RECONCEPTUALISING PUBLIC SPACES OF (IN)EQUALITY:

SENSING AND CREATING LAYERS OF VISIBILITY

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DECLARAÇÕES

Declaro que esta tese é o resultado da minha investigação pessoal e independente. O seu conteúdo é original e todas as fontes consultadas estão devidamente mencionadas no texto, nas notas e na bibliografia.

A candidata,

Lisboa, 22 de Outubro de 2013

Declaro que esta tese se encontra em condições de ser apreciada pelo júri a designar.

A orientadora,

Lisboa, 24 de Outubro de 2013

I hereby certify that this thesis is in a suitable presentation form and is ready for examination.

Supervisor,

Sheffield, 24 October 2013

Aos meus pais por todo o amor e exemplo de vida. A sua capacidade de apreciar tudo o que a vida tem de bom mesmo nos momentos mais difíceis fez a diferença na pessoa que sou. Obrigada por me fazerem sentir que mesmo em contextos difíceis e de discriminação, é sempre possível resistir, promover a mudança, e ser feliz. Sinto que é um enorme privilégio ser filha dos meus pais.

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RECONCEPTUALISING PUBLIC SPACES OF (IN)EQUALITY: SENSING AND CREATING LAYERS OF VISIBILITY

EDUARDA FERREIRA

ABSTRACT

KEYWORDS: public space, social discrimination, lesbians, geospatial online practices, Portugal

Space and social identities mutual relation of constitution and reproduction lead us to the understanding that space reflects power relations and hegemonic discourses, and that inequality can perpetuate itself through the ways space is organized, experienced, represented and created. Public spaces are constructed around particular notions of appropriate sexual comportment, reflecting and reproducing heteronormativity, as they exclude non-normative sexualities, such as lesbian sexualities. In a context of a heteronormative socio-spatial landscape women can decide not to disclose their non-normative sexual orientation, leading to a pervasive invisibility of lesbian sexualities in public spaces. Concurrently the pervasive invisibility of lesbian sexualities in public spaces reinforces power inequalities, feeding back the heteronormative socio-spatial landscape.

Discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation is still a widespread reality in Portugal in spite of the significant legal advances towards equality in recent years. Discriminated minority groups, such as lesbians, experience power inequalities in their everyday lives, and their spatial invisibility in public spaces contributes to their disempowerment.

Communication technologies recast the organization and production of the spatial and temporal scenes of social life and they open new possibilities of public action. The production of alternative representations of space, based on individuals' georeferenced experiences, thoughts and emotions are increasingly supported by the potentialities of Internet based technologies, such as the ever more easy-to-use online software. The potential of these technologies to promote the agency, to change power relations and to disrupt the hegemonic discourse increase as more people become the authors of a complementary flow of knowledge, information, memories and stories. This research explores the potential of geospatial online practices, based upon the experiences,

emotions and feelings of lesbian and bisexual women to disclose the socially encoded meanings of different bodies in specific spatial, temporal and cultural contexts, highlighting how spaces and sexual identities are mutually constitutive.

This research project aims to explore the potential of collaborative web mapping to promote the agency and empowerment of lesbian and bisexual women. It is structured in three phases: 'Mapping the landscape' aims to map spaces of lesbian and gay visibility in public spaces to contextualise the hetero pervasive reality in Portugal; the second phase 'Sensing the landscape' focuses on the intersections of gender and sexual orientation, aiming to identify significant dimensions of space and places that relate to lesbian and bisexual women sexual identities; and the third and final phase of the research 'Creating landscapes' explores how creating and sharing digital layers of lesbian visibility on collaborative web maps can disrupt a hetero pervasive reality and impact social identity and belonging, building capacities for action of lesbian and bisexual women, and facilitating same-sex public displays of affection. Ultimately, this research aims to explore the empowering potentialities of geospatial online practices to provide alternative possibilities for citizenship, and foster social change.

RESUMO

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: espaço público, discriminação social, lésbicas, práticas online geoespaciais, Portugal

O espaço e as identidades sociais têm uma relação mútua de constituição e reprodução, que nos leva à constatação de que o espaço reflete as relações de poder e os discursos hegemónicos, e de que a desigualdade se pode perpetuar através das formas pelas quais o espaço é organizado, vivenciado, representado e criado. Os espaços públicos organizam-se em função de noções específicas de comportamentos sexuais adequados, que refletem e reproduzem a heteronormatividade, ao mesmo tempo que excluem as sexualidades não-normativas. Num contexto sócio espacial heteronormativo, as mulheres lésbicas e bissexuais podem decidir não revelar a sua orientação sexual, o que leva a uma invisibilidade generalizada das sexualidades lésbicas em espaços públicos. Paralelamente, esta invisibilidade reforça as desigualdades de poder, retroalimentando o contexto sócio espacial heteronormativo.

A discriminação em função da orientação sexual é ainda uma realidade generalizada em Portugal apesar dos importantes avanços legislativos nos últimos anos. Os grupos sujeitos a discriminação, como as lésbicas, experienciam desigualdades de poder nas suas vidas cotidianas, e a sua invisibilidade espacial em espaços públicos contribui para acentuar essas desigualdades.

As tecnologias de comunicação reformulam a organização e a produção das dimensões espaciais e temporais da vida social, e abrem novas possibilidades de ação pública. A produção de representações alternativas de espaço, com base em experiências, pensamentos e emoções georreferenciadas, são cada vez mais suportadas pelas tecnologias baseadas na Internet. O potencial destas tecnologias para promover a agência, mudar as relações de poder e romper com o discurso hegemónico, aumenta à medida que mais pessoas se tornam autores de um fluxo complementar de conhecimentos, informações, memórias e histórias. Esta investigação explora o potencial de práticas geoespaciais em ambiente online para evidenciar as formas como os espaços e as identidades sexuais são mutuamente constitutivas, com base na partilha de experiências, emoções e significados socialmente codificados de diferentes corpos em contextos espaciais, temporais e culturais específicos.

Este projeto de investigação tem como objetivo explorar o potencial de mapas colaborativos online para promover a agência e o empoderamento das mulheres lésbicas e bissexuais. O projeto está estruturado em três fases: "Mapear a paisagem" que tem como objetivo mapear as representações dos espaços físicos e online de visibilidade lésbica e gay em Portugal para contextualizar a realidade heteronormativa, a segunda fase "Sentir a paisagem " centra-se nas intersecções de género e orientação sexual, com o objetivo de identificar as dimensões significativas de espaço e lugares que se relacionam com as identidades sexuais de mulheres lésbicas e bissexuais, e a terceira fase da investigação "Criar paisagens" explora como criar e compartilhar camadas digitais de visibilidade lésbica em mapas colaborativos online pode romper a realidade heteronormativa hegemónica, influenciar a identidade social e de pertença, desenvolver capacidades para a ação de mulheres lésbicas e bissexuais, e facilitar as demonstrações públicas de afeto entre pessoas do mesmo sexo. Em última análise, esta investigação tem como objetivo explorar as potencialidades das práticas geoespaciais online para criar possibilidades alternativas de cidadania e para promover a mudança social.

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1. INTRODUCTION

This research explores the potential of collaborative web mapping to disrupt heteronormativity and to promote the agency and empowerment of lesbian and bisexual women. More specifically, this research explores how creating and sharing digital layers of lesbian visibility on collaborative web maps can disrupt a hetero pervasive reality and impact social identity and belonging, building capacities for action of lesbian and bisexual women, and facilitating same-sex public displays of affection.

Geographical space is not an objective structure but a social experience, imbued with interwoven layers of social meaning. These meanings shape the way spaces are produced and used, and how spaces can feed back into shaping the way in which people categorize others and identify themselves (Smith, 1991). Space and social identities are mutually constituted. Space is an essential part of the constitution and reproduction of social identities. Moreover, social identities, meanings and relations produce material and symbolic or metaphorical spaces (Cloke, Philo & Sadler, 1991; Massey, 1999; Smith, 1993). Space and social identities' mutual relation of constitution and reproduction leads to the understanding that space reflects power relations and hegemonic discourses, and that inequality can perpetuate itself through the ways space is organized, experienced, represented and created (Massey, 2005; Mitchell, 2000; Smith, 1991; Valentine, 2001).

The pervasive heteronormativity of space is an example of power relations and hegemonic discourses that reflect and (re)produce inequalities. Public spaces are constructed around particular notions of appropriate sexual behaviour, reflecting and reproducing heteronormativity, as they exclude non-normative sexualities, such as lesbian and gay (Hubbard, 2008). In the context of a heteronormative socio-spatial landscape, people can decide not to disclose their non-normative sexual orientation, thereby leading to a pervasive invisibility of lesbian and gay sexualities in public spaces. Simultaneously, the pervasive invisibility of lesbian and gay sexualities in public spaces reinforces power inequalities (FRA, 2010), feeding back the heteronormative socio-spatial landscape (Ferreira, 2011). The heteronormative socio-spatial context of public spaces is one of the most pervasive forms of discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation, as it exerts strong societal pressures to confine and hide lesbian and gay sexualities within private spaces (Valentine, 1993a). Given the context of social discrimination and the possibility of not disclosing one's sexual orientation,

there is a widespread invisibility of non-heterosexual sexualities in public spaces (Hubbard, 2001). This research explores the mutual relation of constitution and reproduction of space, sexual identities and power inequalities.

According to the European Union (EU) Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA, 2009) in spite of some legal changes towards equality and non-discrimination, LGBT people continue to experience harassment, bullying and discrimination across the EU. The results of the 2012 Eurobarometer survey on discrimination in the EU (European Commission, 2012) confirm the conclusions of the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights report (FRA, 2009), which states that Portugal still has a discriminatory social environment towards non-normative sexualities. The Eurobarometer Discrimination in the EU in 2012 (European Commission, 2012), shows that the majority of Portuguese citizens (55%) believed that sexual orientation was the main reason for discrimination in Portugal, 9% above the average of the 27 countries of the European Union (46%). Considering that the EU is one of the regions of the world where there is a comprehensive non-discrimination legislation which explicitly includes sexual orientation, these results are even more disturbing.

The report on *Discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation and gender identity in Europe* (Council of Europe, 2011, p.7) states that homophobic attitudes have been identified in all member states, and that biased, outdated and incorrect information on what constitutes sexual orientation as well as stereotypical portrayals of LGBT people in the media and in textbooks contribute to the shaping of negative attitudes. The Commissioner for Human Rights of the Council of Europe, in this report (Council of Europe, 2011) acknowledges that LGBT people are a heterogeneous group, often stigmatized, discriminated against and living with the fear of being rejected by family, relatives, friends and society at large due to their sexual orientation. Many LGBT people conceal their sexual orientation in everyday life out of fear that public knowledge of their sexual orientation will lead to discrimination, harassment, rejection or even violence. Being afraid of negative reactions at school, work, in their neighbourhood or in their family, LGBT people may not be able to share this most intimate aspect of their private life with family, friends and colleagues.

Moreover, acts perceived as uneventful and unassuming for heterosexual couples (for example, holding hands, kissing or talking about their private life) may often be perceived as provocative and offensive when performed by LGBT people, and

several surveys show that people believe that LGBT people should not be visible in public, but rather be discreet or confine themselves to the private sphere (Council of Europe, 2011, p. 31). The pervasive context of social discrimination leads to the invisibility of non-heterosexual people in the public sphere, restraining the full enjoyment of universal human rights by LGBT people.

In this research the "LGBT" label is used as an umbrella term. One is aware that it has been used as a self-designator cluster to denote a diverse group of people in political and human rights discourse, and that many people considered as LGBT may individually not feel the need to identify themselves under this designation. Moreover, one acknowledges that the human rights issues affecting lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people are significantly different for each sub-group concerned and therefore require different approaches, despite the interconnected nature of the encountered discrimination.

Social identities are not stable or given understandings of social difference and it is not possible to explain inequalities through a single framework (Valentine, 2007). The acknowledgment of the intersections of gender and sexual orientation (eg. Brown, 2012; Browne & Nash, 2009; Johnston, 2007), the specificity of the interrelation of women and public spaces (eg. Massey, 1994; Valentine, 1989) and the scarcity of research on lesbian issues when compared to gay issues in Portugal (eg. Ferreira & Silva, 2011) supported the decision to focus the research on lesbians and bisexual women. The terms lesbian and bisexual women refer to women who engage in sexual/emotional relationships with other women and self-identify either as lesbians or bisexuals.

Communication technologies are recasting the organization and production of the spatial and temporal settings of social life and they are opening up new possibilities for public action (Barnett, 2003). The potential of these technologies to promote the agency, to change power relations and to disrupt the hegemonic discourse, increases as more people become the authors of a complementary flow of knowledge, information, memories, stories and experiences (Lane et al., 2005). The production of alternative representations of space, based on individuals' georeferenced experiences, thoughts and emotions are increasingly supported by the potentialities of Internet based technologies, such as the ever more easy-to-use online software (Crampton, 2009; Lin, 2013).

The participatory geospatial web opens the possibility of creating and sharing online representations of spaces, providing alternative geospatial narratives. Participatory approaches create the opportunities for community and personal discoveries, allowing people to observe, document, and act on issues that matter to them and fosters positive changes and empowerment in peoples' lives (Goldman et al., 2009). This research explores the potential of geospatial online practices, based upon the memories, emotions and feelings of lesbian and bisexual women to disclose the socially encoded meanings of different bodies in specific spatial, temporal and cultural contexts, highlighting how spaces and sexual identities are mutually constitutive. Ultimately, this research aims to explore the empowering potentialities of geospatial online practices to provide alternative possibilities for citizenship, and foster social change.

Following embodied approaches to research, one believes that knowledge is produced in specific contexts or circumstances and the acknowledgment of the situatedness of knowledge leads to recognition of the importance of the "position" or "positionality" of the researcher, of her/his specific embodied locations. In this perspective it is important that researchers are self-reflexive assuming explicit positions in order to overcome false notions of neutrality (Rose, 1993; Valentine, 2002). Considering these approaches to research, it is relevant to acknowledge the researcher's experience in equal opportunities nationwide programs and in particular the work as a LGBT rights activist. The researcher academic and professional background includes the areas of Psychology, Information and Communication Technologies, and Geography. This academic, professional and social activist background influenced the choices made during this research, from the initial ideas to the methodological design, fieldwork activities and results' analysis. Although it would be more intuitive to reflect on positionality issues in the first person, the conventions and expectations about a thesis in the Portuguese academia influenced my decision to use a neutral third person as a writing style throughout the thesis.

The present research, is part of the Geography and Territorial Planning PhD Program, and can be framed within the area of Geographies of Sexualities as it explores the interactions between sexualities and space. This research values participatory approaches and qualitative research methods, it is centred on the voices of the participants, and uses technologies as a way to bring forward social change.

The process of mutual constitution and reproduction of space and sexual identities have received significant social science research attention. Researchers in areas as diverse as geography, psychology, anthropology and sociology, have widely researched and theorised about the interrelations of space, sexual identities and power. However, there is still a need to explore and advance ways to actively disrupt the intimate connections between the systematic production of space and the production of hegemonic heteronormativity, providing knowledge and tools that can be used by everyday people. The research presented in this thesis aims to fill in this need, exploring how collaborative web maps can contribute to disrupt hegemonic heteronormativity and to create public spaces that are more equal and friendly to lesbians and bisexual women.

Recent research shows that visible same-sex displays of affection are not in general respected or accepted, even in countries with comprehensive legal changes towards non-discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation (Buijs, 2009). In such a context, non-heterosexuals do not feel safe and/or comfortable to perform their sexual identities. In contrast with heterosexuals who take for granted their freedom to perform public displays of affection, such as holding hands, hugging and kissing, non-heterosexuals are constantly aware of the performative nature of identities and spaces, exercising constant self-vigilance and policing their own behaviours to avoid disclosing their sexual orientation (Valentine, 1996). Lesbians and bisexual women self-regulation and self-policing when negotiating heterosexual space involve feelings of displacement, discomfort and not belonging, and can cause interior harm as a result of the everyday management of their sexual identities (Corteen, 2002).

Considering the widespread invisibility of non-heterosexual sexual identities in public spaces, and the impact of this reality on the lives of lesbians and bisexual women, this research focused on same-sex public displays of affection. In the Portuguese socio-cultural context, public displays of affection are quite common, namely between family members, friends and heterosexual couples, which offers a special opportunity for exploring how lesbians and bisexual women negotiate same-sex displays of affection in public spaces.

The research design was structured in three phases: 'Mapping the landscape', 'Sensing the landscape' and 'Creating landscapes'. The first phase 'Mapping the landscape' aimed to map spaces of lesbian and gay visibility in public spaces to

contextualise the hetero pervasive reality in Portugal; the second phase 'Sensing the landscape' focused on the intersections of gender and sexual orientation, aiming to identify significant dimensions of space and places that relate to lesbian and bisexual women sexual identities; and the third and final phase of the research 'Creating landscapes' explored how creating and sharing digital layers of lesbian visibility on collaborative web maps can disrupt a hetero pervasive reality and impact social identity and belonging, building capacities for action of lesbian and bisexual women, and facilitating same-sex public displays of affection.

This thesis is divided in eight chapters besides this introduction. Chapter 2 presents the theoretical framework of the research, and a review of literature on space and sexual identities. The major reviewed areas are the interrelations between space, gender and sexuality, sexual identities and cyberspace, and EU equality policies on social discrimination. In chapter 3, a comprehensive analysis of the Portuguese legal and social context of sexual identities is presented, critically reflecting on the interactions between policy makers, activism and academia. Chapter 4 explores the potentialities of the participatory geospatial web. The research design and methodological options are described in chapter 5. Chapter 6, 7 and 8 present the three phases of the research 'Mapping the landscape', 'Sensing the landscape' and 'Creating landscapes'. The methodology and the results of each phase of the research are presented, as well as the discussion of the results obtained. Finally, chapter 9 summarizes the findings, draws major conclusions and proposes areas of future research based on the findings and shortcomings identified during this research.

2. SPACE AND SEXUAL IDENTITIES: A FRAMEWORK

2.1. Theoretical context

The theoretical context of this research draws from poststructuralist approaches to space, place and identity. In particular, this research addresses concepts such as agency, embodiment, practices and performance, supported on the non-representational theory.

Non-representational theory intersects and resonates with some of the concerns of poststructuralist theory and theories of practice. Nigel Thrift (1996, p. 9) contests the theoretical purification of practices and argues the need to "get away from Cartesian intellectualism, with its understanding of being as a belief system implicit in the minds of individual subjects, and return to an understanding of being 'as 'the social with which we are in contact by the mere fact of existing and which we carry with us inseparably before any objectifications' (Merleau-Ponty, 1962:362)".

Thrift (1996) argues that one needs to understand the subject in practice, to be aware of the practical intelligibility and inarticulate understanding of practices, given that this is the background through which the representations become comprehensible. The emphasis of social sciences research should be on practices rather than on representations. Considering that the embodied and performative aspects of practices cannot be fully articulated in the linguistic domain, Thrift is concerned with the non-representational aspects of human life, "the embodied non-cognitive activity which is the mainstay of how we go on" (Thrift, 2000, p. 234). Non-representational theory has developed and extended concepts and ideas of other authors, such as the interest in movement and flow of the poststructuralist philosopher Deleuze, highlighting the importance of embodiment, networks of relations, practices and performance. Based on this theoretical propositions attention has been drawn to "the role of 'objects' such as affects, virtual memories, hauntings, and atmospheres in the enactment, composition and durability of the social" (Anderson & Harrison, 2010, p.16). Non-representational work is aware of the capacities of human and non-human materialities to affect and be affected, understanding that the social is affective and that it is often through affect that relations are interrupted, changed or solidified (Anderson & Harrison, 2010).

The feminist geographies analyses of the complexities of power, privilege, oppression and representation are also relevant for the theoretical context of this

research. The understanding that no research inquiry exists outside the realm of ideology and politics, and that research is never value-free, was central to the design, methodological choices, field-work practices, analyses and reflections on conclusions of the present research. All knowledge is situational, marked by their specificity, limited location and partiality, and the contexts in which it is produced (England, 2006).

To address power relations, this research builds on the notion that everyone is entangled in multiple webs of privilege and oppression, adopting a postmodern feminist/queer perspective that understands identities as shaped in and through negotiation with a network of power, not opposed to or outside of power (Butler, 1990). Identities are understood as "situated accomplishments" (West & Fenstermaker, 1995), in line with Judith Butler's (1990) theory that gender is performative.

The way this research was designed acknowledges that our personal and social stories, the political and moral connections, are at the core of bringing ideas to life, and reflects on the question raised by Aitken and Valentine (2006): "How does the way we live our lives, the way we connect with social and political struggles and the seemingly random opportunities that come our way, affect our geographical imagination?" (p. 11).

2.2. Space and social identities

Henri Lefebvre (1974) in his seminal work The Production of Space argued that people create spaces through their various modes of interaction and that each society produces its spaces through social interactions. Lefebvre's concept of relational space highlighted how spaces are produced socially and how power structures are invested in the production and maintenance of spaces. Lefebvre's approach to spatial thinking has influenced many theorists, as for example Michel de Certeau and Doreen Massey.

Michel de Certeau (1984) explored how space is socially constructed and relationally created within material space. According to de Certeau, choices made by individuals when traversing the physical barriers that delineate space, makes space exist as well as emerge. His distinction between space and place is relevant to understand how space is created by individuals' choices. Place is understood as a set of elements that stand in specific locations in relation to one another, that can be delineated, named, and located on a map. Space is produced by the dynamic subjective experience of a place and becomes activated by the creative process of traversing it, as individuals make

choices in moving through it and as they interact with others. In de Certeau words: space is a practiced place (de Certeau, 1984, p. 117).

De Certeau's work helps to highlight the dynamic ways in which everyday practices can function as tactical responses that subvert or disrupt strategies of control in an emergent, transient, unpredictable, and often irrational manner. De Certeau links 'strategies' with governments, corporations, institutional bodies and other structures of power that produce the ways spaces are materialized and controlled. Tactics are, according to this author, the everyday activities, such as walking, interacting, speaking, consuming or moving through space, in which "everyday life invents itself by poaching in countless ways on the property of others" (de Certeau, 1984, p. xii). Tactics are not attempts to consolidate power, but rather subtle acts of resistance to it (Kelly & Mitchell, 2011).

The simple act of walking is one of the examples of such tactics. Although people may walk along roads that embody and impose strategies of control and governance, the choices on what paths to take and the 'poetics' of movement contest the structures of power inscribed in space, and mark it in a manner that is ephemeral, and thus 'illegible' to the strategies of control (de Certeau, 1984, p. 93). Tactics do not have an over-arching logic nor defined source of power, but rather exist in the fleeting moments of 'opportunity' seized by individuals making them difficult to observe (de Certeau, 1984, p. 30).

De Certeau's framework provides insight into the multiple, subtle ways people can subvert or resist the logics promoted by structures of power. Even if individuals engage in controlled practices, such as the consumption of goods or the use of public services, they can take opportunities to challenge these orderings by creatively use them in their own unique way or for unintended purposes, in acts of resistance and subversion. Everyday practices are influenced by the rules and products that already exist in culture, but they are never wholly determined by them (de Certeau, 1984).

One of most criticized aspects of de Certeau theorization is framing place as an immutable container with a pre-defined meaning/form decided within the framework of institutional structures that ultimately decide its use and function. The idea of place as a static exteriority, against which resistance can be constituted, turns individuals into re-active participants and not pro-active agents. Public space is for example predetermined

as being public, it is not seen as becoming public through a multiplicity of actions, relations and performances (Olsen, 2013).

Doreen Massey (2005) advances a more dynamic idea of space as the sphere in which distinct trajectories coexists, as 'simultaneity of stories-so-far', and acknowledges the contemporaneous existence of a plurality of trajectories. Doreen Massey (2005, p. 107) argues that as space emerges through relations which are active, material and embedded practices, space is made of a dynamic simultaneity, constantly disconnected by new arrivals, constantly waiting to be determined (and therefore always undetermined) by the construction of new relations. So space is always under construction and in a process of becoming. According to Massey (2005) space is an arena where negotiation of intersecting trajectories is forced upon us, and where identities are continually moulded through a myriad of practices of quotidian negotiation and contestation.

Massey's approach to space-time is fundamental in her theorization. She argues that simultaneity is not the same as stasis. Space is not static, nor time spaceless; space is itself inseparable from time. "Seeing space as a moment in the intersection of configured social relations (rather than as an absolute dimension) means that it cannot be seen as static. There is no choice between flow (time) and a flat surface of instantaneous relations (space). Space is not a 'flat' surface in that sense because the social relations which create it are themselves dynamic by their very nature. It is a question of a manner of thinking." (Massey, 1993, p. 153).

