, depois que o preso foi contido, ele e os agentes de segurança foram encaminhados ao Hospital das Clínicas e ao Hospital do Servidor Público.

## Imagens circulam na internet

Fotos de uma das vítimas feridas e do agressor circulam no Facebook e WhatsApp. Três imagens compartilhadas nas redes sociais mostram: o carcereiro sem a parte superior da orelha direita; a orelha arrancada num copo; e o preso detido por policiais.

A equipe de reportagem apurou que o travesti havia sido preso em flagrante por policiais militares por suspeita de agredir uma idosa em um prédio na região da Bela Vista. Segundo os agentes, o travesti discutia com um transexual em um apartamento. Uma vizinha ficou incomodada e foi reclamar do barulho. Houve discussão e a mulher foi agredida pelo travesti.

Segundo policiais, o travesti foi detido e levado ao 78º DP, Jardins, onde teria sido indiciado por tentativa de assassinato. Os agentes ainda relataram que, dentro da delegacia, ele tentou agredir os PMs que fizeram sua prisão. Em seguida, ele foi levado à carceragem do 2ºDP, no Bom Retiro, onde atacou o carcereiro após mudança de cela.

Quando mordeu a orelha do agente de segurança, o preso ficou com a parte que arrancou dentro da boca e só liberou depois de cerca uma hora, disseram os agentes.

Por agredir o carcereiro, o travesti irá responder também por lesão corporal grave, evasão mediante violência contra pessoa e resistência. O **G1** não conseguiu localizar o preso para comentar o assunto. Ele continua detido no 2º DP. Não há confirmação se tem advogado defendendo-o.

O carcereiro que perdeu parte da orelha também não foi localizado para falar. Ele foi levado ao Hospital das Clínicas, onde passaria por cirurgia. Os colegas dele levaram à unidade médica o que sobrou da orelha, para saber se seria possível um reimplante.

Foram requisitados exames de corpo de delito para os envolvidos e perícia técnica no local do conflito.

**APPENDIX M – Article on the Veronica Case (04-16-2015)****Travesti fica desfigurada após prisão; Defensoria diz haver indício de tortura****Ela é suspeita de agredir idosa e tentar arrancar orelha de carcereiro****Prefeitura de SP recebeu denúncia; imagens mostram agressão.**

A travesti Verônica Bolina acusa policiais militares e civis de agredi-la quando foi presa em São Paulo, de acordo com nota divulgada por órgão da Secretaria Municipal de Direitos Humanos e Cidadania. Verônica foi detida na sexta-feira (10) por suspeita de tentar matar uma vizinha idosa. Depois, no domingo (12) arrancou a dentadas a orelha de um carcereiro dentro de um distrito policial.

O **GI** teve acesso a fotografias feitas pela Defensoria Pública que mostram Verônica com o rosto inchado e desfigurado, além de lesões e hematomas na barriga e nas costas. Gravações nas quais a travesti isenta os policiais de tortura são questionadas pela Defensoria (*ouça e leia mais abaixo*).

Para o núcleo especializado de combate à discriminação da Defensoria Pública, há indícios de tortura, maus-tratos, excessos, abusos, exposição indevida da imagem, coação e constrangimento ilegal envolvendo a prisão e contenção de Verônica.

"Há suspeita de tortura em virtude de como o rosto de Verônica ficou desfigurado", diz a defensora pública Juliana Belloque. "É difícil acreditar que para conter uma presa ela tenha que ficar com o rosto espancado".

A denúncia de agressão foi feita, inicialmente, ao Centro de Cidadania Lésbicas, Gays, Bissexuais e Transexuais (LGBT), vinculado à Secretaria Municipal de Direitos Humanos e Cidadania de São Paulo. Campanha na internet #SomostodasVerônica pede respeito às travestis.