As she puts it in For Space, "Space can never be that completed simultaneity in which all interconnections have been established, and in which everywhere is already linked with everywhere else" (Massey, 2005, pp. 11-12). The possibility to reconfigure space is one of her most interesting ideas in what concerns the present research. "Space as relational and as the sphere of multiplicity is both an essential part of the character of, and perpetually reconfigured through political engagement. And the way in which that spatiality is imagined by the participants is also crucial." (Massey, 2005, p. 183).

Theorizing space as the product of social relations leads to the understanding that public space is not an emptiness which enables free and equal speech. Public space, from the greatest square to the smallest public park, is a product of heterogeneous and sometimes conflicting and unequal social identities/relations. Identities are produced within the complex power-geometry of social/spatial relations and, in turn, how

individuals experience and imagine spatiality reshapes the power-geometries of social/spatial relations (Massey, 2005).

What is particularly relevant to the present research of these theorists' readings of space, is the possibility of change, the possibility to reconfigure space; the idea that the everyday practices of everyday people are constitutive as well as producers of space, and that how people appropriate and use spaces is also a form of political action, potentially disruptive of systems of control and exclusion.

In particular this research explores the concept of public space. Notwithstanding that the concept of the public/private binary has been central to the studies of sexualities, one is aware that this concept has been questioned and contested. Feminist politics of the public–private divide question the assumptions beyond the construction of such an opposition (Baydar, 2012). Gillian Rose (1993) argues that binarisms such as public-private, inside-outside, individual-context and mind-body are always integrated with the masculinist power relationships in society. Rose's call for a multiple rather than unified understanding of the subject and the advocation of heterogenous, complex and contradictory spatialities, beyond fixed binarisms, offer potential strategies of resistance to the exclusions of dominant subjectivities (Baydar, 2012).

Valentine (1993a) also argued that the term 'public space' seems inappropriate to describe everyday publicly accessible spaces, given the way that many so-called 'public' spaces are now semi-privatized (privately owned, controlled and managed); that these places are often not 'public' in that many people are excluded from them on the grounds of age, 'race', religion/belief, sexuality and so on; and because the term 'public' obscures the fact that many so-called private relationships, such as sexualities, are actually part of 'public' space.

Acknowledging the relevance of questioning the concept of public spaces, the present research uses it, given that "although it has been subject to powerful critiques, especially within feminist theory, it continues to exert an important hold on the conceptual frameworks that we use to make sense of ourselves and the worlds around us" (Richardson, 2004, p. 404). The most important aspect to bear in mind is that "identifications of public and private are historically determined and that these determinations are not free from the power hierarchies inscribed in gender roles. Practices of marginalized sexualities reveal the limitations of dominant discourses and point to alternative ways of conceptualizing given categories" (Baydar, 2012, p. 2). And

it is precisely in the intersection of gender, sexualities and public spaces that this research aims to produce knowledge.

2.3. Space, gender and sexuality

Based on the theoretical context of this research one can understand space as the product of a continuous process of constitution and reproduction which involves a complex system of actors and material components (Baydar, 2012). Space produces and reproduces the diversity and complexity of embodied actors which are inscribed by different modes of gender, sexuality, ethnicity, race, age and class.

Intersectionality is a structural concept in this research. A growing recognition that identities are not stable or given understandings of social difference, and that it is not possible to explain inequalities through a single framework, elicited the emergence of the concept of intersectionality. This concept is attributed to critical race theorists in attempt to describe the interconnections and interdependence of race with other categories, rejecting the notion of race, gender, ethnicity, class, and so forth as separate and essentialist categories (Valentine, 2007). Intersectionality explores how various biological, social and cultural categories such as gender, race, class, ability, religion/belief, sexual orientation, age, and other axes of identity interact on multiple and often simultaneous levels, contributing to systematic injustice and social inequality. As Fuss (1989) wrote, intersectionality acknowledges that difference is located "not in the spaces between identities but in the spaces within". An appreciation of intersectionality as spatially constituted and experienced supports the understanding of the intimate connections between the production of space and the systematic production of power. Particular identities become salient or foregrounded at particular moments, and this process is highly contingent on the power-laden spaces in and through which experiences are lived (Valentine, 2007).

In particular, sexual identities depend to some extent on particular spaces for their production, and space is itself produced through the performance of identities (Valentine, 2001). An individual's sexual identity may be read as lesbian or gay from the space they occupy, or people may only feel able to 'come out' and identify themselves as gay in a lesbian or gay space (Mitchell, 2000; Valentine, 2001). Pride marches, self-organized neighbourhoods with lesbian and gay friendly ambience,

specific public places announced as safe and discrimination-free, and the negotiation of place-related identities (sexual orientation disclosure only in specific places), all have one common attribute: space. Moreover, spatial visibility has been and still is particularly important in the development of lesbian and gay civil rights movements (Mitchell, 2000).

The possibility of invisibility is one of the significant aspects of the interrelations of space and sexual identities. People can decide not to disclose their sexual orientation, and on a context of social discrimination invisibility is a common option (Ferreira, 2008; Valentine, 1996). Lesbians and gays invisibility is simultaneously a cause and a consequence of inequalities in their everyday lives, and contributes to their disempowerment (FRA, 2009). Non-heterosexuals are constantly aware of the performative nature of identities and spaces, exercising constant self-vigilance and policing their own behaviours to avoid disclosing their sexual orientation, in contrast with heterosexuals who take for granted their freedom to perform their own identities given the pervasive heteronormativity of public spaces (Valentine, 1996). Lesbians and gay men self-regulation and self-policing when negotiating heterosexual space involve feelings of displacement, discomfort and not belonging, and can cause interior harm as a result of the everyday, localized management of their sexual representation and behaviour (Corteen, 2002). Recent research shows that even in countries with widely accepted legal changes towards non-discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation, visible same-sex displays of affection are not in general respected or accepted (Buijs, 2009).

Religion is another important axis of difference in identity that contributes to individuals' varied perceptions and experiences of different spaces and places (Elwood, 2000, p. 15) and that has particular interrelations with sexual orientation. As an example, in a traditionally catholic country, like Portugal, most LGBT people acknowledge that they cannot be visibly LGBT in their religious practices or church community, considering the position of the Catholic Church regarding sexual orientation and gender identity. Simultaneously, some LGBT people do not feel comfortable disclosing their religious beliefs in the LGBT community, given the existing tension between the Catholic Church and the LGBT associations, which is particularly strong in Portugal (Ferreira, forthcoming). Notwithstanding the potential for conflict between the equality strands of sexual orientation and religion and belief and

competing group rights claims in the public sphere (Vanderbeck et al., 2010) recent research has identified the potential of encounters in public space, framed and approached through the complex intersectional personal identities, to enable individuals with divergent values, interests and beliefs *in practice* live with difference (Valentine & Waite, 2012, italics in the original). The recognition of their own complex intersectional identities enables individuals to overcome the tensions between sexual orientation and religion/belief equality strands in everyday public spaces and to negotiate their contacts and everyday encounters with "others" (Valentine & Waite, 2012).

In what concerns geographical research the study of the interrelations of space and sexualities is fairly recent. David Bell (1991) pointed out that geography for a long time neglected the study of sexuality and sexual preference, contrary to the recognition of marginalised groups and the influence of class, ethnicity, age and gender as shaping social geographies.

One of the first well publicized researches that studied the critical importance of space and place in social movement mobilization, and that included lesbians and gays, was not from the area of Geography. Manuel Castells, a sociologist, in his book *The City and the Grassroots* (Castells, 1983) explored modern urban social movements using a spatially sensitized framework. On these studies Castells concluded that there were differences on the spatial presence of gays and lesbians in urban areas, and that those differences were related to gender issues. According to this researcher it was possible to identify specific urban areas of gay residential and commercial spaces, given that men were more 'territorial' and had higher income. On the other hand women's characteristics rendered lesbian spaces more invisible at an urban scale. Castells gendered assumptions have been widely criticized (Binnie & Valentine, 1999; Podmore, 2001, 2006; Valentine, 2000). Podmore (2001) argues that the perception of lesbians as 'invisible' in the urban landscape is a product of conceptual frameworks that rely upon territoriality and visibility in the material landscape. These approaches to urban studies do not support the identification of spaces that are meaningful in the everyday lives of lesbians, and reduce lesbian spatialities to quasi-underground and 'imperceptible' to outside observers (Binnie & Valentine, 1999). For example, some studies on lesbian use of commercial spaces did not identify lesbian-specific businesses, such as lesbian bars, primarily because they were not located within the territories under study. To reveal the spatial patterns of lesbians' communality and sociability, research has to incorporate

more complex, deterritorialised and anti-essentialist approaches (Podmore, 2001). Valentine's work (1996) is a noteworthy example of these deterritorialised approaches to urban spatialities describing how lesbians define intangible and physical spaces by such things as dress, language, music, and many other ways, such as public demonstrations of affection, shopping for household goods as couples, or socialising in groups.

Lesbian visibility to each other is often achieved in a coded way, recognizable only to those sharing the same subcultural capital, reaffirming a sense of belonging and resisting heterosexual space and hegemony (Eves 2004). The notion of 'imagined communities' in that those who perceive themselves to be members 'will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion' (Anderson 1991, 6) is used by Rothenberg (1995) to explain the way lesbians build a sense of community and belonging. The perception of 'others like us' has a significant impact on how lesbians experience space, creating an imagined safe space made of interrelations between lesbians.

Interpreting urban public spaces exclusively within a heterosexual / homosexual binary is not adequate in the case of lesbians, given that one has to take into account the asymmetries of gender experienced by lesbians within and without LGBT spaces. The intersections of gender and sexualities are particularly evident in the research of Julie Podmore (2001) on Montréal's Boul. St-Laurent. Podmore describes patterns of lesbians' interaction, sense of communality and visibility that question the heterosexual/ homosexual binary. The women in this study identified more strongly with this neighbourhood street, even if there was little evidence of a lesbian presence in the material landscape, than with established 'queer' or 'lesbian' sites in Montréal (Podmore, 2001, p. 351). It was more valued the heterogeneity and diverse counter-cultural context of Boul. St-Laurent. More than being a visible lesbian space to others, what was more important to the participants in Podmore's research was that they were visible to each other.

Notwithstanding the value and significance of sexual orientation equality policy to the lives of lesbians, gay men and bisexuals (LGB) people, these policies in general reinforce the heterosexual / homosexual binary and undervalue gender asymmetries. Most of the claims for equality on ground of sexual orientation and for the right to sexual citizenship often collapse gay men and lesbian women into queer or LGB

categories, making lesbians invisible in the process (Richardson, 2000). Richardson (2005) questions the 'lesbian and gay equality' discourses and cites Shane Phelan's (2001) approach to lesbian citizenship which proposes "that lesbians should claim 'the space of citizenship', understood here as a claim to political participation and public recognition" (p. 265). This approach acknowledges the diversity and varying interests of lesbians and the intersections with the needs and interests of other groups, at the same time that recognizes the specificities of lesbians as being women and living in a social discriminatory context.

The public/private dichotomy has represented a prevalent spatial representation of social discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation. The public sphere, as a space where civil, political and social rights are demanded and enacted, has often been denied to non-normative sexualities. One of the most pervasive forms of social discrimination is strong societal pressures to confine and hide lesbian and gay sexualities within private spaces (Valentine, 1993a). However the public/private distinction has concealed how private spaces, such as home, can also be sites for surveillance and regulation, since the private spaces are not shielded from normative regulations (Stychin, 2001).

The practices of marginalized subjects, such as queer subjects, can disrupt normative spatial practices disclosing the fluidity and porous boundaries of normative dualisms such as private / public, feminine / masculine, materiality / representation, and inside / outside (Bell & Valentine, 1995). Moreover, the transgression and queering of public spaces, such as the production of gay and lesbian areas within cities or LGBT pride parades, contribute to the visibility of non-normative sexualities. Some scholars have argued that these transgressions of heteronormative public space are essential for the granting of equal citizenship rights to sexual dissidents. Others reject the idea that visibility necessarily leads to equality, and argue that the inclusion of gay and lesbian people into a normalising discourse of citizenship will do little to change the heteronormativity of public spaces (Hubbard, 2001).

Hubbard (2001, p. 65) argues that in order to claim citizenship, sexual dissidents should not be seeking more visibility in public space but, rather, "increased public legitimacy for their own privacy". More than public visibility non-normative sexualities are deprived of the right to privacy. Hubbard (2001) describes privacy as the 'power to exclude' others (including the state) from private spaces, in contrast to the 'power to access' public spaces. These critiques to visibility as a way to access equality echo with

critiques of normalising politics and the emergence of homonormativity, with the increasing visibility of gay culture and consumption in public space.

Homonormativity does not affect lesbians and gay men in the same ways, gendered differences do matter and one has to consider how the spatialisation of sexual lives is always gendered. For example, the lack of open and visible lesbian-controlled places in which lesbians can safely act on their sexual orientation, can be considered a constraint. Wolfe (1997) considers that lesbian bars provide a significant experience of being able to be authentic in a social space shared by others alike, and a momentary safe space to meet other lesbians. At the same time that they become sites of unintended resistance as they demonstrate the social validity of lesbian sexual desire and existence (Wolfe 1997, 321). Comparatively there are many more gay men public spaces of culture and consumption than lesbian spaces (eg. Corteen, 2002).

The public visibility and tolerance of lesbianism can be simultaneously perceived as a protection and a threat within different age groups Parks (1999). For example, research on research on lesbian spaces in Amsterdam Fobear (2012) identified that some older lesbians felt alienated from the popular lesbian-friendly and mixed-gay parties. The results of Fobear (2012) research highlight the difference of opinions in what concerns the need of a public social space that serves only the lesbian community, to achieve lesbian rights, visibility and protection. While most of the respondents identify this need, younger lesbians do not identify with separate public space for lesbians. Some of the younger lesbians felt that invisibility was not a problem and did not identify with LGBT rights movements for recognition and claiming public space, valuing the possibility of invisibility where LGB individuals can mingle anonymously in different social spaces within a context of tolerance for gays and lesbians (Fobear, 2012, p. 741). This shift might be seen as a positive evolution on the social inclusion of lesbians; however Garber (2000, p. 29) argues that "What passes for anonymity frequently bears a striking resemblance to the core political value of tolerance". However, anonymity does not promote discussion about social norms, moreover allows harmful stereotypes and discrimination to continue (Garber, 2000).

To address the inextricable web of forces that lesbians negotiate on a daily basis Rooke (2007) proposes to focus on the everydayness of lesbians and bisexual women's lives, following de Certeau (1984) understanding of the political dimensions of everyday practices. Everyday practices are the locus of domination in a capitalist world

and, simultaneously, offer the possibility of resistance (de Certeau, 1984). It is in the space of the everyday and daily practices that lesbians and bisexual women negotiate the micro politics of living in the city, moving in space and interacting with others. Rooke (2007) argues that it is on the micro-human scale of lesbian life, in the way lesbians live the spaces of the city, their emotions and bodily experiences, that relies the potential of resistance to heteronormative and homonormative cultures.

As far as research on geographies of sexualities are concerned, recent publications present an interdisciplinary approach as they reflect on the emergence of distinctly spatial queer theories within geography over the past years, and examine them in relation to broader political currents, theoretical interventions and sexualised practices (Browne, Lim & Brown, 2009). The emphasis has shifted from studying lesbian and gay identities, lifestyles and embodied practices, towards questioning the fluidity of categories and analysing the potentially important intersections, overlaps and crossovers between distinctions such as heterosexual and homosexual, gay and lesbian, or gay/straight and queer. It is not only heteronormativity that is questioned, but also homonormativity and other modes of sexualised power relations taking into consideration how sexual identities are constructed within class, race and ethnicity.

Studies on the interrelations of sexualities, space and power are a growing field of research, however with a dominant trace of Anglo-American perspectives. One can argue that a significant body of research is being produced in countries all over the world, in diverse languages and from diverse cultural backgrounds, but due to the hegemony of English in academic publishing it is not being disseminated beyond the borders of the English language (Ferreira, 2013). The hegemony of western views along with the non-dissemination of research on sexualities of other social and cultural contexts, are constraints in exploring cross-cultural variations on sexualities diversity and complexity. However, there are some noteworthy contributions to "unsettle Western perspectives in queer studies by providing new insights in discussions about what constitutes 'queer'" (Kulpa & Mizielinska, 2011, p. 3) and to offer a new perspective on some crucial contemporary issues raised in queer studies such as the translation of dominant approaches to a local (country-specific) level (Kulpa & Mizielinska, 2011). Nevertheless one has to consider that to have a chance to be widely cited the publications have to be written or translated into English.

Notwithstanding the significant advances in social science research on the mutual production and reproduction of space and sexual identities, as well as on the specific intersections of gender and sexual orientation, summarized in this section, there is still a need for research that explores ways to actively transform public spaces in more safe and friendly spaces to lesbians and bisexual women.

2.4. Sexual identities and cyberspace

This research explores the use of online technologies to promote agency and empowerment of lesbian and bisexual women and in this context it is relevant to review previous literature on LGBT people and communities on the cyberspace.

In this contemporary age, identity is often played out within online and virtual environments as much as face to face encounters which opens new opportunities for engagement in identity affirmation and experimentation, and for potential social networking and political mobilization (Pullen & Cooper, 2010).

The sense of anonymity in virtual environments has contributed to attract LGBT people to actively engage in online activities. As Pullen and Cooper (2010) highlight, user interactivity and self-production oriented modes, allow LGBTs to test their identities within virtual environments, and to make connections previously unimagined, such as: opportunities for virtual coming out; engagement in dating, or sexual encounter; composing self-narratives through blogging; connecting to and constructing communities; establishing identity ideals; and, to mobilize political ideologies.

Woodland (2000, p. 418) calls cyberspace a distinctive kind of 'third place' for many gay and lesbian people: "These on-line 'queer spaces' (…) are 'third places' in combining the connected sociality of public space with the anonymity of the closet". The queer space offered by the Internet affirms LGBT life by emphasising and centralising the participant's sexuality. Cyberspace can be a relatively 'safe' space to encounter and experiment with a queer identity, what might have impact on real life contexts, facilitating the process of coming out or providing a network of relationships where individuals may act on their sexual identities.

One of the most important advantages of the use of the Internet for LGBT is the possibility to connect with similar others, especially for those who live in small villages

or towns and the cyberspace is the only place where they can feel safe about disclosing their sexual orientation. Connecting to other LGBT individuals and/or integrating online LGBT communities can provide the experience of transcending the physical boundaries of one's space, going beyond the common environments such as home, work, friends and colleagues.

Besides the importance for LGBT individuals, the Internet has been particularly important for LGBT social and political activism. Most of the LGBT organizations do not have a physical location, have difficulties with securing funding, and almost all activity is coordinated via mailing lists, blogs or websites, with participants in diverse geographical locations (Council of Europe, 2011). LGBT organizations use the Internet for diverse reasons, such as: to look for volunteers; to create and maintain networks, both on national and international level; to inform of their on-going activities and present their projects; to promote public discussions on LGBT issues; to monitor the media; and to maintain the day-to-day operations of the organizations.

There is a significant body of research that explores how the Internet use can contribute to greater wellbeing, in particular, how the Internet becomes a part of everyday life for people outside society's mainstream, and how to explore the potential of the Internet to achieve greater social equity and empowerment and improve the quality of life for those on the margins of society. Sexual minorities are amongst one of the groups most studied. Some examples that illustrate the diversity of research, are: Correll (1995) work about an online "lesbian café" studied a community development across space, noting how the Internet enables sexual minority women to negotiate their identity and build relationships despite physical isolation; Wakeford (1997) in her landmark essay 'Cyberqueer' explored the relevance of the Internet to the study of sexuality, in particular of the lives of lesbians, gay men, transgendered people and those living under the terminology of queer; Mehra, Merkel and Bishop (2004) studied how LGBT individuals perceive the use of online communication as a positive development in their 'queer' identities; Mowlabocus (2007) explored the idea of the sociality of the online queer space in websites such as Gaydar; Jones (2008) identified the efficacy of the Internet within the queer community in establishing sexual contacts and exploring different forms of sexuality; Cooper (2010) illustrated how virtual communities provides the queer youth with tools to create and refine their queer identities from dating and sexual bonding to politics and activism.

As Dasgupta (2012, p. 121) highlights, "the utopic possibilities of the Internet in offering new spaces for political and ideological formations through debates about power, identity and autonomy and heralding the beginning of a new democracy which isn't impinged by race, colour and socio economic status" where emphasized in the early work of scholars such as the cyberfeminist Haraway (1991), Rheingold (1993), Hermann and Swiss (2000). However, such utopic declarations were dismissed in later work. The inequalities of socioeconomic processes and power dynamics in which the Internet use is embedded, are not absent from online spaces (Castells, 1999). Class, gender, geography, race, sexuality, and other indicators of difference intersect in a technologically mediated global context. The Internet despite the apparent disembodiment of the user still retains the social and cultural identity, and online interaction constitutes a mode of rearticulating our relationship to the physical body (Campbell, 2004). The cyberspace is most often perceived as a 'safe space' to queer identities, however, the Internet as a social technology, reproduces patterns of social inequities that are omnipresent offline (O'Riordan & Phillips, 2007). Despite the fact that the primary reason for setting up virtual queer communities was to create a 'safe' space where people could freely express their identity, "over time such spaces also became sites where identities are shaped, tested, and transformed" (Woodland, 2000, p. 430). The Internet reflects and symbolises the anxieties of being queer in the 'real' world and the cyberculture has to be understood in the context of a series of negotiations that take place both online and offline (Silver, 2000).

Notwithstanding these constraints, the Internet upholds significant potentialities worth exploring. For instance, the ever more easy-to-use online software that enables people to create and share georeferenced data can support the production of alternative representations of space, based on individuals' experiences, thoughts and emotions (Crampton, 2009; Lin, 2013). These online representations can impact the offline experiences of spaces which can be particularly important for individuals who experience social discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation. This research aims to advance the study of the potentialities of Internet based technologies to promote agency and empowerment of lesbian and bisexual women, exploring the participatory geospatial web.

2.5. Social discrimination and EU equality policies

Equality policies are central to understanding LGBT issues. Given that Portugal is a member of the European Union and that European legislation has a direct impact on Portugal equality policies, it is relevant to contextualise the legal and social situation of LGBT individuals within the European Union.

According to the 2010 update on the report on *Homophobia, transphobia and discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation and gender identity* (FRA, 2010), produced by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), awareness of the rights of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) people have been growing within the European Union (EU) in recent years. Progress identified in a number of Member States includes: a) a widened range of legal protection against sexual orientation discrimination; b) the enjoyment of freedom of assembly and expression for LGBT people, as well as protection from violence motivated by prejudice, incitement to hatred and expressions of prejudice and discrimination against LGBT people, and c) the opening up of marriage for same-sex couples.

The Treaty of Lisbon strengthened the framework of non-discrimination legislation, and the now binding Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union provides in a single text, for the first time in the European Union's history, the whole range of civil, political, economic and social rights of European citizens and all people resident in the EU. Furthermore, the Recommendation CM/Rec(2010)5[1] of the Committee of Ministers to member states, adopted on 31 March 2010, was a significant step toward combating discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation and/or gender identity.

In spite of this optimistic portrait, the EU Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA, 2009) reports that LGBT people continue to experience harassment, bullying and discrimination across the EU, identifying hate speech on the Internet and by public figures as a particularly worrying phenomenon. The European Commission 2010 Report on the Application of the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights (European Commission, 2011, p. 46), states that, although in most Member States LGBT people can freely exercise their right of freedom of assembly, bans or administrative obstacles have

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[1] Recommendation CM/Rec (2010)5 of the Committee of Ministers to member states on measures to combat discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation or gender identity, available at https://wcd.coe.int/wcd/ViewDoc.jsp?id=1606669

created problems for the organisation of peaceful public LGBT demonstrations in some Member States and that organised attacks against such demonstrations have taken place in others.

The Eurobarometer Discrimination in the EU in 2012 (European Commission, 2012), shows that discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation is still a widespread reality in EU countries. One consistent significant finding across the four waves of this study (2006, 2008, 2009 and 2012) is that diversity in one's social circle is the factor with the most positive influence on people's attitudes. For instance, the 2012 survey reveals that Europeans with a broad social circle that includes friends or acquaintances from many different backgrounds are more comfortable with the idea of a gay, lesbian or bi-sexual person being appointed to the highest elected political position, than those without such friends or acquaintances.

Although the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights 2010 update report on *Homophobia, transphobia and discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation and gender identity* clearly states that "all citizens have the right to receive unbiased information about LGBT people and their relationships, to live in an open and inclusive environment, to be respected, protected, promoted and fulfilled across the EU" (FRA, 2010, p. 9), there are still European countries that ban the dissemination of information on homosexuality to minors and restrain LGBT expression in the public sphere. Lithuania is one of the most recent examples of an attempt to use the law to maintain the invisibility of LGBT people[2] (FRA, 2010).

According to European equality policy anti-discrimination laws are not sufficient; it is crucial to present LGBT experiences in a respectful and understanding way, and to actively promote the public acceptance of LGBT identities, conduct and relationships, among EU Member States (FRA, 2010). Several examples of best practices have recently come to light, including: a) in Germany the distribution by the

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[2] "In 2009, the Lithuanian Parliament adopted a Law on the Protection of Minors against the Detrimental Effects of Public Information. Article 4 of this Act addresses sexuality and family relations, stating (among other things) that information "which promotes sexual relations; […] which expresses contempt for family values, encourages the concept of entry into a marriage and creation of a family other than that stipulated in the Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania and the Civil Code of the Republic of Lithuania" is detrimental to minors. The Act does not explicitly mention that information on homosexuality is considered as detrimentally affecting minors. However, the law might be problematic insofar as it bans information on same-sex relationships, currently excluded from the concept of marriage and family as stipulated in the Constitution and the Civil Code of Lithuania." (FRA, 2010, p. 18).

Federal Centre for Health Education of a manual called 'Heterosexual? Homosexual?'[3] and the 'School without Homophobia – School of Diversity'[4] supported by the Land of Nordrhein-Westfalen; b) in France the recommendation[5] of the French Equal Opportunities and Anti-Discrimination Commission (HALDE) to incorporate homophobia in school curricula, and to provide training for teachers and National Education Service staff; c) in The Netherlands the resolution[6] adopted in December 2009 by the Lower House of Parliament to include sexual diversity in the main objectives of primary and secondary education and the adoption of a comprehensive LGBT Policy Document for the period 2008-2011 (Simply Gay[7]), which constitutes a national action plan to encourage social acceptance and empowerment of LGBT citizens; and d) initiatives in the United Kingdom to improve the National Curriculum will make it compulsory for all schools to teach 14 to 16 year olds about same-sex relationships.

Despite these isolated examples, the pervasive reality in most European countries is far from optimistic (FRA, 2010). Recent examples of persistent antagonism to campaigns for public acceptance of LGBT identities, conduct and relationships, include the negative reaction of the Italian Secretary of State for family policy to an IKEA advertisement with the picture of two men holding hands and the text "We are open to all families"[8] (Figure 1), and the refusal in 2011 of the Portuguese Ministry of Education to officially support a campaign organised by an LGBT youth organisation REA (www.rea.pt) on homophobic bullying[9] (Figure 2). However, on a more positive note, the Portuguese Ministry of Education in 2013 endorsed a campaign "It takes all

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[3] http://www.bzga.de/infomaterialien/aidsaufklaerung/heterosexuell-homosexuell/?uid=241cc89d7e0c9801cf4013d37304fe8d

[4] http://www.schule-der-vielfalt.de/index.htm

[5] Délibération relative à la prévention des discriminations et du harcèlement discriminatoire à raison de l'orientation sexuelle au collège et au lycée n° 2009-14 du 12/01/2009 http://www.halde.fr/IMG/pdf/4328.pdf

[6] Netherlands/Parliamentary Documents Lower House (2009-2010) 27017, Nos. 59 and 66

[7] http://www.dayagainsthomophobia.org/IMG/pdf/Simply_Gay_engelstalige_versie_Hnota.pdf

[8] http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1367663/We-open-families-IKEA-provokes-outrage-Italy-creating-advert-gay-couple-holding-hands.html

[9] http://www.rea.pt/projeto-inclusao/

kinds – Fighting Homophobia in Schools" [10] promoted by ILGA Portugal. Maybe one of the reasons for different attitudes towards these two campaigns is the fact that the campaign "It takes all kinds" is an international cooperation between ten European countries, grating more visibility to the Ministry of Education reactions.

Figure 1 – IKEA advertisement "We are open to all families"

Figure 2 – Material from the REA campaign against homophobic bullying

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[10] http://www.dge.mec.pt/educacaocidadania/index.php?s=directorio&pid=288#i

The specific needs of LGBT people were formally acknowledged by the Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence[11] of April 7th 2011 with the inclusion of gay men, lesbian women, bi-sexual and transgender people in the group of people made vulnerable by particular circumstances and that require positive action to ensure that any preventive measures specifically address and take into account their specific needs.

Although legal change is not enough to guarantee a non-discriminatory society it is of key importance, as it can significantly transform social interactions and impact peoples' lives.

Understanding the EU sexual orientation equality policies is crucial to better comprehend the Portuguese LGBT legal and social context, addressed on the following chapter.

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[11] Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence, CM(2011)49 final, available at https://wcd.coe.int/wcd/ViewDoc.jsp?Ref=CM(2011)49

3. SEXUAL IDENTITIES: THE PORTUGUESE CONTEXT[12]

To fully understand the context of non-normative sexual identities in Portugal one has to consider different perspectives: legal context, social discrimination, policy, LGBT rights activism, and academic research. Each one of these perspectives is critically presented in this section.

Diverse actors interplay in order for social changes to occur. In the case of sexual orientation in Portugal the interactions between policy makers, civil society and academia are particularly relevant and are analysed in the final part of this section.

3.1. Legal context

The first Portuguese Penal Code approved in 1852 contained no references to homosexuality. The Penal Code revision of 1886 introduced the punishment of homoerotic acts, and from this date on, and throughout the dictatorship, Portugal became ever more repressive of homosexuality. Since the revolution of 25 April 1974, however, Portuguese society has become increasingly accepting of homosexuality, and over the last decade, civil rights concerning sexual orientation have improved substantially (Roseneil et al., 2009).

The most significant landmarks in Portuguese legislation concerning sexual orientation civil rights can be outlined as follows:

- 1982 - Portugal decriminalises homosexuality;

- 1999 - Homosexuals and bisexuals are able to serve openly in the Armed Forces;

- 2001 - Recognition of same-sex unions/civil partnerships granted (same rights as heterosexual couples, with the exception of adoption);

- 2003 - Labour Code rights protected (access to work and employment, protection from discrimination at work and sexual harassment);

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[12] Part of this chapter has been published in: Ferreira, E. & Silva, M. J. (2011). Equality policy in Portugal: the case of sexual orientation. In Motmans Joz, Cuypers Daniël, Meier Petra, Mortelmans Dimitri & Zanoni Patrizia (Eds.) *Equal is not enough: challenging differences and inequalities in contemporary societies*. Antwerp: Policy Research Centre on Equal opportunities, University of Antwerp – Hasselt University, pp. 142-155.

- 2004 - Sexual orientation is included in the Portuguese Constitution within the Principal of Equality (article number 13);

- 2005 - The Portuguese Institute of Blood officially allows men who have sex with men to donate blood. However, this decision will be annulled in 2009 by the President of the Institute;

- 2007 - Penal Code rights (equal age of consent for same-sex and opposite-sex couples, protection from violence and hate crimes);

- 2009 – Explicit inclusion of sexual orientation subjects in sexual education in schools (Law of Sexual Education);

- 2010 - Marriage is extended to same-sex couples (same rights as heterosexual couples, with the exception of adoption);

- 2010 - Approval in Parliament of a law allowing men who have sex with men to donate blood.

More recently, on May 2013, a bill on co-adoption[13] for same-sex couples was passed by the Assembly of the Republic. However this bill still needs further legal discussion to become law. Although this is the first time that the Portuguese legislation recognizes that a same-sex couple can have parental rights, adoption for same-sex couples and assisted procreation services for single women and lesbian couples remain illegal.

The reality of life in Portugal for lesbians and gays has changed rapidly in recent years. A consistent and significant set of legal measures have been adopted, from the decriminalisation of homosexuality in 1982 to the 2010 same-sex marriage law. It is a remarkable change, framed by the revolution of 1974 that ended a long period of dictatorship and brought noteworthy social changes to Portugal in extensive and diverse areas of life, including sexuality, and the accession to the European Union in 1986.

Portugal has wide-ranging anti-discrimination laws and is one of the few countries in the world to include in its Constitution a ban on discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation. Nevertheless, some areas of Portuguese legislation

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[13] The joint adoption of a child by one person who is already the biological or legal parent of the child together with another person who is not. Co-adoption creates a permanent and legal relationship between a child and both parents, where previously the child had only been related to one of the parents.

remain discriminatory on the grounds of sexual orientation, of which parenthood is a notable example.

3.2. Social discrimination

Homosexuality retains a marginal, unequal status in Portugal, both in legislation and in society. Although there have been significant legal advances towards equality, social discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation is a pervasive reality and a number of important areas of legal inequality remain (FRA, 2009).

The 2012 Eurobarometer survey on discrimination in the EU (European Commission, 2012), revealed that the majority of Portuguese citizens (55%) believed that sexual orientation was the main reason for discrimination in Portugal, the same as disability (55%), and ahead of ethnic origins (53%), gender identity (50%), being over 55 years old (48%), religion or belief (26%), gender (25%) and being under 30 years old (10%). The percentage of the Portuguese population who selected sexual orientation as the main discriminating factor is 9% above the average of the 27 countries of the European Union (46%). These results confirm the conclusions of the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights report (FRA, 2009), which found that European countries, including Portugal, still have a discriminatory social environment towards non-normative sexualities.

In 2009, the Commission for Citizenship and Gender Equality (CIG) supervised a research project: "Study on Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity Based Discrimination", coordinated by Prof. Conceição Nogueira, University of Minho (Nogueira & Oliveira, 2010) . This was the first comprehensive research project on this subjects conducted in Portugal and aimed to advance the knowledge on these populations in the fields of access to rights, discriminations and citizenship. It also studied the heterosexual's representations of the LGBT populations, domestic violence on same sex couples, the contextualization of the Portuguese case, and a review of the relevant literature in Psychology. The final report[14] identifies an overall context of social discrimination in Portugal, emphasizing that LGBT people feel most

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[14] Available at
http://www.igualdade.gov.pt/INDEX_PHP/PT/DOCUMENTACAO/PUBLICACOES/610_ESTUDO_SOBRE_A_DISCRIMINACA.HTM

discriminated against when subjected to insults, and that the institutions where they feel most discriminated against were associated with religion and the state. The model of heterosexist thinking was reported to be the most crucial factor supporting discrimination or unfavourable opinion towards LGBT rights, and its predominance was stressed in men, and within the family, in the father (Nogueira & Oliveira, 2010). This report's results support our understanding that "although legal change is of key importance, it is not enough to guarantee the respect and recognition sought by LGBT intimate and sexual citizens" (Santos, 2013, p. 9).

3.3. Actors in equality policies in Portugal

Policy makers

The European Year of Equal Opportunities for All (EYEOA), 2007, was one of the most important milestones for equality policies in Portugal. For the first time, a major initiative in the area of equality brought together policy makers, civil society and academics. Some of the most significant results included: the consideration of discrimination from a multiple perspective in the promotion of equality; the discussion of equality in an integrated way that included diverse forms of discrimination (gender, disability, ethnic origin, age, sexual orientation and religion); and the focus on the individual rather than on areas of discrimination.

Discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation was one of the areas that gained visibility with EYEOA. During the Closing Conference, National Coordinator Elza Pais drew attention to diverse initiatives related specifically to this area of discrimination, underlining the "Thematic Conference on Sexual Orientation - LGBT: full citizenship for all", a joint organisation linking policy makers, LGBT associations and academics. This thematic conference was held on 17 May 2007, the International Day against Homophobia.

It was during 2007 that the Commission for Equality and Women's Rights (CIDM) was transformed into the Commission for Citizenship and Gender Equality (CIG), with a new focus on citizenship. This new Commission clearly identifies sexual orientation and gender identity as priority areas in the field of equality. It was also during the EYEOA that LGBT associations entered the Advisory Board of the Commission for Citizenship and Gender Equality (CIG, 2010). Another of the CIG's

initiatives that has addressed the fight against diverse forms of discrimination included in EYEOA (gender, race or ethnic origin, religion or beliefs, disability, age and sexual orientation) is its sponsorship of the research project "Addressing Discrimination at Local Level for Achieving Gender Equality at National Level", 2009, coordinated by Prof. Margarida Queirós, Centre for Geographical Studies, University of Lisbon.

On 17 May 2010, the first nationwide research on sexual orientation and gender identity based discrimination[15] (Nogueira & Oliveira, 2010) was presented at the conference "Against Homophobia and Transphobia: Identifying and Combating Discrimination against LGBT People in Portugal", which was organised by the Commission for Citizenship and Gender Equality (CIG) and the LGBT associations ILGA-Portugal, Rede ex aequo, and Amplos.

The creation of a Secretary of State for Equality (SEI) during the XVIII Government (2009-2011 legislature), formed by the Socialist Party, was a clear sign of commitment to equality policy. This government program clearly identified as a priority the fight against all forms of discrimination, paying particular attention to inequality based on gender and sexual orientation. The former Secretary of State for Equality (SEI), Elza Pais, played an active role in addressing sexual orientation equality issues. For instance, she made public statements (August 2010[16]) demanding an end to discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation with regard to blood donation. This remains an area of controversy in Portugal: legally, it is prohibited to discriminate on the grounds of sexual orientation, but many hospitals ask blood donors to complete surveys which ask about participation in sex practices between men. At present, blood donation centres continue to employ diverse practices, a number of which are clearly discriminatory.

The present Government of Portugal (elected 5 June 2011) revoked the position of Secretary of State for Equality and created a Secretary of State for Parliamentary Affairs and Equality, thus weakening the focus on equality policy.

Same-sex civil marriage was one of the priorities of the XVIII Government, which presented a bill for legalisation in December 2009. It was passed by the Assembly of the Republic on 8 January 2010. The bill was declared legally valid by the

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[15] See p. 29

[16] http://www.sei.gov.pt/sei/pt/noticias/

Portuguese Constitutional Court in April 2010. On 17 May 2010 (coincidentally the International Day against Homophobia), the President of the Republic ratified the law and Portugal became the sixth country in Europe and the eighth country in the world to allow same-sex marriage nationwide. The law was published in the official journal on 31 May 2010 and became effective as of 5 June 2010. At the same time, other left-wing legislative proposals were being considered, including the possibility of adoption for same-sex couples, but these were rejected.

Two bills for the legalisation of same-sex marriage had already been presented to Parliament on 10 October 2008. The bills were introduced separately by the Left Bloc (BE) and the Green Party (PEV), but both were rejected by a parliament in which the governing Socialist Party (PS) had an absolute majority. One year later, the Socialist Party themselves presented the same-sex marriage bill which eventually passed. This kind of arrangement is, unfortunately, a typical feature of Portuguese politics.

An example of a less positive aspect of policy and sexual orientation equality is the way in which the III National Plan for Equality – Citizenship and Gender (2007-2010) (CIG, 2007) addressed these issues. Sexual orientation only appeared in introductory texts, and specific goals or strategies were not included. The IV National Plan for Equality – Citizenship and Gender (2011-2013), however, which was approved in January 2011 during the XVIII Government legislature, included a specific area of strategy for sexual orientation and gender identity, which was a step forward. However, due to the change of government in June 2011, the effective implementation of this Plan remains indistinct.

Although equality policy in Portugal has positive aspects, sexual orientation issues are only a recent component of political discourse and are certainly not yet widespread or mainstream.

Activism

Prior to the revolution of 25 April 1974, organised gay, lesbian, bisexual or transgender movements did not exist in Portugal. It was not until the mid-1990s that many LGBT associations emerged (Cascais, 2006; Santos, 2005).

Before the 90s, a kind of embryonic gay and lesbian movement began as a result of initiatives taken by a small number of individuals, and 1990-1991 saw the founding

of the lesbian magazine Organa and of the Homosexual Working Group (part of the Revolutionary Socialist Party) (Cascais, 2006).

The emergence of LGBT associations in Portugal can be closely linked to the AIDS epidemic (Cascais, 2006; Santos, 2005; Vale de Almeida, 2004), in that the Portuguese LGBT association movement and the visibility of the gay community gained strength within the broader process of the fight against the AIDS epidemic (Cascais, 2006).

However, it was only after 1996 that a well-established and enduring LGBT movement emerged. Among the most significant landmarks of the movement are the foundation of a diverse range of LGBT associations: ILGA-Portugal (1996); Clube Safo, a lesbian association (1996); Portugal.Gay.pt, an Internet-based organisation (1996); Opus Gay (1997); Não te Prives [Don't deprive yourself] – Group for the Defence of Sexual Rights (2001); Rede ex aequo, youth LGBT association (2003); @t, Association for the Study and Defence of Gender Identity (2003); Panteras Rosa [Pink Panthers], an informal group with significant political activity (2004); Caleidoscópio LGBT (2007); MICA-me, LGBT Movement of Artistic and Cultural Intervention (2008); Amplos, Association of Mothers and Fathers for Free Sexual Orientation (2009); and CASA - Centre of Sexualities and Affection (2009).

Pride events[17] are among the more recent developments in Portugal. The first Pride Festival was organised in Lisbon, the country's largest city and its capital, in 1997 and it was also here, in 2000, that the first Pride Parade took place. Porto, the second largest city in Portugal, organised its first Pride Festival in 2001, and its first Pride Parade in 2006. Braga, a medium size city in the north of Portugal, organized the first Pride Parade in 13th July 2013, becoming the third Portuguese city to have a Pride Parade. The International Day Against Homophobia (IDAHO), May 17th, was first commemorated in Portugal in 2010 in Coimbra, with a parade.

Other LGBT-related projects worth mentioning include the Queer Lisboa - Lisbon Gay and Lesbian Film Festival[18], founded in 1997 and one of the most important

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[17] Events celebrating lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) culture.

[18] http://queerlisboa.pt/en

European forces for international LGBT films, and the radio programme Vidas Alternativas[19] [Alternative Lives], which has been broadcasting since 1999.

One of the most interesting aspects of LGBT associations' activities relates to the academia (Santos, 2006b; Cascais, 2006): specifically, the organisation of conferences and workshops. Various LGBT associations, in collaboration with academic institutions, have organised a diverse set of initiatives, namely: *Jornadas Lésbicas/Lesbian Workshops*, Clube Safo and ISPA - Higher Institute for Applied Psychology, 2002; *Encontro sobre Homoparentalidade/Meeting on Homosexual Parenthood*, Clube Safo and ISPA - Higher Institute for Applied Psychology, 2004; *Fórum Casamento/Wedding Forum*, ILGA Portugal and ISCTE - Higher Institute of Labour and Enterprise, 2005; the first International Congress of Gay, Lesbian and Queer Studies, "Cultures, Visibilities, Identities", Janela Indiscreta (responsible for the Queer Lisboa film festival), Franco-Portuguese Institute and Centre for Communication and Language Studies at the New University of Lisbon, 2005; and several local initiatives launched by Não te Prives in cooperation with the Centre for Social Studies, Coimbra University. In December 2009, a new project was launched in Portugal: LES Online (http://www.lespt.org/lesonline), an online journal which aims to promote scientific research as well as intervention projects and opinion pieces related to various lesbian issues.

Another important link between LGBT associations and academia relates to the gathering of information through surveys on the LGBT population and reality, and the compilation of complaints about discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation, providing data on this subject to overcome a lack of statistical and qualitative information on LGBT reality in Portugal (Santos, 2006b). The Education Project *"Observatório de Educação"* by Rede ex aequo is a very good example of this type of work. Using an online form, it collects information on cases of discrimination regarding the issue of sexual orientation and gender identity that have occurred in Portuguese schools, and then reports the results to the Ministry of Education.

By 2011, nine active LGBT associations and seventeen informal groups could be identified in Portugal (Ferreira, 2011). This number of associations and informal groups could be perceived as a positive aspect of the LGBT movement in Portugal, considering

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[19] http://www.vidasalternativas.eu/

the country's population and dimension. However, if one considers that most of this associations and informal groups consist of a small number of individuals with no financial support, the fragility of the LGBT movement becomes more obvious. The large majority of members of LGBT associations are volunteers, who have to combine their professional work with volunteer work at the association. This reality limits the capacity of LGBT associations to design and implement new projects. A number of LGBT associations recently gained access to funding from the Commission for Citizenship and Gender Equality (CIG), a government institute, and this may be a major step forward. Nevertheless, there is still a need to compare the advantages of non-funded independent status with the limitations imposed by a lack of economic resources.

Although LGBT associations and informal groups often engage in significant social and political activity (Santos, 2005), the majority of their members are not open about their sexual orientation in their daily environments. This state of affairs reinforces the invisibility of gays and lesbians in society and makes social advances on equality more difficult.

Academia

Portuguese academia does not have a strong tradition of engagement with equality issues, even regarding gender and ethnic issues, which are generally considered the most prominent subjects of equality research.

In particular, sexual orientation issues are almost completely absent from academic curricula and research projects. There are some noteworthy exceptions, however, which mainly emerged after 2000: Brandão (2004), Caldeira (2006), Cascais (1983, 2004), Gameiro (1998), Meneses (1998), Moita (2001), Santos (2005, 2006b, 2006c) and Vieira (2005).

A number of landmark publications on the emergence of this area of study in Portuguese academia include: the collection of essays "*Indisciplinar a teoria. Estudos gays, lésbicos e queer* [Indisciplinary theory. Gay, lesbian and queer studies]" organised by António Fernando Cascais (Cascais, 2004), which brought together academics from diverse scientific areas, such as Anthropology, Communication Sciences, Literature Studies, Philosophy, Psychology and Sociology; and the thematic number of Revista

Crítica de Ciências Sociais on "*Estudos queer: Identidades, contextos e acção colectiva* [Queer Studies: Identities, contexts and collective action]" organised by Ana Cristina Santos (Santos, 2006a).

There has been increasing interest in this subject since 2006, but it still remains a rather marginal and insubstantial area of research in Portuguese academia.

A positive example of the possibility of increased research on sexual orientation issues is the 2008 joint call for R&D projects from the Commission for Citizenship and Gender Equality (CIG) and the Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT), for scientific research projects and technological developments in the field of gender relations and policies for equality between women and men in Portugal which have funded certain research projects focusing specifically on sexual orientation issues, such as the research project coordinated by Prof. Conceição Nogueira, University of Minho, "Sexual citizenship of Lesbian (Women) in Portugal - Experiences of discrimination and possibilities for change".

A worth mentioning example of national publications on these topics is the journal *EX AEQUO*, published by the Portuguese Association of Women's Studies (APEM), that on November 2011 organised a thematic number "Making Gender: performativities and queer approaches"[20].

A noteworthy research, that explores the relationship between social movements, sexual citizenship and change in the context of Southern Europe LGBT activism, is reported in the book "Social Movements and Sexual Citizenship in Southern Europe" (Santos, 2012). This book presents a comparative analysis about LGBT issues in Italy, Spain and Portugal, and reports an in depth analysis of the Portuguese LGBT activism. Being published in English by a major publisher, grants this work a potential wide dissemination on academic areas.

The relationship between activism and academia in Portugal is an interesting one. Many academic researchers working on sexual orientation issues in Portugal are in some way connected to feminist or LGBT activism. Similarly, in recent years a number of LGBT activists have (re)entered university on undergraduate or postgraduate study or

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[20] Available at http://www.apem-estudos.org/?page_id=735

research programs related to sexual orientation issues, in such diverse scientific areas as sociology, psychology, geography and anthropology.

It is significant that until 2011, neither degree programmes - undergraduate or postgraduate - nor individual curricular modules specifically concerned with sexual orientation issues existed in Portuguese universities. Only a small number of very limited examples were addressed in certain curricular modules. Nevertheless, over the last decade there has been increased interest among undergraduate and postgraduate students in addressing sexuality, and specifically sexual orientation, in their research (Vale de Almeida, 2010). The academic year 2011/12 is a landmark for sexual orientation issues in Portuguese academia, as it sees the launch of the first postgraduate degree in LGBT Studies[21]. It is also worth mentioning the curricular unit 'Geography, gender and sexuality[22]' at FCSH that has been created and lectured by the researcher of this PhD thesis, on the academic years of 2011/2012 and 2012/2013.

Despite certain individual efforts and exceptions, Portuguese academia remains characterised by a pervasive resistance and unwillingness to invest in research related to sexual orientation issues.

Interactions between policy makers, activism and academia

Policy makers and activism

Advances in sexual orientation rights in Portugal have been the result of joint endeavours by civil society, namely LGBT associations, and policy makers. This does not mean that there was a consistent common agenda, rather that there were certain specific understandings and combined projects that led to change. Media coverage was an essential instrument for change in legislation and in the attitudes of Portuguese society towards homosexuality.

The LGBT movement is not homogeneous; diverse understandings of equality exist within it. Some LGBT associations assume a state-oriented position, aiming to gain access to the same rights as heterosexuals (for example, access to marriage); other

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[21] http://www.iscte-iul.pt/cursos/pos_graduacoes/14706/Apresentacao.aspx. This course did not open given that it did not have enough candidates.