Travesti fica desfigurada após prisão; Defensoria diz haver indício de tortura (Foto: Foto: Reprodução/Facebook; Divulgação/Defensoria Pública)

Nota divulgada pelo Centro de Cidadania informa que Charleston Alves Francisco, de 25 anos, que usa o nome social de Verônica Bolina, relatou “ter sofrido agressão em vários momentos por parte de policiais militares e de “preto”, fazendo referência aos agentes do Grupo de Operações Estratégicas (GOE), ocorridas no momento de sua prisão” e “durante o episódio em que atacou o carcereiro da Polícia Civil por conta de uma troca de cela e no Hospital do Mandaqui quando do atendimento médico”.

Verônica foi presa na sexta-feira (10) por suspeita de tentativa de assassinato a uma vizinha idosa. No domingo (12), a travesti supostamente se envolveu em confusão com outros presos e foi acusada de arrancar a dentadas a orelha de um carcereiro.

A equipe de reportagem não conseguiu falar com Verônica, que permanece detida no 2º Distrito Policial, Bom Retiro, a espera de uma vaga no sistema prisional. Segundo a nota do Centro, agora, Verônica está numa “cela individual e tem garantido o uso de suas roupas femininas e peruca de uso próprio, respeitando a sua identidade de gênero”.

O Centro informou ainda que “intermediou o encontro de Verônica com sua mãe, Marli Ferreira Alves Francisco” e que está dando “assessoria jurídica e psicológica” à família da travesti.

### **Conduta dos policiais**



A Secretaria da Segurança Pública (SSP) informou que a Corregedoria da Polícia Civil instaurou procedimento para apurar a conduta dos policiais envolvidos na contenção de Verônica e vazamento de fotos envolvendo o caso.

Segundo o delegado Luiz Roberto Hellmeister, titular do 2º DP (Bom Retiro), Verônica foi indiciada por tentar matar uma senhora de 73 anos, resistência e tentativa de evasão, entre outros crimes.



Feridas e hematomas são vistos na barriga e nas costas de Verônica Bolina (Foto: Divulgação)

Ela foi ouvida na tarde desta quarta-feira. De acordo com a Secretaria da Segurança Pública, os policiais que ouviram o depoimento afirmam que ela confirmou que, quando estava detida em uma cela, expôs a genitália e começou a se masturbar, o que provocou a revolta dos outros presos.

De acordo com a versão da polícia, para conter a situação, um carcereiro entrou na cela para retirá-la, quando Verônica o atacou com uma mordida na orelha. O delegado esclarece que Verônica se machucou durante esses confrontos.

O delegado apontou, ainda em nota divulgada pela secretaria, que Verônica, por causa da sua condição sexual, pode solicitar uma sala separada do restante dos presos, mas que não houve esse pedido. Verônica permanece na delegacia de maneira provisória, até a destinação para uma unidade da Secretaria de Administração Penitenciária.

Sobre a queixa de que o cabelo de Verônica teria sido cortado, o delegado esclarece que ela já tinha cabelos curtos quando chegou à delegacia, pois costumava usar peruca antes de ser presa", diz a nota.

### **Gravações questionadas**

A defensora pública Juliana Belloque também quer saber como foram gravados os dois arquivos de áudios (*ouça ao lado*) no qual Verônica diz que não foi torturada e isenta os policiais de qualquer agressão.

A gravação foi feita durante visita da Coordenadora de Políticas para a Diversidade Sexual do Estado de São Paulo, Heloisa Alves. O órgão é vinculado à Secretaria da Justiça e da Defesa da Cidadania do governo estadual.

"Eles reagiram dentro de suas leis" e era direito deles agirem "para contê-la", diz Verônica em uma das gravações. Em redes sociais e grupos de WhatsApp também circula áudio no qual Heloísa Alves afirma que divulga as gravações para ajudar a esclarecer dúvidas. O **G1** tenta falar com Heloísa, mas não obteve retorno.