[22] http://www.fcsh.unl.pt/ensino/licenciaturas/opcoes-livres-nas-unidades-de-investigacao/geografia-genero-e-sexualidade/view

LGBT associations, meanwhile, take a more radical and transgressive position, questioning the rules and norms that organise life in society, and challenging power structures. These diverse positions have enabled policy makers to establish strategic alliances with state-oriented LGBT associations, and have made specific agendas possible, such as same-sex marriage legislation (Santos, 2013).

The diversity of the LGBT movement and its internal conflicts can be understood as catalysts for legal and social change. Firstly, such conflicts generate invaluable media coverage, and also raise awareness of the fact that apart from a common sexual non-normativity, LGBT individuals are multidimensional and include diverse socio-political positions.

Alliances between policy makers and specific LGBT associations are now more visible, thanks to project funding and LGBT associations' increasing cooperation with government institutes responsible for equality policy, such as the Commission for Citizenship and Gender Equality (CIG).

Prevailing sexism within LGBT associations should also be noted. These associations invariably reproduce patterns of the societal context in which they exist; sexism and male dominance, therefore, are a pervasive reality even within LGBT organisations. Specific lesbian issues, for example, are rarely afforded the same prominence as gay issues. Blood donation by men who have sex with men, for example, is a topic that is much more widely discussed and focused in LGBT associations than, for example, medically assisted procreation, a key equality issue for lesbians, which currently is only available to women in the context of a heterosexual marriage.

This prevailing sexism is echoed in the media and in the public arena; one example is that same-sex marriage in Portugal is commonly known as gay[23] marriage.

Activism and academia

Specific cases of collaboration between LGBT associations and academia do exist, but these are largely initiatives of LGBT associations that are attempting to benefit from the influence and status of academic discourse and aiming to gain increased public acceptance (see p. 34).

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[23] In Portugal the word "gay" is commonly used in reference to male homosexuals, and not to female homosexuals.

The most significant relation between academia and LGBT associations is an "intimate" one, wherein the majority of academic researchers on sexual orientation issues are themselves LGBT or LGBT activists.

The recent increase in interest among undergraduate and postgraduate students in including sexual orientation issues in their research may indicate positive future developments. Sexual orientation and equality policies may gain more visibility within academia and a more established presence in higher education curricula.

There are some interesting examples of informal collaboration between academia and ILGA Portugal, a LGBT association, in the provision of training courses for professionals who work with LGBT people[24]. These training courses aim at promoting greater self-awareness and a recognition of one's own prejudices, and at developing competences for using an inclusive approach in their professional activities. Nevertheless, there are only a limited number of initiatives, and more comprehensive projects involving a wider range of professionals would be of great social value.

The influence of academia and scientific discourse on public opinion should not be underestimated. It has a social legitimacy and authority that may be instrumental in improving equality in Portugal.

Academia and policy makers

One of the requirements of academic work is a critical approach to reality, which makes it difficult for academic ideas to enter politics. Often in politics there is little critical thinking, merely political strategy, and a negotiation of different interests and motivations. Lobbying and pressure are more often influencers of political decisions than scientific support. This is not specific to the case of equality policy, it is rather common in politics.

Decision makers are not often aware of academic research, but scientific knowledge can be a substantial support for political decisions. For instance, the issue of same-sex marriage brought together LGBT associations and policy makers, but academia was not involved. Given that parenthood is a topic of debate whenever same-sex marriage is discussed, scientific insight into same-sex parenthood would have been

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[24] See for example: http://ilga-portugal.pt/noticias/191.php and http://ilga-portugal.pt/noticias/256.php

constructive. As Portuguese legislation explicitly discriminates against same-sex couples regarding adoption rights, the discussion of same-sex marriage can be seen as a missed opportunity for academia to assert itself in politics.

More recently, during the discussion of the bill on co-adoption for same-sex couples[25], on May 2013, there was a wider participation of academics on public discussion and several researchers were called to the Commission for Constitutional Affairs, Rights, Freedoms and Guarantees of the Parliament for a Parliamentary Hearing[26]. The debate on co-adoption for same-sex couples is still an open topic in the Portuguese society, given that the final parliamentary vote has been postponed and is not yet scheduled. However, only a few researchers actively engaged in civil society groups have taken a public stand on this topic.

Portuguese academia does not yet appear to be sufficiently concerned with the social and political consequences of research. Though somewhat provocative and ironic, it could be said that the "feminist turn" has not reached Portuguese academia. However there are some examples of different attitudes towards the social impact of research. In the scientific area of social sciences that study sexual orientation related issues, one can identify some researchers that are socially engaged, such as: Ana Cristina Santos, Conceição Nogueira, Fernando Cascais, Gabriela Moita, Henrique Pereira, Jorge Gato, Miguel Vale de Almeida and Paulo Jorge Vieira, to name but a few. Noteworthy to mention are two major academic events related to LGBT issues[27] taking place this year in Lisbon: '1st International Conference on LGBT Psychology and related fields'[28] and the 'II European Geographies of Sexualities Conference'[29].

The present research "Reconceptualising Public Spaces of (In)Equality: Sensing and Creating Layers of Visibility" takes on "the notion of launching something into a stream, a proliferation of connections, to see how it will fare, how it will affect and be

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[25] The final parliamentary vote has been postponed and the date is not yet scheduled

[26] See http://www.parlamento.pt/ActividadeParlamentar/Paginas/DetalheIniciativa.aspx?BID=37202

[27] The researcher of this PhD thesis is part of the organizing committee and the scientific committee

[28] http://www.lgbtpsychology2013.com/

[29] http://egsc2013.pt.to/

affected" (Massey, 2000, p. 133). The scientific aspect of this research is crucial although it cannot be separated from its aspect of social engagement.

This section presented diverse perspectives to discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation in Portugal, such as: the legal context, social discrimination, policy, LGBT rights activism, and academic research. The critical presentation of these perspectives is essential to fully understand the interrelations of sexual identities and public spaces in Portugal.

In Portugal, there has been a significant increase of the legislation on LGBT rights, mostly influenced by the Carnation Revolution and the accession to the European Union. Although the activism for LGBT rights in Portugal only initiated in mid-nineties, it is a rather dynamic and policies oriented social movement. Nevertheless, there is a pervasive context of social discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation in the Portuguese society. The academia in Portugal does not participate nor promote debates on equality issues, with some minor exceptions. Considering that academic research could contribute to influence knowledge and representations on sexual orientation issues and foster social change, there is an urgent need to change this scenario. The present research aims to produce and to contribute to debates on equality and sexual orientations issues in the Portuguese academia, by exploring the potentialities of geospatial practices to disrupt the heteronormativity of space.

4. PARTICIPATORY GEOSPATIAL WEB

Space representation through maps is a socially constructed form of knowledge that has different meanings and reflects diverse relations of power (Harley, 1988; Wood & Fels, 1992). Kitchin and Dodge (2007) argue that maps are always practices and not finalized products, and that one should approach maps by analysing their process of becoming. Maps are not final, static, or fixed products, but rather they are performed, enacted and iteratively interpreted to different meanings and purposes depending on the time, space, and interests involved in their production and use (Harris & Harrower, 2006).

As the ability to map and mark places becomes more widely available through technology, the power of shaping reality through mapping is increasingly the privilege of many (Barnett, 2003). The rich diversity of media in everyday life and the rapid democratization of geographic information enable people to actively participate in the representation of spaces by adding and sharing cartographic content. Thanks to the increasing sophistication of location-aware portable devices, such as mobile phones, together with web technologies, maps can easily be created, modified, and shared (Silva et al., 2009), giving rise to the geospatial web.

Web mapping practices are evolving rapidly and diverse terminologies are used to name them: 'Geoweb', 'Neogeography', 'Volunteered Geographic Information', 'GIS 2.0', 'wiki mapping'. Public maps generated in Web 2.0 platforms are mostly based on public perceptions and experiences of everyday life and consist of a vast diversity of meanings, symbols and words that are not subject to a systematic coding and that produce "unprecedented volumes of data and unprecedented levels of heterogeneity" (Elwood, 2009, p. 259). Current web mapping services provide features for users that support the creation and sharing of location-based content, and people are increasingly using web maps to connect with each other and with the urban and natural environment in ways that no-one had predicted (Roush, 2005). Activities of individuals or groups, with a common objective, to contribute with information that links names and descriptive information to particular places, features, or locations can be conceived as a social practice. A large amount of data is becoming available through these practices of volunteered geographic information(VGI) and these data are a rich and immediate source of information, however there are some important issues that require further analysis, such as the motivations to contribute to geographic information in this

context, the accuracy or quality of the data and what methods are appropriate to synthesize or analyse it, how some people can be excluded from contributing by the digital divide, or how VGI might impact privacy and confidentiality (Goodchild, 2007; Elwood, Goodchild & Sui, 2012).

One of the consistent threads in geographers' work explores the societal implications of information technologies, namely theorizations of how geospatial technologies and data constitute bodies, identities, and social relations (Elwood, 2010). These theorizations address the efforts to understand the embodiments and subjectivities emerging from the geoweb as individuals use it to disseminate information about their experiences, observations, and bodily responses to particular places. Concepts from critical GIS and critical cartography strongly inform research on the way processes, relationships, and products of VGI initiatives structure and represent knowledge and shape social and political relations (Elwood, Goodchild & Sui, 2012).

This research project explores participatory geospatial practices, namely collaborative web mapping empowering potentialities. Geospatial web tools minimize geographical and temporal constraints and as they are becoming widely available as free download and customizable Web interfaces, they are generating a grass-roots interest in mapping and related spatial products (Butler, 2006). Central to all of these applications is that they can be learnt quickly and effectively without immersion in professional activities (Hudson-Smith et al., 2008) and hence facilitate public participation, enhancing its empowering potentialities. However, some relevant issues related to the empowering effect of geospatial web practices need to be considered, such as the social and political significance of knowledge expressed, the extent to which they can fully represent individuals and/or groups of people, and the factors that contribute to include or exclude people from the making or using these practices (eg, Elwood, 2008; Goodchild, 2007; Sieber, 2006; Sui, 2008).

Michel de Certeau's work (1984) on the 'practice of everyday lives' is particularly relevant this research project, as it highlights how everyday creativity constitutes the marginalized and mundane resistances in everyday practices and forms the counterpart to powerful controlling systems (Lin, 2013). As this research project explores how creating and sharing digital layers of lesbian visibility on collaborative web maps can disrupt a hetero-pervasive reality, resisting and challenging dominant

power structures, it can be understood as a countermapping practice (Cobarrubias & Pickles, 2009).

Crampton and Krygier (2006) consider that everyday mappings disclose the role of space in people's lives, whether they are performative, ludic, indigenous, affective and experiential or narrative. As Harris and Harrower (2006, p. 5) claim "Maps alter how people use and experience space, and also the ways that people's experiences and understandings of space alter how they read, understand, and use maps". Generating spatial narratives embedded in online mapping, based on the memories and stories of those who lack power, increase their visibility and disseminate the resistance and contestation of dominant power relations (Lin, 2013).

The geospatial practices on the present research project are based upon the memories, emotions and feelings of the participants. Bringing emotions to geospatial practices can be understood as a way of resisting or contesting the dominant understanding of the social and political meanings of geospatial practices (Kwan, 2007). Geospatial practices that embed the corporeal, affective and emotional dimensions of existence, giving prominence to performances over representations (Kwan & Aitken, 2010) are influenced by the nonrepresentational thinking. This approach involves making emotions, feelings, values and ethics an integral aspect of geospatial practices, and not only to reintroduce the subjectivities of the researcher, the researched and those affected by geospatial practices. Critical reflections inspired by nonrepresentational thinking support experimentations on new geospatial practices as locative media for self-expression that question the understanding of these practices as representational and enhance their performative potential. If geospatial practices incorporate the complex gendered, classed, raced, and sexualized experiences of individuals, they can help us understand emotions in terms of their "socio-spatial mediation and articulation rather than as entirely interiorized subjective mental states" (Davidson, Bondi & Smith 2005, p. 3). Geospatial practices can highlight how emotions, subjectivities, and spaces are mutually constitutive in particular places and at particular times, and disclose the socially encoded meanings of different kinds of bodies in specific spatial, temporal and cultural contexts (Kwan, 2007). One example of these practices is Christian Nold Bio Mapping project which investigates the implications of technologies that can record, visualize and share our intimate body-states. This project uses a Bio Mapping device that records data from a biometric sensor and from a Global Positioning System (GPS)

(Figure 3). The biometric sensor, based on a lie-detector, measures Galvanic Skin Response and it is assumed that biometric changes are an indication of 'emotional' intensity. The data can be visualized in geographical mapping software such as Google Earth, as a visual track that indicates the level of physiological arousal on specific locations (Figure 4). Individuals interpret their own bio-data combining 'objective' biometric data and geographical position, with 'subjective' interpretation of their emotions (Figure 5). These new data is available publicly and allows people who have never met each other to share their experiences and their opinions of specific locations. The combined results of a multiplicity of the personal sensations create an Emotional Cartography by a bottom-up process of identifying communal matters of concern that suggests the possibility of an alternative body politic of place (Nold, 2009).

Figure 3 – Bio Mapping device and GPS (Nold, 2009)

Figure 4 – Visual track on Google Earth that indicates the level of physiological arousal on specific locations (Greenwich Emotion Map, retrieved from http://www.biomapping.net/)
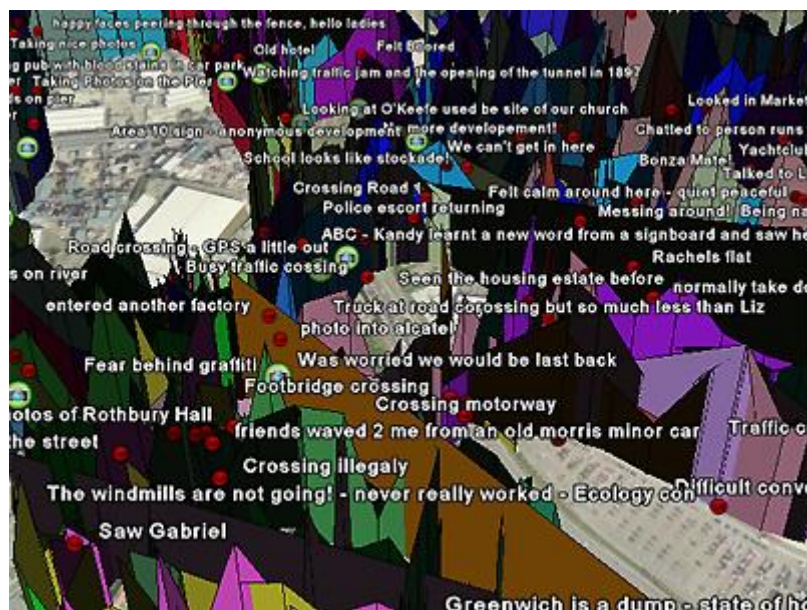
Figure 5 – 'Subjective' interpretation of bio-data registered on Google Earth (Greenwich Emotion Map, retrieved from http://www.biomapping.net/)

The present research uses a participatory approach to collaborative web mapping. Participatory approaches create the opportunities for community and personal discoveries, allowing people to use today's technologies to observe, document, and act on issues that matter to them. Participatory approaches foster positive changes and empowerment in peoples' lives (Goldman et al., 2009). According to Goldman et al.

(2009) there are three models in which the participation pattern differ: Collective Design and Investigation – individuals define what, where, and why to map and interpret data, and act on the results; Public Contribution – participants are actively involved in the collection of data they find meaningful, but not necessarily in the definition of research questions or use of the results; and Personal Use and Reflection – individuals log information about themselves and use the results for personal discovery.

There are some noteworthy researches on participatory collaborative web mapping, such as Urban Tapestries (Silverstone & Sujon, 2004) and Social Tapestries (Lane et al., 2005). Urban Tapestries used a mobile location-based platform to connect people with the places they inhabit through their stories, experiences and observations. Drawing from theories of everyday life and urban space, the project developed experimental ethnography as a method for investigating the relationships between communication technologies, users and the socio-geographic territories around them. According to Silverstone and Sujon (2004), people authored their stories of the city and embedded them in the places that inspired them, and other people logged into the system could read these stories, author their own and engage the largely invisible, multidimensional layers accumulating in the city (Figure 6). The conclusions of Urban Tapestries project suggest that the use of communication technologies can facilitate the negotiation of boundaries and augment notions of connectivity to place and to those within that place (Silverstone & Sujon, 2004).
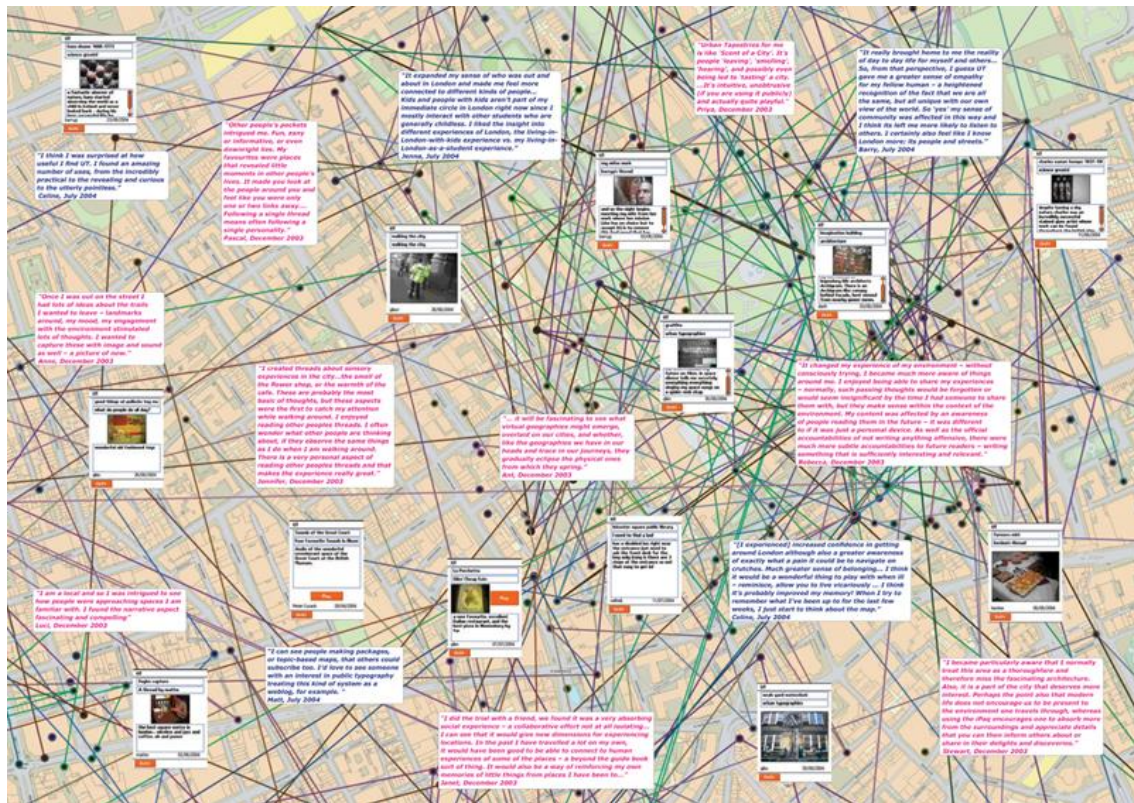
Figure 6 – A map of annotated locations and threads connecting them, created during Urban Tapestries project, retrieved from http://socialtapestries.net/

Social Tapestries consist of a series of projects developed by Proboscis[30] to investigate the social and cultural benefits of public authoring of social knowledge (local knowledge mapping and sharing). These projects were built upon the Urban Tapestries framework and software platform. According to Lane et al. (2005), Proboscis organized collaborations and partnerships with other civil society organisations to address education & learning, people & environment and citizenship, neighbourhoods & public services aiming to reveal the potential of public authoring to:

- create and support relationships that transcend existing social and cultural boundaries;

- enable the development of new social and creative practices based around place, identity and community;

- reveal the potential costs as well as benefits to communities and individuals.

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[30] http://proboscis.org.uk/

A diverse range of Social Tapestries projects were implemented by Proboscis in three main areas of research:

- education and learning - developing knowledge mapping and sharing techniques and tools as new forms of associative learning and teaching methods for schoolchildren, lifelong learners and teachers;

- people & environment - staging creative interventions with local areas and communities that engage with regeneration and environmental issues to increase issue ownership and people's sense of agency and empowerment to act;

- citizenship, neighbourhoods and public services - exploring how mapping and sharing knowledge and experiences within geographic communities can enable new forms of neighbourliness to emerge. By stimulating and inspiring habits of participation these informal knowledges can assist in transforming relationships with key stakeholders such as local authorities and public service providers to develop reciprocities of trust.

Social Tapestries projects explored new practices around place, identity and community using collaborative web maps generated by everyday people based on their memories, stories and experiences. The experimental use of public authoring demonstrated the social and cultural benefits of sharing local knowledge enabled by mobile technologies (Figure 7), providing an alternative experience where people were presented with the opportunity to be agents, actors and authors (Lane et al., 2005).

Figure 7 – Mobile technology used on Social Tapestries projects

One of the Social Tapestries projects, Havelock Tapestry Blog (Figure 8) created for the Havelock Estate in Southall - West London, aimed to investigate how public authoring can assist local people in shaping their community and environment. Local people were encouraged to record local issues and hence to participate in their community by using free online services that offer the elements of public authoring, such as: mapping, collecting data, sharing knowledge, images, audio and video. Many of the free online services require little or no specialist knowledge to set up and maintain, thus facilitating public participation (Harris & Lane, 2007).
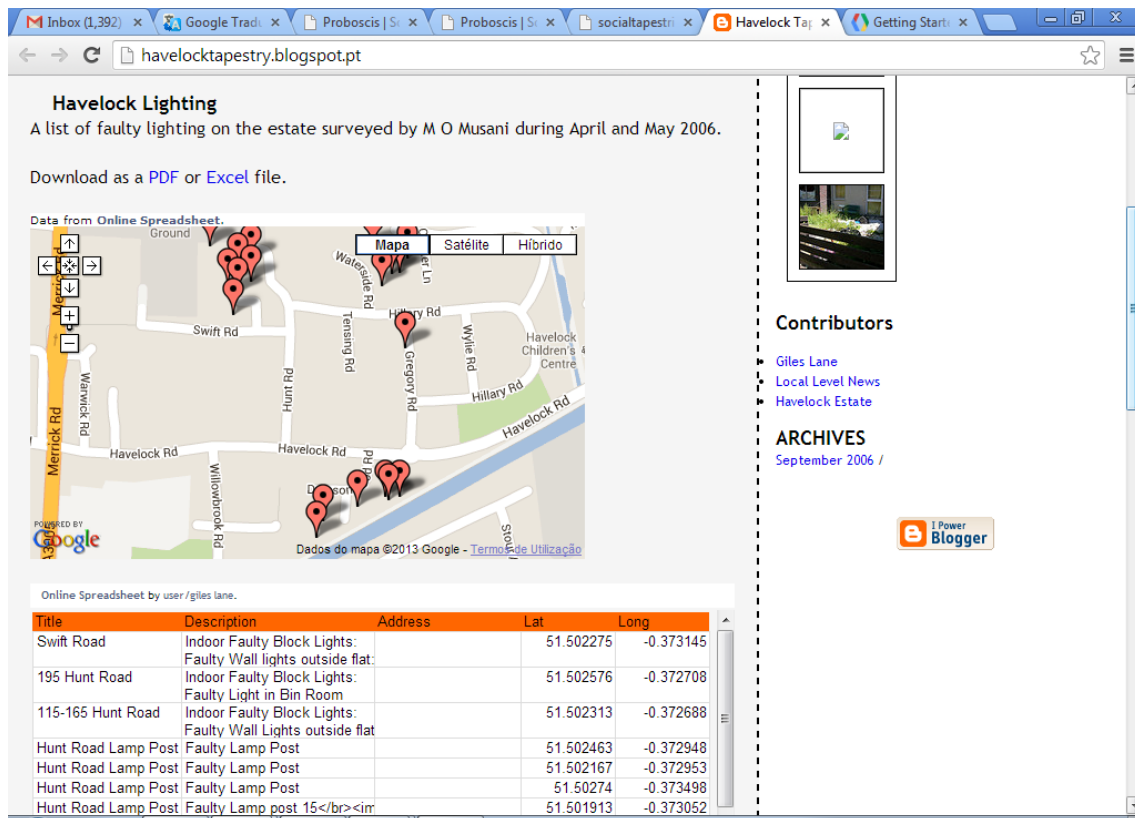
Figure 8 – Print screen of the Havelock Tapestry Blog

The concept of empowerment has multiple understandings in social sciences, some of which are relevant to the analysis of the participatory geospatial web. Brenda Parker (2006, p. 477) emphasizes two in particular: "empowerment defined as social or procedural change in which communities or citizens gain greater control over resources and legitimacy in decisions"; and "empowerment as building capacities or human capital for collective action, in which communities acquire skills, politicized consciousness, or knowledge that informs or inspires collective action". Drawing on these concepts, the present research explores the potentialities of collaborative web mapping to build capacities for action of lesbian and bisexual women, facilitating same-sex public displays of affection. By turning the invisible visible, collaborative web mapping can create collective significance out of individual actions.

There are some ground-breaking projects that explore the potential of cartography and mapping as key interventions in disrupting the heteronormativity of space, and that are particularly relevant to this research, such as those presented by Michael Brown and Larry Knopp in *Queering the map* (Brown & Knopp, 2008), and Marie Cieri in *Between Being and Looking* (Cieri, 2003).

The project 'Our Queer Lives & Spaces Project'[31], by Jen Jack Gieseking, is also worth mentioning although it has been recently launched (16 June, 2013) and has not reached the phase of results analysis and conclusions. The project started to be 'The Lesbian-Queer Space Mapping Project'[32], a map designed for all lesbians and queer women broadly defined and self-defined, to share spatial memories. Aiming to produce a more cross-identity, multi-spatiotemporal project 'The Lesbian-Queer Space Mapping Project' has been absorbed into the 'Our Queer Lives and Spaces' project, dedicated to afford queer people a place to map and record the stories in their own words and images, creating a living archive.

Brown and Knop (2008) project developed a GIS database of major sites of significance to the lesbian and gay populations of Seattle, Washington in the twentieth century, and designed a fold-out, illustrated, and annotated map "Claiming Space: Seattle's Lesbian and Gay Historical Geography". Their ethnographic approach aimed to highlight the productive tensions of 'colliding epistemologies' in their use of GIS. Some of the epistemological and ontological challenges to cartography and GIS in putting sexual identities into the map are identified by Brown and Knopp (2008) as related to queer theory understanding of sexual subjectivities as fluid, of space as multidimensional, socially constructed and discursive, of knowledge production as always contextualised in power relationships, and of representations as always mediated, partial and political. They explored the links between identity, space and politics in a constitutive and geographic way based on cartographies produced by an identity-oriented group. One of their strongest arguments is that "GIS can be an integral part of a politics of uncloseting urban (and other) spaces that are otherwise heteronormatively represented and imagined" and that by "fixing and making visible queer spaces and places - particularly from the past - a constitutive politics of individual and collective identity, community, history, and belonging is made possible" (Brown & Knopp 2008, p. 55). The map "Claiming Space" (Figure 9 and Figure 10) presents visualizations of different kinds of knowledge, affirming lesbian and gay identities, and by being part of a constitutive politics the map also produces knowledge, affirms identities and inspires activism.
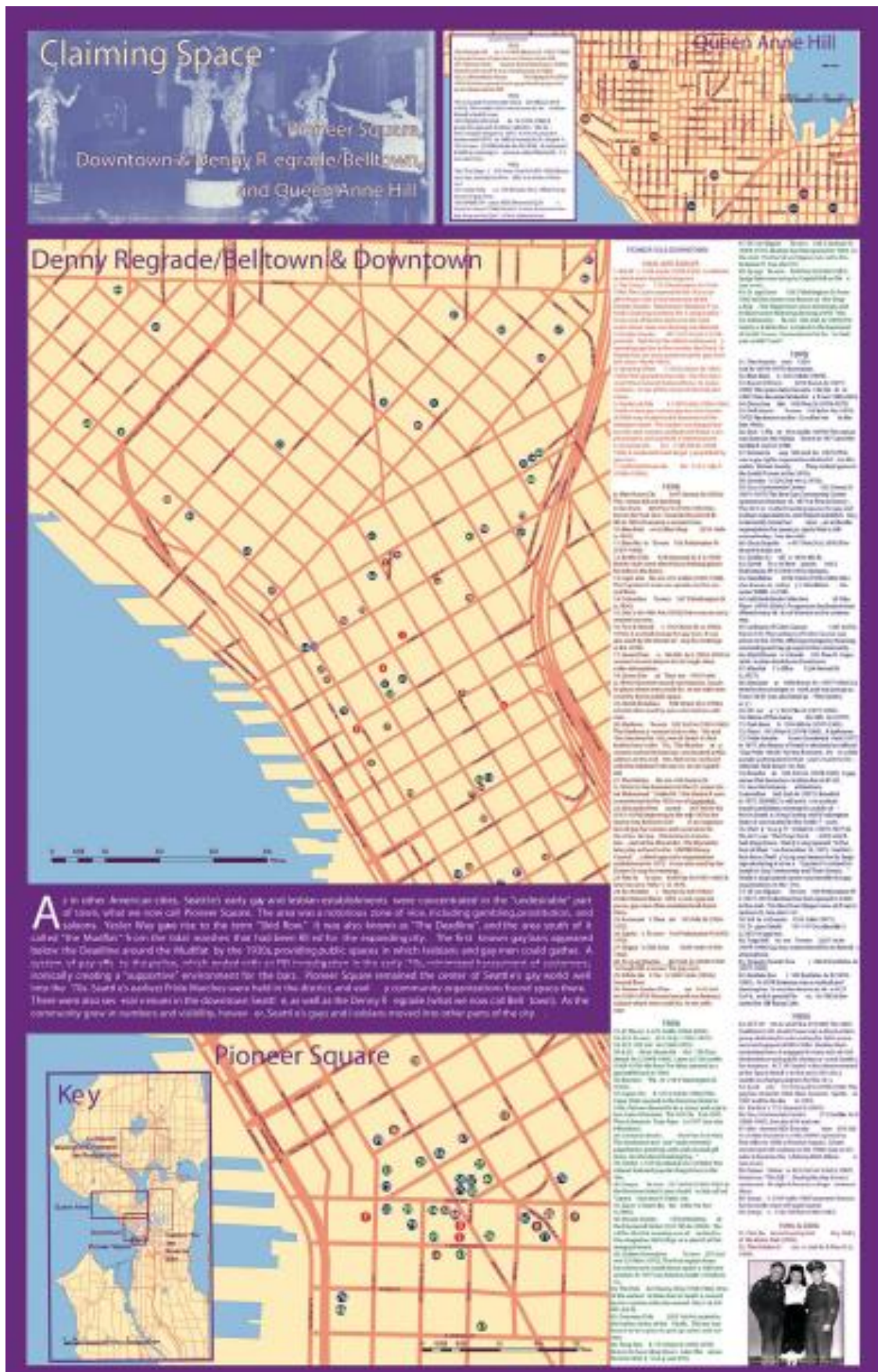
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[31] http://jgieseking.org/research-writing-projects/oqls/

[32] http://jgieseking.org/lesbians-and-queer-womens-spaces-and-places/

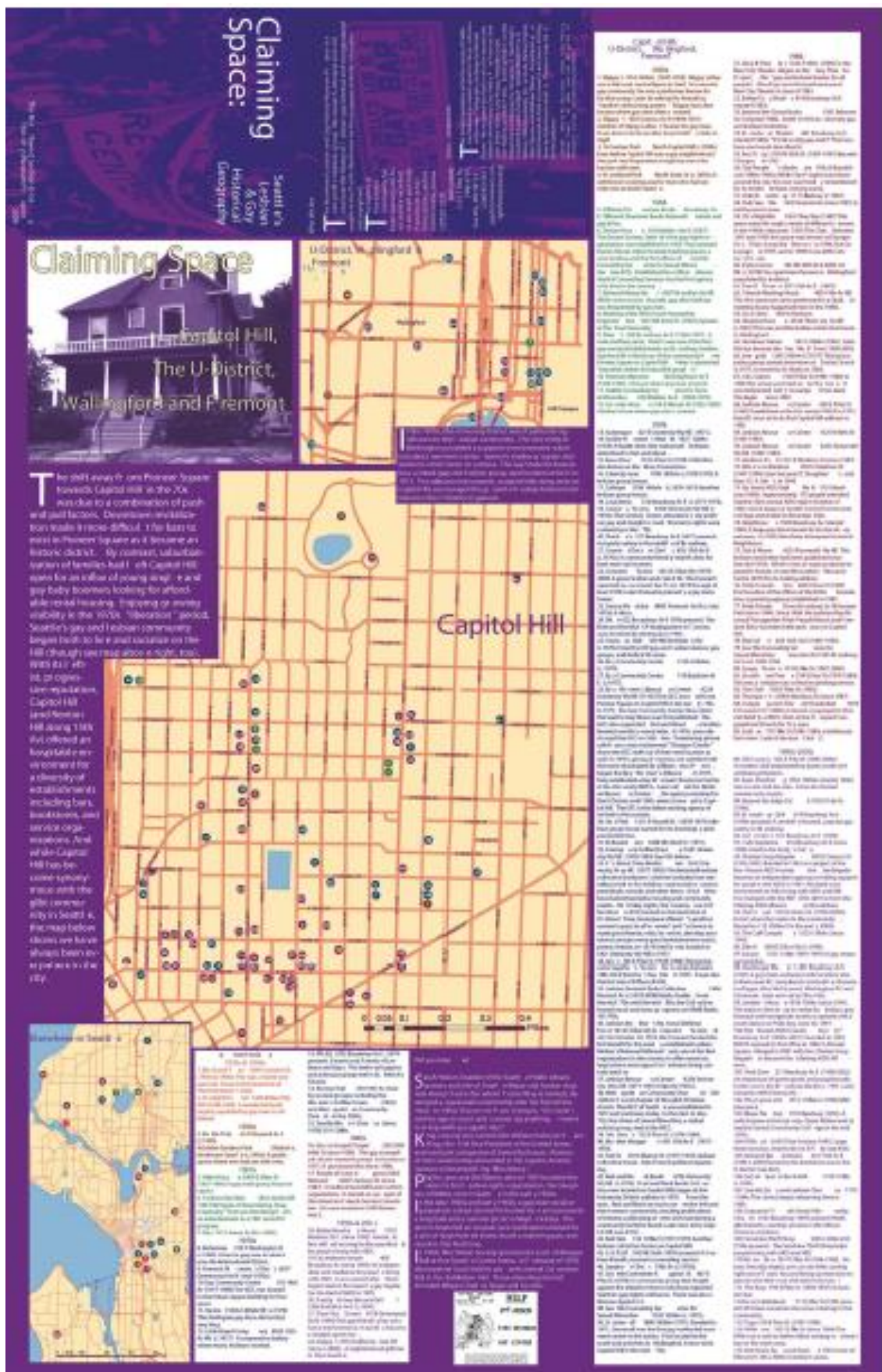Figure 9 – Side one of "Claiming Space."

Figure 10 – Side two of "Claiming Space."

Cieri (2003), in her project *Between Being and Looking*, explored new and potent ways of telling geographic stories that emanate from the populations themselves, undertaking a political and personal exploration of lesbian social space in greater Philadelphia (Figure 11), set within the context of mainstream promotion of queer tourist space in the city. This project took a clear political and personal stand. One of the main arguments made by Cieri is that "giving voice to the perceptions of those who are usually represented can be seen as a way of transferring some of the power inherent in the generation and communication of geographic information to those who generally lack it" (Cieri 2003, p. 148). Cieri mixes subjective perceptions with factual demarcations of space and combines visual and textual elements to produce a more realistic representation of human interactions in geographical space (Figure 12 and Figure 13).
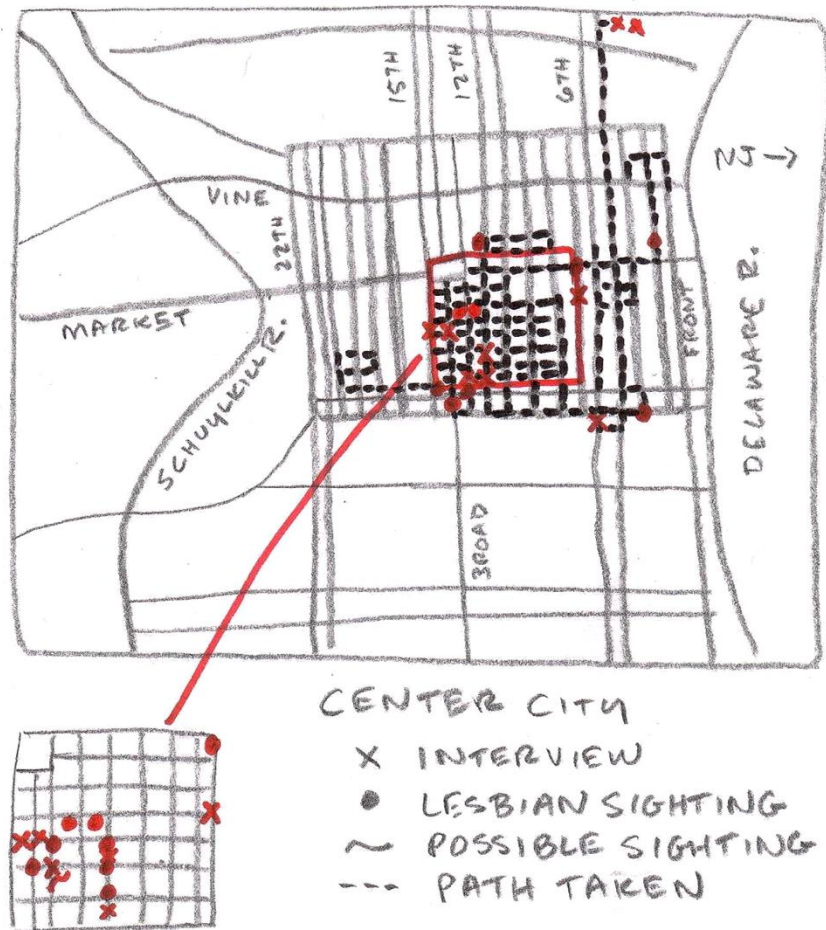
Figure 11 – Records of Cieri ethnographic method, retrieved from Cieri (2003)

Figure 12 – Greater Philadelphia: Superimposed Maps by Six Lesbian and Bisexual Women, retrieved from Cieri (2003)

Figure 13 – Center City Philadelphia: Superimposed Maps by Eight Lesbian and Bisexual Women, retrieved from Cieri (2003)

Notwithstanding the innovative aspect of these research projects, as well as their potential to contribute to knowledge on the potentialities of geospatial practices to disrupt the heteronormativity of space, they use maps created or organised by the researchers. The data included on the maps was obtained by ethnographic methods and are representative of the people and realities they worked with. However the

performative act of mapping, to decide on which data to include on the maps, to explore and to use the web tools, and to create the geospatial narratives and representations, was not completely shared with the people whose experiences were being mapped. This is one of the innovative aspects of the research reported in this thesis.

5. RESEARCH DESIGN

The research questions of this research are based on a set of key ideas that were presented in the previous chapters. The most significant of those key ideas are:

- Space and social identities are mutually constituted; space is an essential part of the constitution and reproduction of social identities, and social identities, meanings and relations produce material and symbolic or metaphorical spaces (Cloke, Philo & Sadler, 1991; Massey, 1999; Smith, 1993);

- Space reflects power relations and hegemonic discourses, and inequality can perpetuate itself through the ways space is organized, experienced, represented and created (Massey, 2005; Mitchell, 2000; Smith, 1991; Valentine, 2001);

- Public spaces reflect and reproduce heteronormativity, as they exclude non-normative sexualities, such as the ones of lesbians and gays (Hubbard, 2008; Valentine, 1996);

- There is a pervasive social discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation and homosexuality retains a marginal, unequal status in Portugal, both in legislation and in society (FRA, 2009);

- People can decide not to disclose their sexual orientation, and on a context of social discrimination invisibility is a common option (Ferreira, 2008; Valentine, 1996).

- The spatial invisibility of lesbians and gays is simultaneously a cause and a consequence of inequalities in their everyday lives, and contributes to their disempowerment (FRA, 2009).

- There is a need to take into consideration the specificity of the interrelation of gender, public spaces and sexualities (Massey, 1994; Podmore, 2001; Valentine, 1989, 1996);

- The sense of anonymity in virtual environments has contributed to attract LGBT people to actively engage in online activities (Pullen & Cooper, 2010; Woodland, 2000);

- Geospatial web tools minimize geographical and temporal constraints and as they are becoming widely available they are generating a grass-roots interest in mapping and related spatial products (Butler, 2006; Elwood, 2008; Goodchild, 2007; Sieber, 2006; Sui, 2008);

- Geospatial practices can highlight how emotions, subjectivities, and spaces are mutually constitutive in particular places and at particular times (Kwan, 2007);
- Spatial narratives embedded in online mapping, based on the memories and stories of those who lack power, increase their visibility and disseminate the resistance and contestation of dominant power relations (Lin, 2013);
- Participatory approaches foster positive changes and empowerment in peoples' lives (Goldman et al., 2009).

Research questions

The research project presented in this document explored how collaborative web maps can contribute to disrupt hegemonic heteronormativity and to create public spaces that are more equal and friendly to lesbians and bisexual women.

The research design was based on the following research questions:

➢ What are the characteristics of the physical and online spaces of lesbian and gay visibility in Portugal?
- What is the geographical distribution of LGBT friendly spaces in Portugal, and how are they perceived by lesbians, gays and bisexuals (LGB[33])?
- Do LGB people engage in same-sex displays of affection in public spaces and what facilitates or constrains these behaviours?
- What kind of visibility do LGB sexualities have in online Portuguese spaces?

➢ What are the significant dimensions of space and places that relate to sexual identities (namely in what concerns emotions, representations and behaviours) of lesbian and bisexual women?
- How do the reactions of people on the streets to same-sex public displays of affection impact on lesbian and bisexual women?
- What are the eyes-on-the-street impressions of lesbian and bisexual women in LGBT friendly spaces?

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[33] Although this research uses the LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender) acronym, it only addresses issues related to sexual orientation LGB (Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual), not including the analysis of issues related to gender identity

➢ How creating and sharing digital layers of lesbian visibility on collaborative web maps potentially can disrupt a hetero pervasive reality and impact social identity and belonging?

▪ What are the effects of creating and sharing layers of personal experiences, thoughts and emotions on a collaborative web map on women who experience discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation?

▪ Does having access to digital layers of lesbian visibility on collaborative web maps build capacities for action of lesbian and bisexual women, facilitating same-sex public displays of affection?

In order to answer these research questions the research design was structured in three phases: 'Mapping the landscape', 'Sensing the landscape' and 'Creating landscapes' (Figure 14).
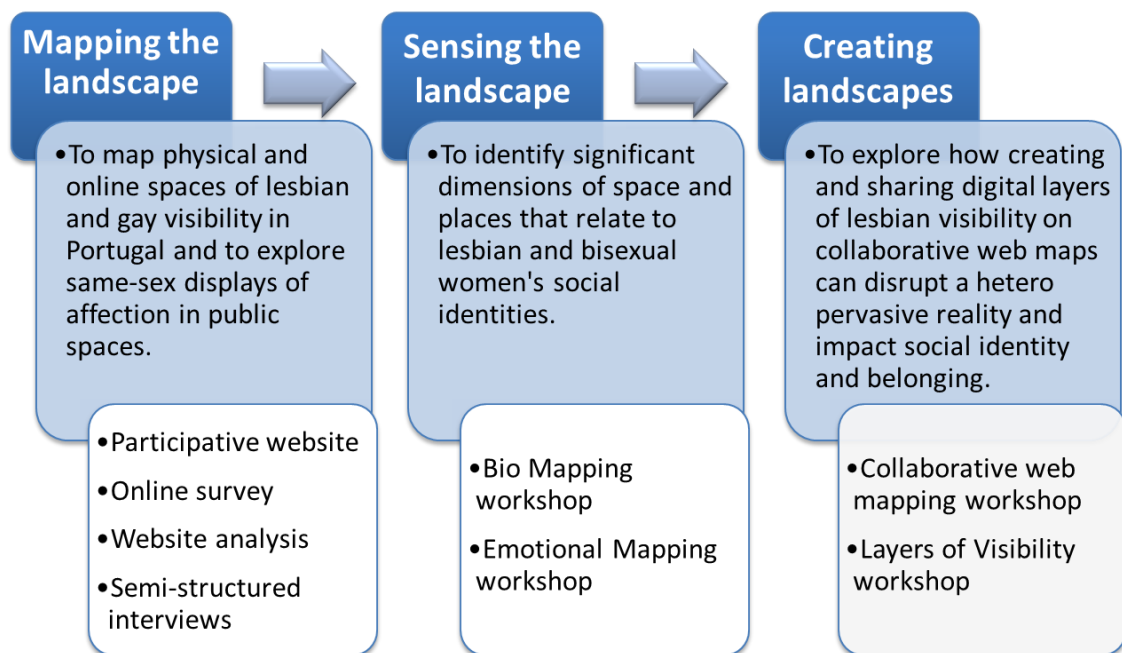
Figure 14 - Research design

The research project started by mapping spaces of lesbian and gay visibility aiming to outline the hetero pervasive reality in Portugal. The research then focused on the intersections of gender and sexual orientation, aiming to identify significant dimensions of space and places that relate to lesbian and bisexual women sexual identities. The final and fundamental research question explored the potentialities of collaborative web mapping to disrupt the heteronormativity of public spaces and to create public spaces that are more equal and friendly to lesbians and bisexual women.

Methods and Techniques

The adopted research strategy had a qualitative approach and was organised as case studies based on detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information (Creswell, 2007). Case study as a research strategy can contribute to our knowledge of group, social, political, and related phenomena. Yin (2003) defines a case study as an "empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within a real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (p.13). Yin (2003) notes three categories, namely exploratory, descriptive and explanatory case studies. Exploratory case studies are used to explore those situations in which the intervention being evaluated has no clear, single set of outcomes; descriptive case studies are used to describe an intervention or phenomenon and the real-life context in which it occurred; and explanatory case studies would be used if one seeks to answer a question that sought to explain the presumed causal links in real-life interventions that are too complex for the survey or experimental strategies. Considering that descriptive case studies can offer rich and revealing insights into the social world of a particular case, covering its specific social scenes and interactions (Yin, 2011), this research's strategy was organised mainly as descriptive case studies.

The research design combined quantitative and qualitative elements, including online surveys, semi-structured interviews, collaborative maps of bio data and on-site emotions, and workshops of public authoring and collaborative web mapping. In applying a multi-method approach to the research objectives, this project provided both quantitative and qualitative data that was triangulated aiming to answer the research questions (Creswell, 2007).

The first phase **'Mapping the landscape'** aimed to map physical and online spaces of lesbian and gay visibility in Portugal and to explore same-sex displays of affection in public spaces. This phase of the research addressed both women and men who engage in same-sex relationships. The results of this phase of the research can help to outline the reality of lesbian and bisexual women in Portugal. The methodological approach was based on online research methods: participative website, online survey and website analysis (Fielding, Lee & Blank, 2008). Semi-structured interviews were used to further explore the online research methods results (Limb & Dwyer, 2001).

The application of online methods to social science research is intertwined with the rise of the 'network society' (Castells, 1999; Castells et al, 2006). According to

Fielding, Lee & Blank (2008) "emergent technologies enable new modes of research, new approaches to analysis, and new relationships between social research and society" (p. 491). The emergence of a pervasive computational environment supports the use of online research methods. In the case of this research, online methods offer specific advantages: the anonymity can facilitate the participation of people from discriminated groups, such as lesbians and gays; and the use of the Internet-based tools makes it possible to contact a geographically dispersed population. There are specific issues related to privacy and data collection that will be addressed when presenting each online method used in this research.

Semi-structured interviews allow the researcher to draw on the interplay of the multiple views and voices of participants in a situation and to construct knowledge of the dynamics of that situation. Through semi-structured interviews it is possible to obtain both reflective narratives and more spontaneous responses, in order to acquire a deeper understanding of participants' lived experiences (Illingworth, 2006).

The second phase **'Sensing the landscape'** aimed to identify significant dimensions of space and places that relate to lesbian and bisexual women's social identities (namely in what concerns emotions, representations and behaviours) through collaborative maps based on bio data, on-site emotions, personal experiences and significances (Giaccardi & Fogli, 2008; Nold, 2009). The methodological approach was based on two structured workshops of 'Bio Mapping' and 'Emotion Mapping'. The participants of this phase of the research were women who engage in same-sex relationships; either they identify themselves as lesbians or bisexuals.