Na quarta-feira (15), outras defensoras públicas foram ao 2º DP conversar com Verônica, que, reiterou o que havia dito no áudio divulgado na internet. Na ocasião, um delegado e um carcereiro estavam presentes no mesmo ambiente onde a travesti era ouvida pela Defensoria Pública.

"Não foi permitido contato reservado das defensoras com a presa, permanecendo o delegado e o carcereiro ao lado durante a entrevista, afirmando que a ela que 'deveria falar a verdade, sem aumentar nem diminuir', bem como sabia que diante dela ter arrancado a orelha de um agente 'teria ficado barato'", disse Juliana.

Para a defensora, o áudio disponibilizado na web e as declarações de Verônica à Defensoria Pública foram feitos na delegacia onde ela foi agredida anteriormente e sob a presença de policiais, o que sugere constrangimento.

"Tal cenário evidencia uma situação de constrangimento nas declarações dela, num ambiente que, em tese, sofreu agressões e maus-tratos", disse Juliana. "A presença dos policiais foi ostensiva e intimidatória".

No pedido feito pela Defensoria Pública à 1ª Vara do Júri da Capital está solicitação para que Veronica seja ouvida novamente pelas defensoras no Fórum da Barra Funda, na presença de um juiz.

"Verônica precisa dar suas declarações num ambiente longe de onde houve aquela confusão até para que não fique constrangida ou intimidada", disse Juliana.



Imagem da campanha #SomosTodasVerônica (Foto: Reprodução/Facebook)

### **#SomostodasVerônica**

A divulgação de fotos de Verônica Bolino detida, com os cabelos raspados, rosto desfigurado e com os seios à mostra indignou organizações de direitos LGBT, que criaram o movimento #SomostodasVerônica nas redes sociais. Uma página sobre o tema foi criada no Facebook e os organizadores afirmam que ela teve “a dignidade jogada fora”.

“Verônica apareceu numa foto. Seus cabelos estavam raspados, seu rosto desfigurado, sua roupa arrancada, sua dignidade jogada fora. Disseram que Veronica roubou alguma coisa. Ou que ela foi presa porque mordeu um policial. O motivo não importa, as fotos que mostram Verônica neste estado mostra que ela não foi tratada como cidadã, como pessoa. Ela foi tratada como um objeto que não gostamos, amassamos, rasgamos e jogamos fora sem muita importância. Verônica é mulher trans. Veronica é negra. Veronica é chamada de traveco Tysson e todo mundo ri”, diz uma das frases da campanha.



Imagem da campanha #SomosTodasVerônica  
(Foto: Reprodução/Facebook)

O deputado Jean Wyllys (PSOL-RJ) aderiu à campanha e divulgou longo texto em defesa de Verônica, contra a transfobia e em defesa dos direitos humanos. Para o deputado, ela foi exposta pela polícia, quem a deveria defender.

Ele colocou sua equipe à disposição da família de Verônica e levará a história à Comissão de Direitos Humanos da Câmara à CPI da Violência contra Jovens Negros e Pobres, à Comissão Permanente Mista de Combate à Violência contra a Mulher e também à Secretaria de Direitos Humanos da Presidência da República para averiguar se, de fato, houve ou não tortura.

“Verônica Bolino, torturada, humilhada e exposta pela Polícia Civil de São Paulo, a mesma que deveria proteger seus direitos e sua vida. Quando duas discriminações se chocam, como é o caso de Piu [travesti morta] e de Verônica, ambas trans negras, esse grupo é colocado em uma das mais vulneráveis situações da nossa pirâmide social!”, escreveu o parlamentar.

“Uma pesquisa sobre os direitos das trans negras no Brasil, publicada pela ONG internacional Global Rights, corrobora a realidade dessa população, impactada desproporcionalmente por diversas formas de violência física e sexual. Os dados da pesquisa foram apresentados durante uma audiência temática sobre os direitos das pessoas trans negra no Brasil diante na Comissão Inter-Americana de Direitos Humanos”, diz Wyllys em sua página no Facebook.