This research understands emotions in terms of its socio-spatial mediation and articulation rather than as entirely interiorised subjective mental status (Davidson, Bondi & Smith, 2005). Emotion Mapping provides a new way of thinking and exploring the social relationship between space and place. Representations of space that elicit and visualize the perceptions, interpretations and expectations one ascribes to a specific topological and social setting reveal how one is "affected" by environmental settings, and in turn "affect" the way in which one experiences and interprets the environmental settings mapped. These representations allow users to visually define space with their personal readings of cartographic content, giving a live account of space as a social product of individual embedded knowledge, daily practices and concerns. Collaborative mapping produced from these representations can reveal individual as well as collective

patterns of perception and interpretation in relation to the same space. Users' decisions about collecting and annotating cartographic content not only stimulate reflection on personal experience, but also encourage reflection about others' experiences that may in turn inform subsequent action (Giaccardi & Fogli, 2008). Considering that this research explores the interrelation of bio data and emotions, the Bio Mapping Project of Christian Nold (2009) is particularly relevant. The design of the Bio Mapping workshops was inspired on the Bio Mapping Project[34] which produced visualisations of people's emotions and reactions to the external world based on georeferenced biometric data and the 'subjective' interpretation of the participants' emotions (Nold, 2009). The design of the Bio mapping workshop followed Damasio (1999, 2010) understanding of emotions as the collection of bodily responses, many of which publicly observable, that do not require consciousness. Emotions are complex, largely automated programs of actions concocted by evolution, carried out in our bodies, from facial expressions and postures to changes in viscera and internal milieu, which can be complemented by a cognitive program that includes certain ideas and modes of cognition (Damasio, 2010). According to Damasio (2010) the composite perceptions of what happens in our body and mind when we are emoting are the feelings of emotions. Feelings are images of actions rather than actions themselves; the world of feelings is one of perceptions executed in brain maps (Damasio, 2010, p. 109). Emotions are bodily changes, such as quickening heart-beat, tensing muscles, etc., that imply changes in the brain, and this changes are the physical implementation of the "feeling". Damasio's approach to emotions echoes William James (1890) thinking: "[c]ommon sense says, we lose our fortune, are sorry and weep; we meet a bear, are frightened and run; we are insulted by a rival, are angry and strike … this order of sequence is incorrect … the more rational statement is that we feel sorry *because* we cry, angry *because* we strike, afraid *because* we tremble" (James, 1890, p. 449, italics in the original). These theoretical approaches to emotions provide a comprehensive basis to explore embodied practices and emotions in terms of its socio-spatial mediation and articulation. How does the body react to the surrounding space and what meanings/interpretations are associated to these actions/reactions?

The third phase **'Creating landscapes'** aimed to explore how creating and sharing digital layers of lesbian visibility on collaborative web maps can disrupt a

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[34] See p. 44

hetero pervasive reality and impact social identity and belonging. The participants of this phase of the research were also lesbians and bisexual women. The methodological approach of this task was centred on structured workshops of public authoring and collaborative web mapping (Lane et al., 2005) and it was inspired by other projects, such as Social Tapestries[35]. Social Tapestries promoted a participatory approach to data collection, exploring the potential benefits and costs of collaborative web maps generated by means of public authoring systems. Public authoring is the mapping and sharing of local knowledge using pervasive computing technology to create and support relationships beyond established social and cultural boundaries and the development of new practices around place, identity and community (Airantzis et al., 2008, p. 11). Every day people become the authors of a complementary flow of knowledge, information, memories, stories and experiences that adds local specificity to the more generalized material that can be offered by media companies. Public authoring can support grassroots participatory activities to contribute to an alternative experience where people are presented with the opportunity to be agents, actors and authors (Lane et al., 2005).

Participants

The participants of the 'Mapping the landscape' phase of the research were lesbians, gays and bisexuals. On the other two phases of the research 'Sensing the landscape' and 'Creating landscapes' the participants were only lesbians and bisexual women. The participants' recruitment used a "snow ball" method of contacting respondents via other respondents as well as LGBT Portuguese mailing lists and Facebook groups. The researcher active participation in non-governmental LGBT rights associations provided easier access to this research's participants.

The terms lesbian and bisexual women are used to explore the gendered and sexualised understandings of everyday lives. Women who engage in sexual/emotional relationships with other women constitute a specific intersection of gender and sexual orientation. It is a heterogeneous group with diverse experiences and expectations, living in distinct socio-economical dimensions, but with some common issues, such as being women and living in a social discriminatory context. Given that this research

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[35] http://socialtapestries.net

explores same-sex displays of affection in public spaces it is not relevant to differentiate between lesbians and bisexual women results. What is at stake is how women who engage in same-sex relationships negotiate their same-sex displays of affection in public spaces, either they self-identify as lesbians or bisexuals.

Although this research uses the LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender) acronym, it only addresses issues related to sexual orientation, not including the analysis of issues related to gender identity. This option relates to a specific characteristic of sexual orientation relevant to this study: the possibility of invisibility.

Research ethics

The key ethical principle of respecting the rights and dignity of all participants was a central element of this research. All participants had access to detailed information about the research objectives and methods, as well as of what was expected from them, and gave their informed consent. The researcher kept participants informed on the progress of the research and on the preliminary results, through a wiki (http://layers-of-visibility.wikispaces.com/home). Privacy issues were taken into special consideration during all the phases of the research. The researcher made clear to the participants that they were free to decide what information they shared and that they should not feel obligated to discuss matters that they did not wish to. The confidentiality and anonymity of research participants was ensured at all times.

Considering that this research involved people that endure discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation, there were some particular ethical aspects to address. Specifically, during the Bio mapping workshop on the second phase of the research, when participants were asked to display same-sex affections (to hold hands) while walking in public spaces, the researcher had to ensure, as far as possible, that the participants felt secure and at ease and that no negative outcomes came from their actions. To comply with these ethical concerns the participants were thoroughly informed on every detail of the workshop, and only after some days of reflecting on it they were asked to communicate on their decision whether they would participate or not. So that participants felt more comfortable and confident they decided on which location and with whom they participated on the workshop.

6. MAPPING THE LANDSCAPE

This phase of the research project aimed to map physical and online spaces of lesbian and gay visibility in Portugal and to explore same-sex displays of affection in public spaces. It consisted of a case study on people who experience discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation using a combination of extensive and participatory methods that included quantitative and qualitative elements (Figure 15). The methodological approach was based on online research methods: participative website, online survey and website analysis (Fielding, Lee & Blank, 2008). Semi-structured interviews were used to further explore the online research methods results (Limb & Dwyer, 2001).
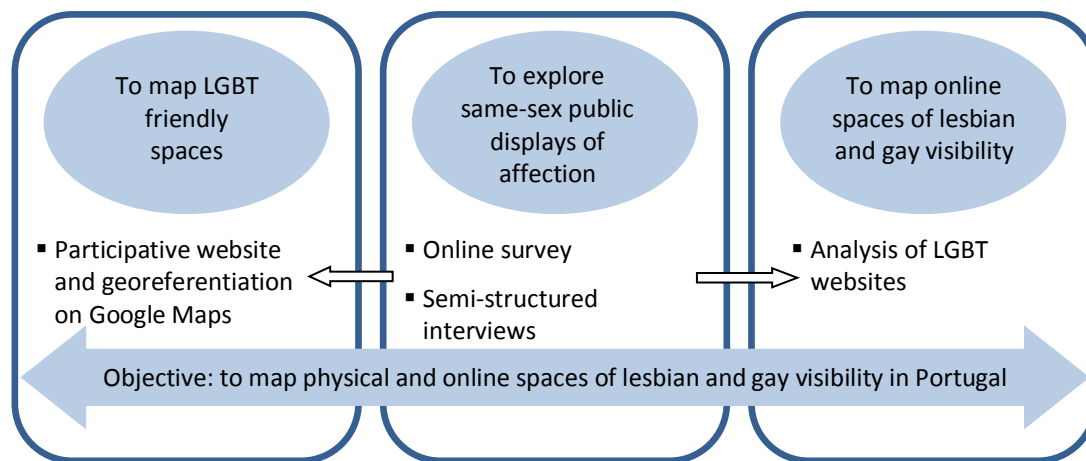
Figure 15 - 'Mapping the landscape' design

The **participative website**[36] aimed to create a comprehensive list of LGBT friendly commercial spaces in Portugal, and to identify their geographical distribution. The participative website consisted on a list of LGBT friendly commercial spaces, with user comments feature. The initial list was drawn from Portuguese LGBT related websites and leisure guides[37]. All listed spaces were georeferenced in Google Maps[38] providing a visual representation of their geographical distribution. The participative

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[36] http://sites.google.com/site/lgbvisibility/

[37] Portugal Gay (http://portugalgay.pt/guide/); Lisbon Guide (http://www.lisbon-guide.info/gay_lesbian/cafes_bars); Leisure Guide (http://lazer.publico.clix.pt/default.asp?id=29); Patroc Gay Travel Guide Europe (http://www.patroc.com/lisbon/bars.html); Portal Sair+ (http://www.sairmais.com/dossier/lisboa-gay-bares-e-discotecas-b7b4a018a8/)

[38] LGBT friendly spaces Google map (http://maps.google.com/maps/ms?ie=UTF8&hl=pt-PT&msa=0&msid=109329779124830060402.0004814d1ec777871e66a&ll=39.690281,-4.262695&spn=8.14757,19.665527&z=6)

website was publicized through Portuguese LGBT mailing lists, blogs, websites and social networks. People were invited to comment and share their ideas and experiences on the listed spaces, and/or to suggest new spaces.

The **online survey**[39] aimed to explore same-sex public displays of affection (such as kissing, caressing and hugging). Probability sampling is one of the major difficulties of online research methods, and it is particularly difficult with a population that is not clearly identified due to prevalent invisibility of lesbians and gays. In line with the objectives and framed by the case study on people who experience discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation, a non-probability sampling (Vehovar & Manfreda, 2008) was used. The pre-test of the online survey provided feedback on the survey's clarity and usability. Based on its results the online survey final version was designed using the *Survey Monkey[40]* web-based survey tool. The IP Blocking feature was active to prevent multiple answers from the same computer. The online survey had an introductory page with the purpose of the survey, the terms of anonymity and confidentiality and how the results would be used. Open access to researcher was provided through email address to answer questions about the survey. The survey items are identified in table 1 and the complete survey is in appendix 1.

Survey focus: same-sex public displays of affection (for example: kissing, caressing, hugging)	
▪ Personal attitude	open answer
▪ Frequency of behaviour	▫ In specific public spaces areas (near/away from local of residence/place of work) ▫ LGTB friendly/non friendly commercial spaces ▫ Open air public spaces
▪ Friendliness degree of "LGBT friendly commercial spaces" towards	▫ Women/men ▫ Lesbians/gays/bisexuals/heterosexuals ▫ Same-sex public displays of affection

Table 1 - 'Mapping the landscape' survey items

The call for participation on the online survey was publicized using Portuguese LGBT mailing lists, blogs, websites and social networks. Three calls for participation were issued at regular periods.

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[39] http://www.surveymonkey.com/s/LGBTvisibility

[40] http://www.surveymonkey.com

The **website analysis** objective was to map online Portuguese spaces of lesbian and gay visibility. The first step was the selection of the websites and blogs to analyse. A three level selection method (Figure 16) was used. Considering the analysis focus is on lesbian and gay visibility, the first level of selection consisted on LGBT Portuguese associations' websites. The second level consisted on LGBT associations' websites links, and the third level consisted on links from LGBT associations' websites links. The following criteria were applied to select the final list of websites: to be a Portuguese website; to have explicit content on sexual orientation issues; and to have been updated no longer than one year before the analysis period. Afterwards, another criterion was applied: to be referenced on at least two websites. This criterion aimed to restrict the websites to those which were more popular. Considering the objective was to map online spaces of lesbian and gay visibility to the public eyes, social networks (such as Facebook or Twitter) were not included given that they are restricted to its members.

1st level
LGBT
Associations

2nd level
Associations'
Websites links

3rd level
Links from
Associations'
Websites links
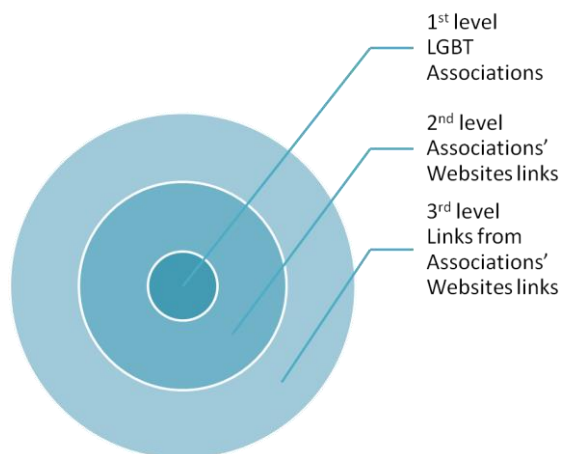
Figure 16 - Websites selection method

The websites analysis grid design was a crucial moment. The decision about which dimensions and indicators should be included was based on previous analysis of websites (Ferreira, 2007; Silva & Ferreira, 2007; Schneider & Foot, 2005). After the usability test and grid reformulation, the final version was designed. Table 2 displays the final version of the websites analysis grid items. The analysis grid together with the application guidelines are in appendix 2.

Identification	Site information	Homepage	Content	Links	Communication	Observations
Title	Website responsible/s	Homepage highlights	Personal	Links to other websites	Communication features	
URL	Website author/s	Graphic LGBT iconography	Sexual	Links related to LGBT websites		
Type	Website's content author/s	Homepage items	Social and political	Links related to non-LGBT websites		
Target public	Contact/s	Menu items (No. and content)	Academic / scientific	Links to LGBT associations		
No. of references to other listed websites	Website description		Entertainment	Broken links		
	Website objectives		Commercial / business			
	Website update date		Dating services			
	Website creation date		Activities			
			Resources			
			Not related to sexual orientation			

Table 2 - Websites analysis grid items

Websites were explored using the analysis grid within one week frame. The temporal factor is particularly important when analysing the World Wide Web, since it is a complex and rapidly changing reality and to grasp a snapshot of a specific area is a challenging task (Schneider & Foot, 2005).

The **semi-structured interviews** objective was to further explore the results of the participative website, online survey and website analysis. Some interviews were face-to-face and some were online, according to the participants' choice. Online semi-structured interviews have particular characteristics. The trustworthiness of the outcomes depends on the possibility to establish the authenticity of participants' perspectives. The recruitment method can contribute to assure participants' identities (James & Busher, 2009). The participants' recruitment used "snow ball" method of contacting respondents via other respondents. The researcher active participation in non-governmental LGBT rights associations gave easier access to the participants. All

participants were informed of the project content and purpose, and the privacy and confidentiality of the interviews were guaranteed. Participants provided their informed consent to the use of their interviews' data. The online interviews used the text and audio features of Skype and Windows Live Messenger (MSN). The audio based interviews were recorded using the program vEmotion[41]. All of the interviews lasted between one and two hours. These were taped, transcribed and then analysed using conventional social science techniques (Jackson, 2001).

The field work of 'Mapping the landscape' was conducted from March 8th through June 25th 2010. The table 3 presents the field work chronogram with a detailed overview of all the steps.

		Participative website	Online survey	LGBT websites analysis	Semi-structured interviews
March	8 - 20	LGBT friendly spaces website design, and georeferentiation on Google map	Pre-test online survey design		
	21 - 31	Call for comments on LGBT Portuguese mailing lists and social networks	Online survey pre-test	LGBT websites selection	
April	1 - 4	Comments period	Online survey final version		
	5 - 23	Information update; final list of LGBT friendly spaces and georeferentiation on Google map	Call for participation on LGBT Portuguese mailing lists and social networks	Website grid analysis design, trial and reformulation	
	24 - 30		2nd call for participation	LGBT websites analysis	
May	1 - 25		3rd call for participation		
	26 - 31		Online survey deadline		
June	1 - 25				Semi-structured interviews – face to face and online

Table 3 - Field work chronogram

The **participative website** was open to comments from March 21st to April 4th 2010 and had 34 comments. The initial list of LGBT friendly commercial spaces had 57 spaces in 4 cities. Only spaces referred in at least two online guides were included. Based on the participative website comments' 27 new spaces and 5 new cities were added to the initial list. One space left the list for the reason that it is no longer active.

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[41] http://www.voiceemotion.com/

The same rule of at least two references was applied to the comments of the participative website. The final LGBT friendly commercial spaces list had 83 spaces and 9 cities.

The **online survey** was opened during the period from April 5th to May 31st 2010 and received 288 valid answers. In line with the research objective, analysis of survey results only considered the answers of respondents identifying themselves as homosexuals or bisexuals. From a total of 288 valid answers, 252 identified themselves as homosexual or bisexual. The respondents' characterization is specified on table 4 and their geographical distribution is illustrated on figure 17. The analysis of the online survey was based on the answers of the 252 self-identified homosexuals and bisexuals.

Sex							
Female	**181**	Male	**107**				
Sexual Orientation							
Homosexual	**203**	Bisexual	**49**	Heterosexual	**32**	Other	**4**
Education							
Primary	**12**	Secondary	**95**	Graduate	**124**	Postgraduate	**57**
Age							
< 20	**52**	20 – 29	**131**	30 - 39	**56**	40 - 49	**37**	50 - 59	**11**	> 60	**1**

Table 4 - Survey respondents' characterization

Figure 17 - Survey respondents' geographical distribution

The initial selection of **LGBT websites** had 65 websites: 9 LGBT associations' websites, 23 informal LGBT groups' websites and 33 personal blogs (in this category there are only blogs). After the selection criterion of being referenced on at least two websites was applied, the final sample ended up with 49 websites: 9 LGBT associations' websites, 17 informal LGBT groups' websites and 23 personal blogs (the complete list is on appendix 3). The LGBT websites analysis occurred from April 24th to April 30th 2010.

The **semi-structured interviews** were conducted during June 2010 with 8 participants: 6 online and 2 face-to-face. The duration of the interviews was around one hour and half each. The choice between face-to-face or online interviews was made

based on participants' geographical location or time availability. The participants in online interviews could choose what type of communication they preferred: text or audio. The participants' characterization is presented in table 5.

Sex	Age	Sexual Orientation	Area of Residence	Education	Professional Occupation	Type of interview
Male	20	Gay	Aveiro	Graduate	Master student	Online / text
Female	22	Bisexual	Loulé	Graduate	Social worker	Online / audio
Female	24	Lesbian	Tavira	Graduate	Psychologist	Online / audio
Female	25	Lesbian	Lisbon	Master	PhD student	Online / text
Male	28	Gay	Viseu	Secondary	Sales professional	Online / text
Male	39	Gay	Porto	Secondary	Website designer	Online / audio
Female	45	Lesbian	Lisbon	Graduate	Biologist	Face-to-face
Male	48	Gay	Lisbon	PhD	Professor	Face-to-face

Table 5 - Interviews participants' characterization

This multi-method approach produced quantitative and qualitative data and the results analysis triangulated data from all methods. Descriptive statistics analysis was used on quantitative data.

6.1. Mapping LGBT friendly spaces

The "LGBT friendly" expression is used to refer to an environment that is friendly towards LGBT people. LGBT friendly commercial spaces are listed in lesbian and gay's websites and publications in order to inform about specific spaces that are open and welcoming to LGBT.

Mapping LGBT spaces countrywide is a challenging task and one had to take into consideration the time span of the data collection. Commercial spaces are a changing reality: bars and cafes open and close quite often. This research used a participative method in order to grasp people's perception, besides websites and publications' information.

The final LGBT friendly commercial spaces list had 83 spaces and 9 cities (data from April 2010). Although Portugal is a small country, to have only 83 identified LGBT friendly commercial spaces is a revealing number. It is indeed a deserted landscape. Most of the districts and the islands of Azores and Madeira don´t have any identified LGBT friendly commercial space. Their geographical distribution (Figure 18)

is enlightening, 61,4% of these commercial spaces are in Lisbon area (the Portuguese main city) and 18,1% are in Porto (the second larger Portuguese city). This distribution draws a clear picture of an urban reality. The numbers on the map correspond to each district. The LGBT friendly commercial spaces are not evenly distributed on the district. They are located on urban and suburban areas. These spaces are completely inexistent on small cities and rural areas.
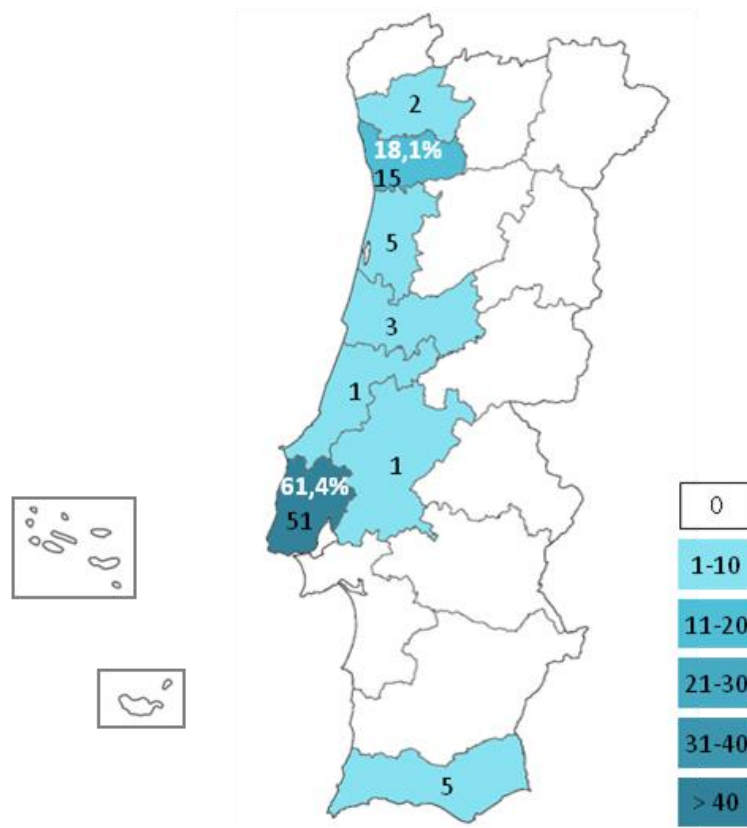

Figure 18 - Geographical distribution of LGBT friendly commercial spaces (N=83)

The georeferentiation in Google Maps of the listed spaces[42] reveals some interesting information. In large cities, such as Lisbon and Porto, there are specific concentration areas of LGBT friendly commercial spaces, as figure 19 and 20 illustrate.

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[42] LGBT friendly spaces Google map (http://goo.gl/maps/J3Svz)
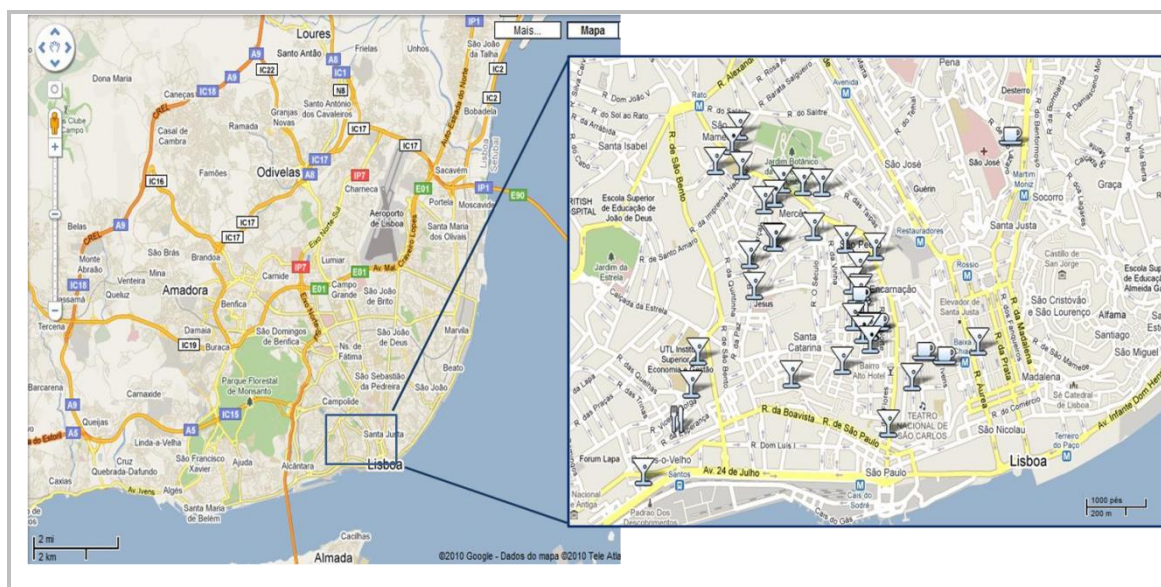
Figure 19 - Geographical concentration of LGBT friendly commercial spaces in Lisbon
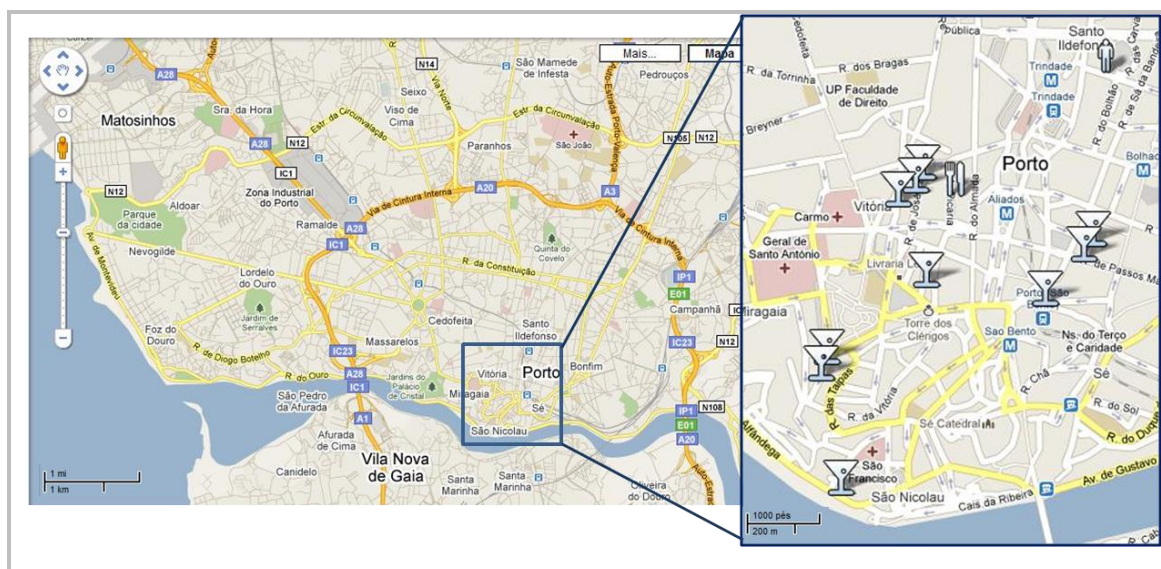
Figure 20 - Geographical concentration of LGBT friendly commercial spaces in Porto

The prevalence of LGBT friendly commercial spaces in urban areas was also commented in semi-structured interviews[43].