O deputado também lembra que tem um projeto de lei que garante “o direito de toda pessoa ao reconhecimento de sua identidade de gênero, protegendo estas pessoas de diversas situações que criam constrangimento, problemas, negação de direitos fundamentais, constante e desnecessária humilhação, quando não de um ataque às suas integridades físicas”.

•



Fotos que circularam na internet de orelha de carcereiro (à esquerda) arrancada por Verônica (à direita), que apareceu seminua nas fotografias que vazaram pelo Facebook (Foto: Reprodução / Facebook)

**APPENDIX N – Article on the Veronica Case (04-17-2015)****Travesti é ouvida por promotores e juiz sobre suspeita de tortura em DP**

**Verônica foi presa por tentativa de homicídio e, depois, agrediu carcereiro.**

**Defensoria suspeita que ela tenha sido torturada; polícia nega agressão.**



A travesti Verônica Bolina foi ouvida nesta sexta-feira (17) pela Defensoria Pública e por promotores do Grupo de Atuação Especial de Controle Externo da Atividade Policial (GECEP), do Ministério Público (MP). Ainda nesta tarde ela seria ouvida por um juiz corregedor (*no vídeo acima, o momento em que ela deixa a audiência*).  
saiba mais

Verônica foi detida na sexta-feira (10) por suspeita de tentativa de homicídio uma vizinha idosa. Depois, no domingo (12), arrancou a dentadas a orelha de um carcereiro dentro de um distrito policial. A Defensoria Pública diz haver indícios de que ela foi agredida e torturada no 2º Distrito Policial.

A Defensoria também questiona se ela foi coagida em gravações dentro do DP. Nos áudios, ela isenta os policiais de tortura. A gravação foi feita durante visita de representante de órgão vinculado à Secretaria da Justiça e da Defesa da Cidadania do governo estadual.

Verônica Bolina passou por novo exame de corpo de delito no IML na manhã desta sexta-feira (17), desta vez acompanhada de defensores públicos. "Eu presenciei diretamente dezenas de ferimentos

não só no rosto, como está visível, mas em diversas partes do corpo dela", disse a defensora pública Juliana Belloque.

A Defensoria espera o resultado do laudo, que deve ser liberado em 24 horas.

### **Comissão na Câmara**

Nesta quinta, a Comissão de Direitos Humanos e Minorias da Câmara dos Deputados encaminhou pedido de informações ao governador de São Paulo, Geraldo Alckmin (PSDB), e ao procurador-geral de São Paulo, Márcio Fernando Elias Rosa, sobre as denúncias de agressões à travesti Verônica Bolina.

A Corregedoria da Polícia Civil também irá apurar a conduta dos policiais envolvidos na prisão de Verônica.

A divulgação de fotos de Verônica Bolino detida, com os cabelos raspados, rosto desfigurado e com os seios à mostra indignou organizações de direitos LGBT, que criaram o movimento #SomostodasVerônica nas redes sociais.



Travesti fica desfigurada após prisão; Defensoria diz haver indício de tortura (Foto: Reprodução/Facebook; Divulgação/Defensoria Pública)

### **Entenda o caso**

O delegado Luiz Roberto Hellmeister, titular do 2º DP (Bom Retiro), diz que Verônica foi detida na sexta-feira (10) e indiciada por tentar matar uma senhora de 73 anos, que é sua vizinha.

No domingo (12), ainda de acordo com a Polícia Civil, Verônica teria se masturbado dentro da cela, causando a "revolta" de outros presos.

A Polícia diz que um carcereiro entrou na cela para retirá-la. Segundo nota da Secretaria da Segurança Pública (SSP), "Verônica o

atacou com uma mordida na orelha. O delegado esclarece que Verônica se machucou durante esses confrontos."