> *"Here, where I live it is very difficult to go out at night, but I know lots of LGBT friendly bars in Lisbon and Porto, but Portugal is not only Lisbon and Porto, and that is a problem. When I want to have some fun without having to worry about people I go to Porto. The proximity of Porto[44] makes that LGBT people*

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[43] All quotations of participants words are direct transcripts of oral language, translated from Portuguese to English

[44] Researcher note: about 75 km

from Viseu prefer to go away from their city and go to Porto bars." Semi-structured interview: Gay, 28 years, Viseu

It is worth mentioning that in Portugal there are no clearly identified LGBT residential areas, as one can find in other countries. The only LGBT identified areas in Portugal consist of commercial spaces, such as bars and cafes (Vieira, 2011).

LGBT friendly spaces are considered to be safe and comfortable to LGBT sexualities. This is the definition of the expression. **But do lesbians and gays feel safe and comfortable in these spaces?**

Survey respondents were asked about in which type of commercial spaces ("*Non-LGBT friendly*" or "*LGBT friendly*") do they usually have same-sex public displays of affection. The results (Figure 21) indicate that most of respondents (92,5%) perform these behaviours in LGBT friendly spaces. Although it is interesting to highlight that 51,3% of the respondents also declare performing same-sex public displays of affection in spaces not identified or perceived to be LGBT friendly[45].
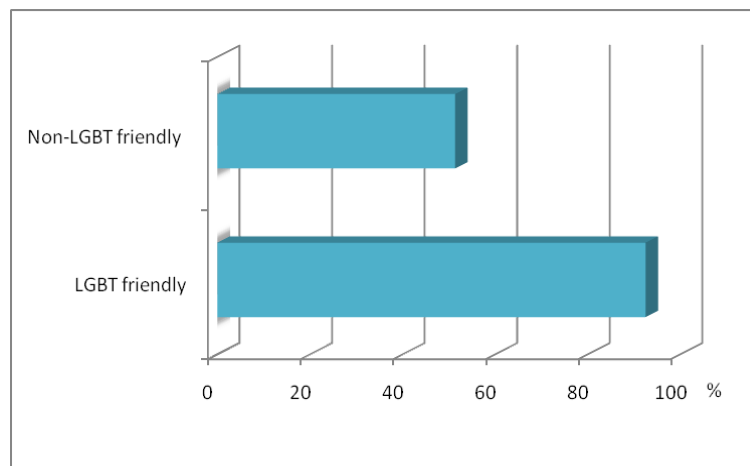
Figure 21 - Answers to the survey question "In what type of commercial spaces do you have same-sex public displays of affection?"

Semi-structured interviews corroborate these results.

"On LGBT friendly spaces it is easier; it is quite rare to have these behaviours in non-LGBT spaces, it may depend on the people that are present. But if it is a LGBT friendly space I don´t have any problems." Semi-structured interview: Gay, 39 years, Porto

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[45] On the next section (6.2. Exploring same-sex public displays of affection) these results will be further explored.

To explore the perception of LGBT friendly commercial spaces as friendly to different groups of people ("*Women and Men*", "L*esbians, Gays, Bisexuals and Heterosexuals*") and to same-sex public displays of affection, the survey presented questions with a rating scale: 1 = not friendly at all; 2 = not friendly; 3 = friendly; 4 = very friendly (Figure 22).
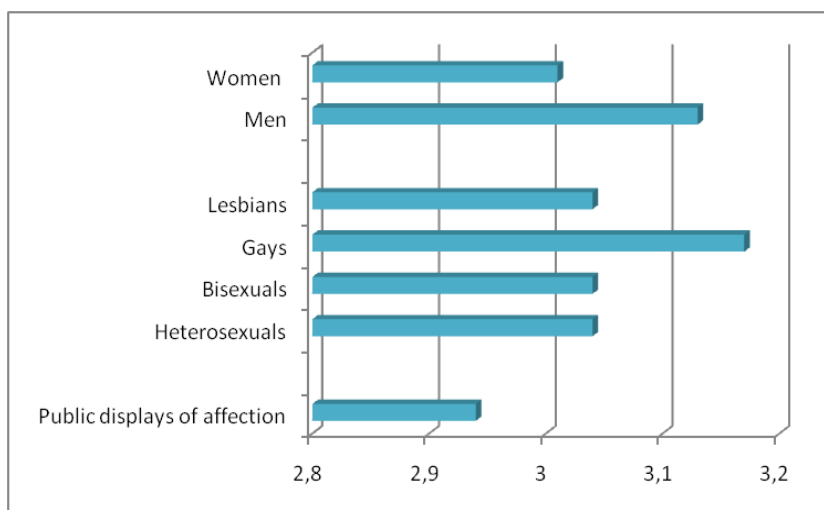

Figure 22 – Rating scale average of the survey question "How do you rate commercial spaces identified as LGBT friendly, in terms of being friendly to: women, men | lesbians, gays, bisexuals, heterosexuals | public displays of affection?"

The category "Men" has a higher rating average than the category "Women", and the category "Gays" score higher than the categories "Lesbians", "Bisexuals" and "Heterosexuals". One can say that according to respondents' perceptions, the Portuguese LGBT friendly commercial spaces are more "gay friendly".

In relation to same-sex public displays of affection 21,6% of the respondents consider LGBT friendly commercial spaces to be 'not friendly at all' or 'not friendly'. Considering that LGBT commercial spaces are among the few public spaces where lesbians and gays feel comfortable to perform same-sex public displays of affection (see p. 77), this result is even more significant.

The survey's results are in line with the information on LGBT friendly commercial spaces of PortugalGay.com[46], a Portuguese LGBT portal with the most comprehensive directory of LGBT friendly spaces in Portugal. The directory has an interesting data: information on regular attendees with a code of graphic symbols (Figure 23).

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[46] www.portugalgay.com

Figure 23 - Symbols used on PortugalGay.com directory

The analysis of the information in this directory (Figure 24) shows us that most listed spaces have regular gay attendees. It is interesting to consider the higher frequency of heterosexuals when compared to bisexuals and transsexuals.
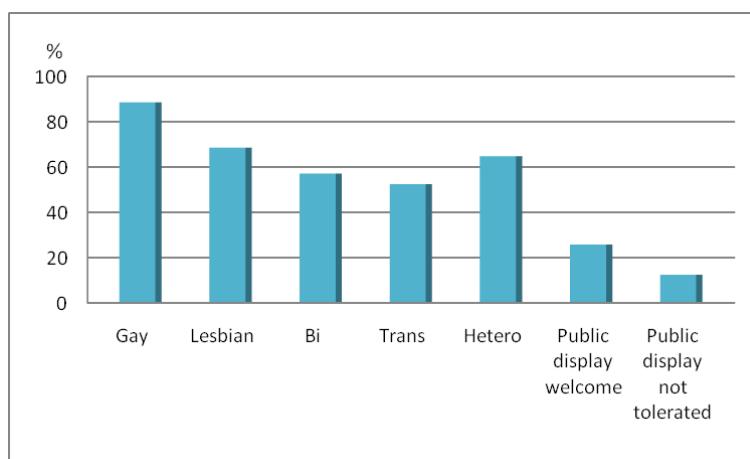

Figure 24 - Information on regular attendees of LGBT friendly spaces available on PortugalGay.com directory

A significant result is the existence of 10% of LGBT friendly spaces identified as "Public display not tolerated" and only 26% identified as "Public display welcome"[47]. To better understand these data the coordinator of PortugalGay.com was interviewed, and it was clear that the data on regular attendees was based on users' comments and commercial spaces owners' information, and not on a well-established and reliable method. Nevertheless it is noteworthy that the information on PortugalGay.com is in line with the findings of this research.

The perception of LGBT friendly spaces as not so friendly to same-sex public displays of affection was also identified in semi-structured interviews.

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[47] The remaining 64% spaces do not have information about 'public display'

"On spaces that are clearly LGBT friendly it is easy to have affective behaviours towards same-sex people. However on LGBT friendly spaces, although there might be a majority of LGBT people inside, the managers may not want to drive off heterosexuals and assume a discretion policy towards same-sex public displays of affection." Semi-structured interview: Lesbian, 24 years, Tavira

Summarizing, the map of LGBT friendly spaces in Portugal is a deserted landscape with an urban touch. LGBT friendly commercial spaces are concentrated in Lisbon and Porto, with scattered spaces in some small cities. Most of Portugal's districts do not have any LGBT friendly commercial space, neither non-urban areas. In large urban areas, such as Lisbon and Porto, there are specific concentrated areas of LGBT friendly commercial spaces. According to respondents' perceptions, LGBT friendly commercial spaces are more gay friendly spaces, than lesbian friendly or bisexual friendly, and they are not so friendly to same-sex public displays of affection.

6.2. Exploring same-sex public displays of affection

One of the objectives of this research was to explore same-sex displays of affection in public spaces. The online survey had a specific question on this issue and the semi-structured interviews' information provided a more in depth analysis. Comments to survey answers and quotations from the interviewees are presented alongside with results explanation.

The online survey had a rating scale question "Do you have same-sex public displays of affection?" (Figure 25), which included a text comment. The rating scale was from 1 = never to 5 = always. The question had an additional descriptive text: kissing, caressing or hugging[48], to the expression "public displays of affection".

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[48] All online survey's questions regarding same-sex public displays of affection had this descriptive text
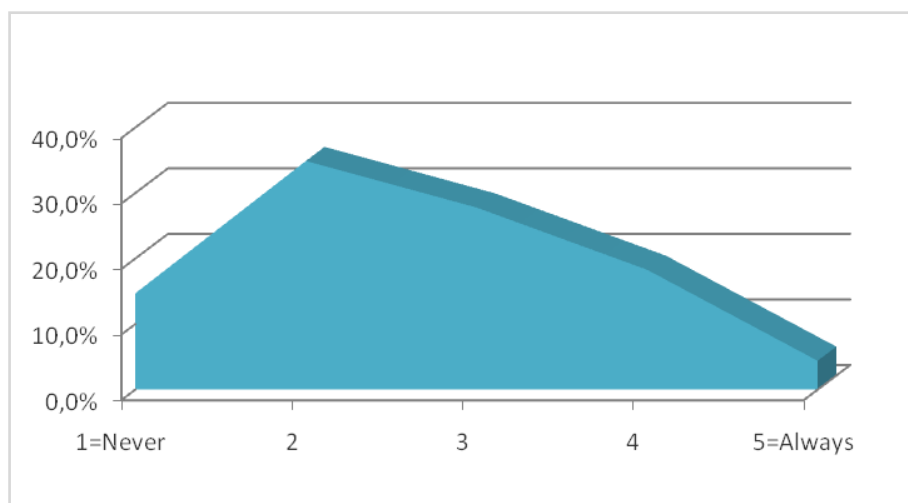
Figure 25 - Answers to the survey question "Do you have same-sex public displays of affection?"

Almost 50% (49,6%) of the answers are on the scale points 1 and 2. Only 22,6% answered with a 4 or 5. The rating average is 2,6 (inferior to the medium value). The percentages of the answers indicate that same-sex public displays of affection are not common amongst the survey's respondents (homosexuals and bisexuals).

"I usually have these behaviours on private spaces, for instance at home, or public spaces known to be LGBT friendly." Gay, 25 years, Lisbon

"Only in LGBT friendly spaces or isolated public spaces where no one is watching." Bisexual man, 32 years, Aveiro

"I would like to have these behaviours more often without being afraid of comments." Lesbian, 36 years, Porto

Fear of discrimination was the most strong and common reason for deciding not to have same-sex public displays of affection.

"If my sexual orientation was public it might endanger my parents' jobs, since Fafe is a very narrow-minded, ignorant and homophobic city." Gay, 18 years, Fafe

"From the moment that I got a job I am more cautious about being open in public spaces where I eventually may be seen." Lesbian, 27 years, Lisbon

"I am not visible because of the Portuguese mentality, mostly of my family. I don´t have bisexual behaviours in front of just anyone … if someday I am to be

visible, it is because everything has changed! Who knows, someday ..." Bisexual, 34 years, Faro

Some respondents point out that they should not confront others given that society is not ready yet (which can be identified as internalized homophobia[49]).

"We respect mostly children and elder people. Children because for them it would be awkward to see two women together, because of the heterosexual society they live in. Elder people because they were educated in the idea that: "women are made for men, because this is what God wants." Lesbian, 41 years, Lisbon

Some mention the importance of their partners' personal attitude towards visibility because the open expression of sexuality is always a joint decision.

"We avoid doing it in our parents' presence or in the presence of people that we don't want to disclose our sexual orientation to, or that may feel uncomfortable or make us uncomfortable. My girlfriend has more problems with visibility than me, and I try to respect her. If a family with children is around, for instance, she is more cautious." Semi-structured interview: Lesbian, 25 years, Lisbon

Only a small percentage of the respondents reported feeling that they have the right to express their affection regardless of other people's reaction or society's respect for diversity.

"Although it is frequent to see people shocked with same-sex public displays of affection, I don't think I should be deprived of demonstrating my affection publically, just as any other heterosexual couples." Gay, 36 years, Lisbon

"Nowadays people still have a very narrow-mind towards homosexuals, and even if I feel a bit bothered with others' people reactions I am not going to give up hugging or kissing my girlfriend in public spaces if I have the same rights as hetero couples." Lesbian, 32 years, Porto

To deepen the understanding of lesbian and gay visibilities, the survey asked about what kind of public spaces are perceived as safe to perform same-sex displays of

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[49] Among lesbians, gay men, and bisexuals, internalized sexual stigma (also called internalized homophobia) refers to the personal acceptance and endorsement of sexual stigma as part of the individual's value system and self-concept. It is the counterpart to sexual prejudice among heterosexuals (Herek, Gillis & Cogan, 2009).

affection. This question has multiple and diverse answers, but some trends emerge from its analysis:

- The importance of space - proximity to place of residence or work restrains same-sex public displays of affection given that most of the respondents do not want to be identified as lesbians or gays by people with whom they interact daily:

"As long that it is not near my home or work, I think that it is possible to have same-sex affective behaviours everywhere." Gay, 24 years, Lisbon

"Away from my home area; all over the country." Bisexual, 29 years, Aveiro

"I think that it is because I think it is possible to run into someone that I know but that I am not really close, and later I will have to deal with their reactions, a kind of "white elephant" that stays. For instance I don´t want to meet my landlord in Aveiro, or a colleague from high school in Maia (note: he used to live in Maia and now he is studying in the University of Aveiro)." Gay, 20 years, Aveiro

- Spaces identified as LGBT friendly - like some beaches or nightlife areas in large cities characterized by a sense of anonymity, are facilitators of same-sex public displays of affection:

"Beaches whose frequency is people with no problems or taboos; on the streets at night in Lisbon, in some places like Bairro Alto[50]; or other European cities." Gay, 31 years, Lisbon

"Honestly? I don´t think that any public space is safe, outside LGBT friendly identified spaces." Lesbian, 41 years, Faro

- Not just space is important, some specific space/time events are considered safer – public spaces that usually are not considered LGBT friendly, but that at specific times become so, such as during Pride events or LGBT film festivals:

"Open air parties away from my locality, that are LGBT identified and that are at night, for instance Pride in Lisbon." Lesbian, 29 years, Lisbon

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[50] A Lisbon's area of concentration of LGBT friendly bars

- Away from "others' eyes" - isolated public spaces away from "other people's eyes" are considered safer for same-sex public displays of affection:

"The more hidden spaces in the street, or in parks." Gay, 43 years, Setúbal

"Gardens and beaches with few people, preferably with no one around." Gay, 23 years, Coimbra

"Away from cities, with almost nobody around, like valleys, mountains or beaches' dunes." Gay, 34 years, Santarém

"Public gardens and parks, but only when there is almost nobody around." Gay, 25 years, Porto

"Places where I feel that I am not being watched." Lesbian, 26 years, Lisbon

- "Restrained and not provocative or ostensive" behaviour makes it safer - only women present this type of answer - one must consider that in the Portuguese cultural context public displays of affection between women are very common:

"Any space can be safe as long as behaviours are natural and not provoking." Lesbian, 45 years, Braga

"As long as I don´t do these behaviours in an ostensive way, I can do it anywhere I feel like it, without worrying with others." Lesbian, 34 years, Leiria

- Noteworthy is the ever present unsafe feeling associated with same-sex public displays of affection:

"The fact that I have had these behaviours in open air spaces does not mean that I feel safe, I always felt insecure while doing it; in spite of this I did not restrain myself and did it anyway." Lesbian, 32 years, Lisbon

"It never is completely safe, so when I do it I always take the risk of listening to nasty comments or feel that I am being stared at by others." Lesbian, 27 years, Porto

Analysing the results according to age did not reveal noteworthy differences (Figure 26). Considering that people under 30 years old lived their teenage years during the decade of 1990 and that from then on there was a significant increase of LGBT associations and comprehensive legal changes in Portugal (Ferreira & Silva, 2011) one would expect a higher percentage of younger lesbians, gays and bisexual people having

same-sex public displays of affection. The Eurobarometer on discrimination in the EU (European Commission, 2012) reveals that the younger citizens perceive the discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation as being more widespread than the older citizens, and one might assume that a greater awareness of the risk of being discriminated can contribute to a more cautious/defensive behaviour in public spaces.
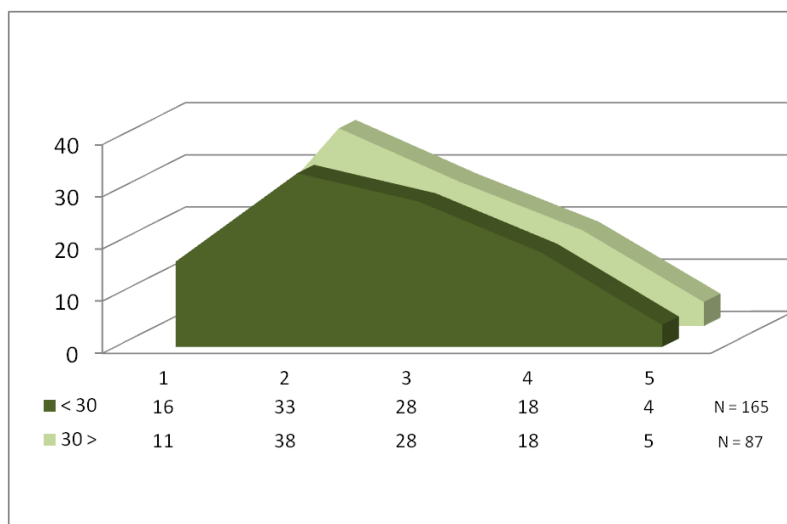

	1	2	3	4	5	
< 30	16	33	28	18	4	N = 165
30 >	11	38	28	18	5	N = 87

Figure 26 - Answers to the survey question "Do you have same-sex public displays of affection?" by age (less than and over 30 years old)

The specific sociological context of Portugal, namely the dependence on family bonds and the non-cosmopolitism of its cities are significant factors that inhibit individual processes of autonomy, namely in what concerns non normative behaviours.

"It is still very problematic; visibility in public space is the last thing to change, it is not the first, and in Portugal this is quite evident. In large countries with large cosmopolitan cities, there is a process of internal migration that allows the complete removal from your place of origin and that allows visibility. If you have a culture or social structure that is based on the complete autonomy of people and in the market as the U.S. or in the dependence of the state as the Nordic countries, you're free to do lots of things, including being visible as an homosexual; but not in Portugal. Here there is a dependency on family, economical and emotional, that makes visibility very, very difficult. If you join all these factors, which in Portugal are all negative, not a cosmopolitan country, family dependence, little individual autonomy in the market and poor protection of the state, you have people unable to be visible. It is exactly in this kind of countries that it is important to have legislative changes to promote social

changes. It is still a terrible situation, but it is now beginning to have some changes." Semi-structured interview: Gay, 48 years, Lisbon

Analysing the results of diverse sexual orientations it is noteworthy that lesbian and bisexuals report more same-sex public displays of affection when compared to gays (Figure 27).
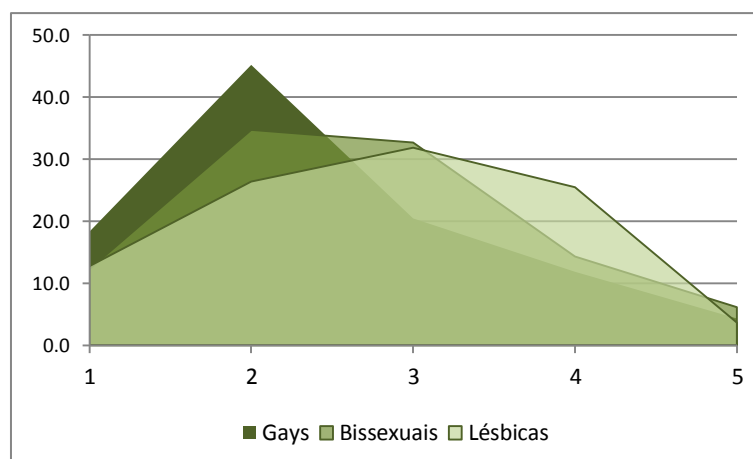
Figure 27 - Answers to the survey question "Do you have same-sex public displays of affection?" by sexual orientation

In Portuguese society, affective behaviours between women are more common than between men. It is common to see two women hug and hold hands. Women greet each other with a kiss on the face, while men hold hands. This cultural context may facilitate public displays of affection between women, although this does not mean that lesbians feel comfortable or safe.

"I am aware that if I am on the street and I hold hands or embrace my sister or cousin, nobody knows what type of relationship it is, but I just cannot have the same kind of behaviours with my girlfriend, no matter how simple and asexual they might be, I just cannot, I always think that people will see and understand that we are girlfriends." Semi-structured interview: Lesbian, 45 years, Lisbon

It is worth mentioning that some of the interviewees who "came out" to their families, friends or co-workers, also revealed difficulties on having same-sex public displays of affection. The process of "coming out" is a complex and difficult process in which individuals negotiate space/time strategies such as deciding not to have same-sex public displays of affection (Valentine, 1993b).