Após as agressões, foram gravados áudios com a travesti. Neles, ela isenta os policiais de tortura. A gravação foi feita durante visita da Coordenadora de Políticas para a Diversidade Sexual do Estado de São Paulo, Heloisa Alves. O órgão é vinculado à Secretaria da Justiça e da Defesa da Cidadania do governo estadual. A Defensoria Pública diz haver indícios de que Verônica foi coagida.

A **mãe de Verônica Bolina contestou** a versão da polícia que aponta que travesti ficou com o rosto desfigurado ao ser agredida por presos revoltados com o fato dela se masturbar dentro da cela de uma delegacia em São Paulo. Em entrevista ao **G1**, a funcionária pública Marli Ferreira Alves Francisco declarou que Verônica lhe disse que foram policiais que bateram nela.



Fotos que circularam na internet de orelha de carcereiro (à esquerda) arrancada por Verônica (à direita), que apareceu seminua nas fotografias que vazaram pelo Facebook (Foto: Reprodução / Facebook)



**APPENDIX O – Article on the Veronica Case (04-17-2015)****Verônica apanhou de policiais e não de presos em cela, diz mãe**

**Marli Francisco, mãe da travesti Verônica Bolina falou nesta sexta ao G1. Policiais bateram no rosto de travesti para ela soltar orelha de agente.**



A mãe de Verônica Bolina contestou a versão da polícia que aponta que travesti ficou com o rosto desfigurado ao ser agredida por presos revoltados com o fato dela se masturbar dentro da cela de uma delegacia em São Paulo. Em entrevista ao **G1**, a funcionária pública Marli Ferreira Alves Francisco declarou que Verônica lhe disse que foram policiais que bateram nela.

Verônica, que tem 25 anos, está presa há uma semana, suspeita de tentar matar uma idosa e arrancar a orelha de um carcereiro. As fotos do agente ferido e da travesti vazaram na internet e passaram a ser compartilhadas, o que tornou o caso público.  
saiba mais

A travesti foi ouvida nesta sexta-feira (17) pela Defensoria Pública e por promotores do Grupo de Atuação Especial de Controle Externo da Atividade Policial (GECEP), do Ministério Público (MP). Ainda nesta tarde ela seria ouvida por um juiz corregedor (*no vídeo acima, o momento em que ela deixa a audiência*).

A Corregedoria da Polícia Civil irá apurar a conduta dos policiais envolvidos na prisão de Verônica. O Ministério Público também vai investigar o caso, que é acompanhado pela Defensoria Pública.

A Secretaria da Segurança Pública (SSP) informou que os policiais do 2º DP negaram qualquer agressão a travesti, e que ela apanhou de presos ao se masturbar na frente deles. Em seguida, um carcereiro foi tentar ajudá-la, mas foi mordido por ela, que lhe arrancou parte da orelha, segundo a versão da polícia.

“Não teve aquela história de preso bater [em Verônica] e [a travesti] se masturbou na cadeia. Não teve essa história”, disse Marli, 48 anos, nesta sexta-feira (17). “Estão colocando palavras na boca [de Verônica]. Não houve isso”, afirmou.

Marli contou que conversou com Verônica na quarta-feira (15), ainda na carceragem do 2º Distrito Policial, Bom Retiro. “Não teve preso que bateu nela. Não teve nada disso. Pensa bem: ela está com a cabeça do jeito que ela está. Você acha que ela ia se masturbar na prisão?”, questiona a mãe da travesti.

De acordo com Marli, Verônica relatou que policiais militares e civis a agrediram durante a confusão ocorrida na cadeia e no hospital para onde foi levada ferida.



Travesti fica desfigurada após prisão; Defensoria diz haver indício de tortura (Foto:: Reprodução/Facebook; Divulgação/Defensoria Pública)

“Eles bateram nela no hospital, algemada, no abdômen dela”, disse a funcionária pública. “No rosto dela foi por causa da orelha que ela ficou na boca. Eles não sedaram ela, eles esmurram ela para ela soltar a orelha”.

A declaração de Marli sobre Verônica é compatível com a nota divulgada nesta semana pelo Centro de Cidadania Lésbicas, Gays, Bissexuais e Transexuais (LGBT), vinculado à Secretaria Municipal de Direitos Humanos e Cidadania de São Paulo.

O registro do Centro de Cidadania informou que Charleston Alves Francisco, de 25 anos, "que usa o nome social de Verônica Bolina, relatou ter sofrido agressão em vários momentos por parte de policiais militares e de "preto", fazendo referência aos agentes do Grupo de Operações Estratégicas (GOE), ocorridas no momento de sua prisão" e "durante o episódio em que atacou o carcereiro da Polícia Civil por conta de uma troca de cela e no Hospital do Mandaqui quando do atendimento médico".

"Não teve preso que bateu nela. Não teve nada disso. Pensa bem: ela está com a cabeça do jeito que ela está. Você acha que ela ia se masturbar na prisão?"

### **Marli Franciso, mãe de Verônica Bolina**

Marli disse que ela e outros órgãos estiveram presentes durante a declaração de Verônica ao Centro da Cidadania, na quarta. O que a travesti declarou naquele dia diverge, no entanto, do que ela falou na terça-feira (14), quando gravou um áudio de autoria desconhecida que circula na web.

Nas gravações, Verônica diz que não foi torturada e isenta os policiais de tortura e agressão. "O que o povo está falando é que ela foi coagida [a gravar]. Eu não sei falar para o senhor porque eu não estava perto", disse Marli. "Mas no outro dia, que eu assisti à audiência dela, que ela falou, aquilo tudo é verdade."

O áudio de Verônica foi gravado durante visita da Coordenadora de Políticas para a Diversidade Sexual do Estado de São Paulo, Heloisa Alves. O órgão é vinculado à Secretaria da Justiça e da Defesa da Cidadania do governo estadual, que não comentou a gravação.

"Não é porque ela [Verônica] é uma travesti ou transexual, que ela ia mentir. Ela é verdadeira. Minha filha sempre foi verdadeira", falou Marli.

O Grupo de Atuação Especial de Controle Externo da Atividade Policial (Gecep), do Ministério Público (MP), instaurou na quinta-feira (16) procedimento de investigação para apurar denúncias de tortura e maus-tratos contra Verônica.



Feridas e hematomas são vistos na barriga e nas costas de Verônica Bolina (Foto: Divulgação)

### Fotos

Fotos que mostram a travesti algemada, desfigurada, com os seios à mostra circularam em redes sociais de policiais. “Graças a deus que vazou tudo isso [fotos de Verônica] na internet. Porque se não tivesse vazado, talvez ela estaria morta agora”, disse Marli. “O que tentaram fazer de mal para ela veio para o bem. Porque se não tivesse divulgado aquelas fotos, talvez a gente não estaria sabendo o que tinha acontecido com ela”.

Apesar disso, a funcionária pública contou que Verônica lhe disse que se sentiu humilhada por causa das fotos que vazaram na web e foram tiradas por alguém que acompanhou sua prisão. “Muita humilhação. Muito humilhada. Não só ela, como todas as travestis, as pessoas em comum. A vergonha de ter passado por aquilo. Foi muito humilhada”, disse Marli.

“Ela [Verônica] também errou, mas ela também não deveria ter sofrido o que ela sofreu”, afirmou Marli. “Ela não tem rosto agora, infelizmente. Ela vai se recuperar porque ela falou que vai sair dali e vai ser a Verônica de novo”.

Marli contou ainda que Verônica é uma pessoa calma e que trabalha como cabeleireira para ajudar a sustentar a família, que mora em Mococa. “Minha filha é doce, educada, vaidosa e muito guerreira”, disse.

“Me orgulho dela porque ela nunca deu trabalho para mim”.



Fotos que circularam na internet de orelha de carcereiro (à esquerda) arrancada por Verônica (à direita), que apareceu seminua nas fotografias que vazaram pelo Facebook (Foto: Reprodução / Facebook)