One of the survey's objectives was to draw a map of friendly spaces to same-sex public displays of affection. The survey had a specific question inquiring about public

spaces where respondents perform same-sex displays of affection. This question presented a matrix of possible answers crossing geographical areas ["*Away from your locality*", "*In your locality away from your area of residence and work*", "*In your area of residence and work*"] with types of spaces ["*Street*", "*Gardens/Parks*", *"Beaches"*, *"Malls"*, "*Public institutions (schools, hospitals, government offices, ...)*", "*Commercial spaces (restaurants, bars, cafes, ...)*"].
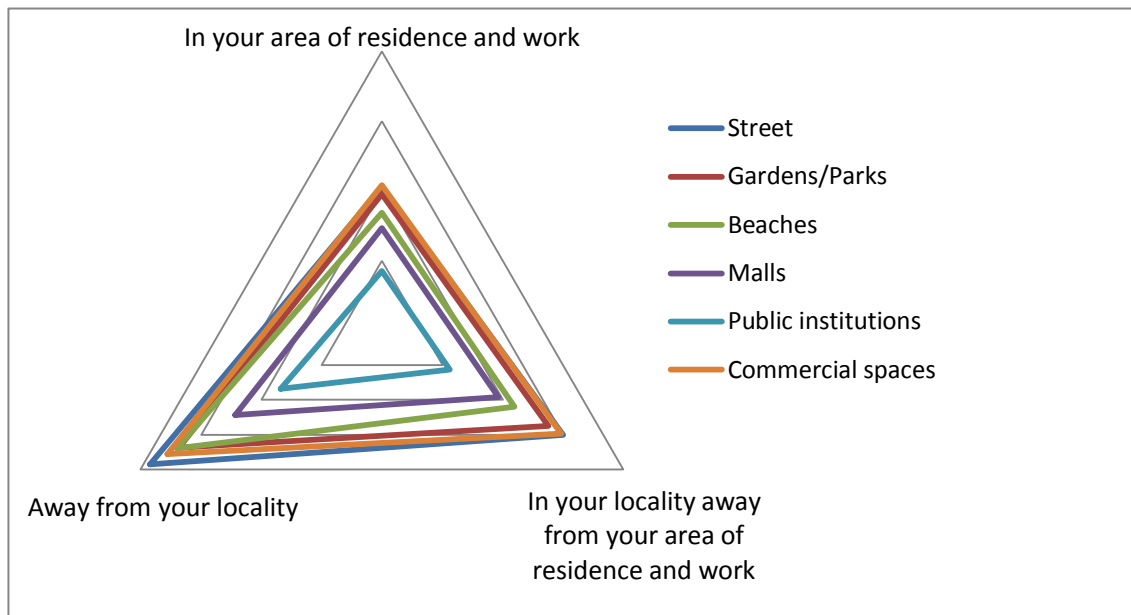

Figure 28 - Answers to the survey question "In what geographical areas/types of spaces do you have same-sex public displays of affection?" (multiple choice question)

This question's results (Figure 28) illustrate that respondents perform same-sex public displays of affection predominantly in geographical areas away from their locality, and in their locality preferably away from their area of residence or work. Public institutions are the type of spaces with the lower frequency of same-sex public displays of affection, regardless of their geographical location.

> *"The decision to perform same-sex public displays of affection depends on what city I am, or if I am in an area where I might meet someone that I am familiar with and that I don't want to identify me as a bisexual. If I am in a place where I don't know anyone, then I don't have any problems, but if I am in a place where I know many people than I seldom have these behaviours. This is also because my girlfriend does not like to expose herself."* Semi-structured interview: Bisexual, 22 years, Loulé

The importance of residence and work spaces dictates the need for personal maps of lesbian and gay visibility. If one was to draw a map of friendly spaces to same-

sex public displays of affection, one would have to draw as many maps as individuals. There would be no single map that would meet the specificities of each individual. Probably only some bars zones in large urban areas would be common spaces to all personal maps.

6.3. Mapping online spaces of lesbian and gay visibility

The websites analysis of Portuguese LGBT websites and blogs aimed to map online spaces of lesbian and gay visibility. After applying the selection methodology (see p. 69), the websites sample had 49 websites and blogs (Figure 29): 9 LGBT
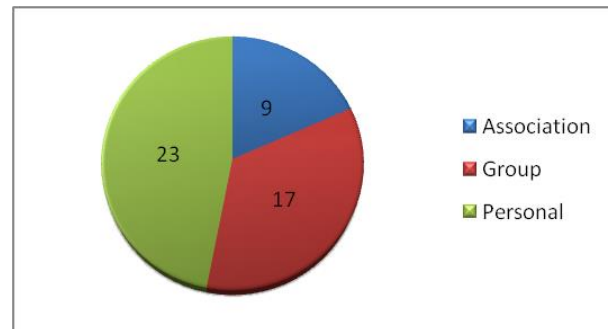
Figure 29 - Websites sample

associations' websites, 17 informal LGBT groups' websites and 23 personal blogs (in this category there are no websites, only blogs). These results report to the period of the websites analysis, 24th to 30th of April 2010.

All the websites and blogs were examined using the analysis grid (see p. 70). The first noteworthy result is the dominant invisibility of **personal identification**. Only 46,9% (23) of the 49 websites have personal identification of their authors. Associations have 100% (9) and Groups have 58,8% (10) websites with personal identification, but only 17,4% (4) of Personal blogs have personal identification. Associations and Groups' leaders perform public activities and speak out for LGBT rights, but away from activism there is a dominant landscape of invisibility. Given the absence of personal identification in most websites and blogs, it is not possible to map separately lesbians, gays and bisexuals presence online.

Websites' objectives are clearly stated in Associations and Groups, but 69,6% (16) out of 23 Personal blogs don´t mention their purpose nor have a description of the blog's content.

Personal identification and websites' objectives are the major differences between Associations and Groups' websites and Personal blogs.

The presence of **LGBT symbols**[51] is not significant. As much as 57,1% (28) of the 49 websites don´t have any LGBT symbols, and when present almost all are limited to rainbow colours and often in a very subtle way.

Homepages' highlights are the most viewed information on websites and blogs. After copying to a word document all homepages' highlights from websites and all the posts in the first page from blogs, the words used were counted using Vocabulary Grabber software[52] (Table 6).

Associations		Groups		Personal	
Gay	5	Gay	4	Festival	5
Court	4	Sexual	4	Com' Out	4
Network	3	Debate	3	Portugal	4
Sexual	3	Online	3	Gay	3
Debate	2	Cinema	2	Lisbon	3
Pope	2	Civil	2	Time	3
		Moral	2	Love	2
		Pope	2	Cinema	2
		Portugal	2	Debate	2
				Queer	2

Table 6 - List of words with more than 2 occurrences in homepages' highlights

"Gay" is the only word that is present in the list of all types of websites (Associations, Groups and Personal). Although the "Gay" word is sometimes used as synonymous of LGBT it is noteworthy that the words "Lesbian", "Bisexual" or "Transgender" are not present in the highlights of the homepages.

"Sexual", "Debate", "Pope", "Cinema" and "Portugal" are the words present in at least two types of websites. The Pope's visit (May 11th to May 14th 2010) was close to the time spam of websites analysis (April 24th to April 30th 2010). This temporal proximity may explain the presence of the "Pope" word in Associations and Groups' websites.

The absence of the word "Marriage" is interesting since Portugal was in the midst of the process of approval of same-sex marriage. The law was approved by the Assembly of the Republic in February 2010 and in May 17th 2010 the President of the

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[51] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/LGBT_symbols

[52] http://www.visualthesaurus.com/vocabgrabber/

Republic ratified it. The most active time of discussion was before February, nevertheless it would be expected more highlights on this subject.

The content of websites and blogs was classified according to the categories listed in Table 7.

Type of content	Description
Personal	Content about personal aspects of private life / moods, feelings, personal stories …
Sexual	Explicit sexual content, register if it is text, photos, …
Social and political	Information on social and political issues, opinions and discussions on civil rights issues
Academic / scientific	Academic or scientific issues related with sexual orientation issues
Entertainment	Leisure information (shows, movies, famous people gossips, ...)
Commercial / business	Information on commercial services, publicity or direct access to services
Dating services	Explicit dating services, with access to databases information
Activities	Information on activities organized by the website's responsible, or divulgation of others activities
Resources	Resources related with sexual orientation issues and directly accessed through the website (documents, multimedia, ...)
Not related to sexual orientation issues	Every content not related to sexual orientation

Table 7 - Type of content description

The **type of content** of websites and blogs is reported in Figure 30. The most striking result is the high incidence of "Social and political" content in Associations and Groups' websites and Personal blogs. It is particularly relevant the high frequency on Personal blogs, pointing to a rather political lesbian and gay online landscape.
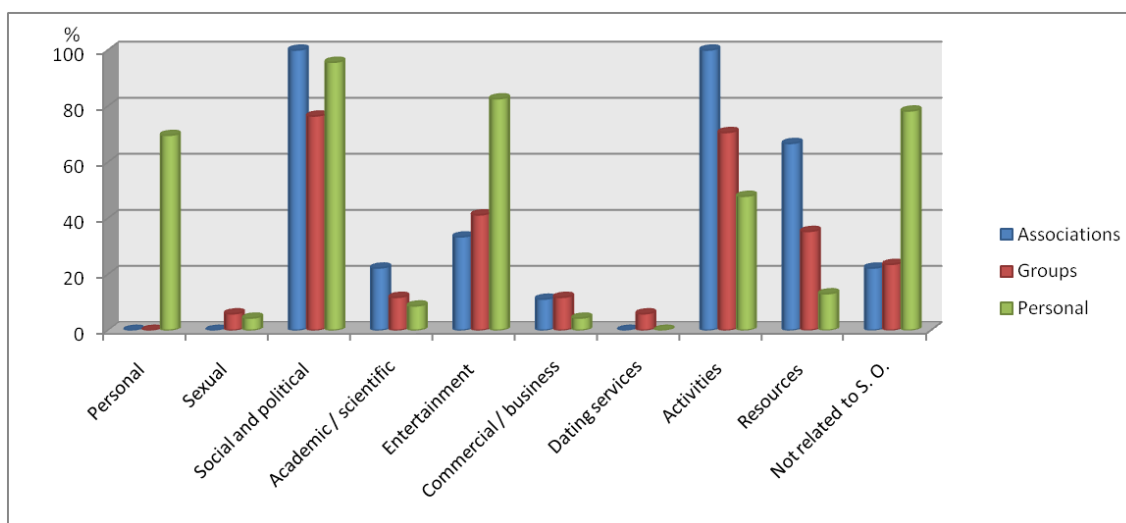
Figure 30 - Type of content frequency

Association's websites have more "Activities" and "Resources" content than other type of websites, what is consistent with their purposes and activist work. "Personal", "Entertainment" and "Not-related to sexual orientation" contents are more frequent in Personal blogs. Personal blogs have a more diverse type of content what is consistent with their specific nature; they are the product of a wide diversity of individuals. "Commercial/Business" content is almost inexistent on all the websites and blogs analysed. This result is consistent with the fact that the LGBT reality in Portugal does not have a significant commercial expression (Santos, 2005). "Academic/scientific" content does not have a significant presence on the websites and blogs analysed, although there is a website, LES Online - Digital Journal on Lesbian Issues[53], exclusively dedicated to publish scientific research. Noteworthy is the low incidence of "Sexual" content and "Dating services" on all websites and blogs, since this type of contents are frequently associated with LGBT online (Wakeford, 2002).

In what concerns **communication features** there are not many options. The large majority of websites only use email to communicate with visitors, and blogs have the feature "comments to posts". There are some isolated exceptions in Associations and Groups' websites that are summarized in table 8. Some Associations and Groups may have a presence in social networks but don´t display that information in their websites.

	Forums	Guestbook	Chat	Social networks	Mailing lists
Associations	3	1		1	4
Groups			1	3	2

Table 8 - Communication features in websites

The average number of posts per day gives us an idea of **blogs activity**. Most blogs (Groups and Personal) have an average of 1 post every two days, which indicates a regular online activity. There is a personal blog that emerges as a particularly active one: "Os tempos que correm"[54], with an average of 5 posts per day. This is the personal blog of a gay activist, Miguel Vale de Almeida that was by the time of the websites analysis a member of the Assembly of Republic.

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[53] http://www.lespt.org/lesonline

[54] http://blog.miguelvaledealmeida.net/

Analysing the **comments to posts** in the first page of blogs it is interesting to note that there is a large number of blogs with an average of more than one comment to post: 5,9% (1) Group and 56,5% (13) Personal blogs. There are two Personal blogs that must be mentioned, Tangas Lésbicas[55] and Estrela Minha[56] with an average of more than 10 comments to posts.

The average number of **Links** is significantly different according to the type of websites. Associations have an average of 30 links, Groups have an average of 50 links and Personal blogs have an average of 100 links.

There are some websites not included in this research sample but that must be mentioned due to theirs specificity:

- Two commercial websites, which constitutes a novelty in the Portuguese LGBT context: Loja Chegay[57], an online store with clothes with LGBT symbols, and Happy Sensations[58] a company that organizes events to LGBT people, including same-sex marriages.

- A very active forum[59] of a LGBT youth association, Rede ex-aequo, that has 9542 members, 8355 topics, 731431 messages, and has an average of 481 messages per day (numbers retrieved on 30th April 2010).

Summarizing these results it is possible to draw a map of the Portuguese landscape of lesbian and gay life online. It is an active landscape with a dominant trait of social and political issues, where words prevail over graphic symbols, wrapped up on a veil of personal invisibility.

Online identities allow reflexivity and choice in terms of self-presentations (Bell, 2001a) and it is common to have online made-up identities. But in this case it is particularly relevant the prevalence of personal invisibility in Personal blogs, since invisibility is such an important issue to lesbians and gays. The possibility of not sharing personal information online allows lesbians and gays to share their experience

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[55] http://tangaslesbicas.wordpress.com/

[56] http://estrelaminha.wordpress.com/

[57] http://www.chegay.pt/

[58] http://atuaempresa.blogspot.com/

[59] http://www.rea.pt/forum/

as homosexuals, but at the same time safeguard their privacy. LGBT Portuguese online space is a space of liberty but not of personal visibility.

6.4. Conclusions

'Mapping the landscape' objective was to map physical and online spaces of lesbian and gay visibility in Portugal and to explore same-sex displays of affection in public spaces. The research focused on same-sex public displays of affection given that they are observable behaviours and as such one can assume that the decision to display these behaviours is interrelated with the individual's perception of public spaces as discriminatory to non-heterosexual sexualities.

Mapping LGBT friendly commercial spaces in Portugal revealed that most of these spaces are concentrated in Lisbon and Porto and that the rest of the country is a deserted landscape. Considering that lesbians and gays openly express their affections mostly at LGBT friendly spaces, it is significant that some of these spaces are perceived by the participants as not so welcoming to same-sex public displays of affection. Also noteworthy is the perception of these spaces as more gay friendly spaces, than lesbian or bisexual friendly.

The analysis of the online survey results and semi-structured interviews reveal that same-sex public displays of affection (such as holding hands, hugging, kissing) are not frequent for the homosexuals and bisexuals that participated in this research. The main reasons the participants mentioned for refraining from public displays of affection, are: a) the feeling of 'not being safe' / fear of discrimination; b) the understanding that people in general are not prepared to deal with same-sex public displays of affection and that homosexuals and bisexuals should not confront others (which can be identified as internalized homophobia); and c) the need to take into consideration their partners' attitudes towards same-sex public displays of affection. Only a small percentage of the respondents answered that they had the right to express their affection regardless of other people's reaction or society's respect for diversity. Most of the respondents reported an ever-present feeling of a lack of safety associated with same-sex public displays of affection. Likewise most of the participants agreed on that displaying these behaviours imply the disclosure of one's sexual orientation. Summarizing, lesbians,

gays and bisexuals who participated on this research do not perceive public spaces as friendly to non-heterosexuals.

Given the significant increase of LGBT associations and comprehensive legal changes which have occurred in Portugal since 1996 (Ferreira & Silva, 2011) one would expect that it would be easier for younger lesbians, gays and bisexual individuals to engage in same-sex public displays of affection. However the results did not reveal noteworthy differences between younger and older participants.

Another interesting result is that some of the interviewees who had previously 'come out' to their families, friends or co-workers, also avoid displaying same-sex public affections. These results can be better understood if one acknowledges the complexity and difficulty of the process of 'coming out' in which individuals negotiate space/time strategies (Valentine, 1993b).

This research also explored how the characteristics of public spaces affected the display of same-sex affections. Most of the respondents identified isolated public spaces away from 'other people's eyes' as safer for same-sex public displays of affection. These results are more easily understood if one considers that public spaces reflect and reproduce heteronormativity and exclude non-normative sexualities, such as lesbian and gay sexualities (Hubbard, 2008). Another idea is clear: proximity to the place of residence or work limits same-sex public displays of affection, given that most of the respondents do not want to be identified as lesbians or gays by people with whom they interact daily. On the other hand, spaces identified as LGBT friendly, like some nightlife areas in large cities characterized by a sense of anonymity, are facilitators of same-sex public displays of affection. An analysis of space/time contexts is interesting. Lesbians and gays may feel comfortable in public spaces that they usually do not consider friendly, but that at specific times become so, such as during Pride events. The presence of visible lesbians and gays can transform a heteronormative space into a homo-friendly one (Bell, 2001b; Valentine, 2001).

The results indicate that no single map could represent spaces of same-sex public displays of affection in Portugal. The area of residence and work of each individual is a constraint to display same-sex affections in public spaces, and as such one would have to draw as many maps as individuals. Probably only a few nightlife areas in large urban areas would be common to all maps.

In what concerns the online spaces, this research results reveal that the Portuguese cyberspace is a space of liberty and civil rights claim for lesbians, gays and bisexuals, but not a space of personal visibility. The online landscape is active and participative but not very "colourful", words have prominence over graphic symbols. It reflects some features of the physical landscape, like the pervasive invisibility of lesbians and gays, the significant social and political LGBT activity, and the almost non-existent commercial expression of lesbians and gays in Portugal.

Research on practices and experiences of being a lesbian and a gay can contribute to a better understanding of sexuality as a process of power relations which mediates our everyday interactions.

7. SENSING THE LANDSCAPE

This phase of the research project aimed to identify significant dimensions of space and places that relate to lesbian and bisexual women's social identities (namely in what concerns emotions, representations and behaviours). 'Sensing the landscape' was based on collaborative maps of bio data, on-site emotions, personal experiences and significances (Giaccardi & Fogli, 2008; Nold, 2009). Two types of structured workshops were organised:

▪ Bio mapping workshop - pairs of women holding hands or embracing drifted around spaces near their residence (one of the women carried a heart rate sensor connected to a mobile phone equipped with GPS) to explore how the reactions of people on the streets affected them;

▪ Emotional mapping workshop - lesbian and bisexual women drifted around LGBT friendly areas of Lisbon and Porto using a printed map to register whatever caught their attention, with the purpose to collect their eyes-on-the-street impressions of these public spaces.

The field work was carried out from March 2011 through June 2011. The Table 9 presents the chronogram of this phase of the research with a detailed overview of all the steps.

Step	Description	Timeline
Call for participation	Call for participation on LGBT Portuguese mailing lists and social networks (2 calls for participation within two weeks) + Facebook	March 8th to May 20th 2011
	Publication on a Portuguese lesbian blog Tangas Lésbicas[60], identified during the task 'Mapping the landscape' as one of the most participated Portuguese Lesbian blogs	
	Personal contacts to promote the activities	
Tryout of mobile phone + heart rate monitor + software	The volunteers tried the equipment and software + results analysis + adjustments	April 16th to May 31st 2011
Bio mapping workshops	5 pairs of women participated in these workshops: 1 in Porto and 4 in Lisbon	

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[60] http://tangaslesbicas.wordpress.com/

Step	Description	Timeline
Emotional mapping workshops	2 workshops were organized: 1 in Porto (2 participants) and 1 in Lisbon (20 participants). They both occurred on day light (from 6:00 PM till 7:30 PM).	Porto, May 21st 2011 Lisbon, June 4th 2011

Table 9 - 'Sensing the landscape' chronogram

In this phase of the research project it was more difficult to recruit volunteers to participate, in spite of the researcher's long time experience on LGBT activism that granted easier access to participants and made it possible to have their trust. It was not sufficient to call for participation on LGBT Portuguese mailing lists and social networks, other strategies had to be used, such as: personal contacts, publishing information about the research project on a wiki and a call for participation on a Portuguese lesbian blog Tangas Lésbicas (identified on the first part of the research as one of the most active and commented on).

In the previous phase of the research project on a brief period of time there were a significant number of positive answers to the requests: to comment on a participative website about LGBT friendly spaces, to answer an online survey and to participate in interviews.

In this phase the requests were quite different: only women could participate, they had to go out on public spaces and have an active participation. In the Bio mapping workshops they were required to demonstrate same-sex public displays of affection while drifting on public spaces nearby their residential areas, which made the recruitment process particularly difficult. Initially the researcher intended to organize 6 Bio mapping workshops, but there were only volunteers for 5 workshops. In the Emotional Mapping workshops women were not asked to have same-sex public displays of affection, they simply had to register their eyes-on-the-street impressions of LGBT friendly spaces[61] on a printed map, and send it to the researcher. Nevertheless it was very difficult to recruit contributors. To facilitate the process of participation two meetings were organized, one in Lisbon and one in Porto.

During the call for participation several women who participated in the first phase of the research openly expressed their reluctance to go out on public spaces and have same-sex public displays of affection (Bio mapping workshop), or even just to go

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[61] Identified during the 'Mapping the landscape' phase of the research

out on the streets with a group of women whose characteristics might identify themselves as lesbians (Emotional mapping workshop).

> *"For various reasons related to the type of relationship that I live with my partner, I will not participate in the workshop, either with her or with someone else. I don't know if it is of academic interest, but in the surrounding area of my current work, I would never do anything like that, however I have done it on an earlier occasion in the neighbourhood of another work (with another age and another economic scenario of the country)."* Lesbian[62], by email

> *"Unfortunately I cannot accept, because I am (... yet!) a kind of ghost, incarcerated in an existence that (yet! ...) I cannot change, however, I am aware of what is happening around me. Here I leave the note that there are those who look at the public space, through small windows, hidden behind curtains and blinds, and that from the invisibility of a private space, feel the public space, or just dream with it!"* Bisexual, by email

A lesbian couple with a daughter (legally only one of them is the mother according to the present Portuguese legislation) had an interesting attitude. They both act before neighbours and in their child's kindergarten as mothers of their daughter, what implies the disclosure of their sexual orientation. Nevertheless they express their reluctance to hold hands in public spaces, as they understand that it may expose them to discrimination.

> *"This part of the project is quite inviting, but I cannot do it here in xxx (town's name) ... I even feel angry with myself for this position (I feel a bit cowardly too), but in order to achieve some results of the work I have been doing professionally over the past three years, I have to protect myself from malicious people ..."* Lesbian, by email

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[62] The sexual orientation of the authors of the emails was explicitly made known by them on other parts of the text of the email

7.1. Bio mapping workshop

In pairs and holding hands or embracing, women (lesbians or bisexuals) drifted around spaces near their residence. The objective was to explore how the reactions of people on the streets to same-sex public displays of affection would affect them. The localization of the workshops (near their residence) was related to the results of "Mapping the landscape", which indicate that the spaces near the residence and/or work are those where participants find it more difficult to have same-sex public displays of affection.

One pair at a time participated in the workshop. One of the women of each pair carried a heart rate sensor connected to a mobile phone equipped with GPS. During the walk, the mobile phone ran software that registered GPS tracking, heart rate data, and audio records of verbal comments. A semi-structured interview was conducted immediately after the walk focusing on the GPS track displayed on Google Earth and heart rate data. The participants interpreted the data displayed on Google Earth, adding personal significances and experiences. Individual aspects related to sexual orientation identity process and sexual orientation disclosure were also a part of the interview. The interview was conducted with both women at the same time.

Bio mapping workshop material:

- Hardware: Mobile phone LG P500 with Android 2.2 + Headset (to use the microphone to audio record) + Heart rate monitor (ZEPHYR Heart Rate Monitor HxM™ Bluetooth™) + Netbook with Internet connection to visualize GPS tracks and heart rate data on Google Earth + Digital recorder (to record the semi-structured interview after the walk)

- Software on mobile phone: GPS track (Endomondo Sports Tracker [63] - free real-time GPS tracking that integrates data from heart rate monitors with Bluetooth and export gpx files) + Voice recording (Tape-a-Talk[64] allows voice recording in the background while other applications are running)

- Software on the netbook: Google Earth (version 6.0.2.2074, allows the visualization of the gpx file with GPS track and heart rate monitor data)

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[63] http://www.endomondo.com/

[64] https://market.android.com/details?id=name.markus.droesser.tapeatalk

The steps of Bio mapping workshop are detailed on table 10.

Workshop steps	Average time
Welcome and briefing to explain procedures. Equipment and software set up: to turn on the GPS receiver of the mobile phone + to initialize the mobile phone software (Endomondo + Tape-a-Talk) + to set the heart rate monitor and the microphone on one of the participants + to connect through Bluetooth the mobile phone software and the heart rate monitor, and to check if the mobile phone software is registering the heart rate.	20'
Walk - the participants drift around (circular walk – the starting point and the finish point are the same) in pairs and holding hands or embracing; only one of them is using the heart rate monitor.	30'
Participants return to the starting point: equipment finalization + to finalize the upload of the GPS tracking and heart rate monitor information from the mobile phone to Endomondo website (this procedure is automatic; even during the walk it is possible to monitor the participants' location on the Endomondo website) + export to gpx file[65] + open file in Google Earth (with GE it is easier to visualize the track and to identify the specific locations of heart rate data).	10'
Semi-structured interview with both women about their impressions of the walk + visualization in Google Earth of GPS track and heart rate + each participant interprets the data displayed on Google Earth, adding personal experiences and significances.	60'

Table 10 - Steps of Bio mapping workshop

The analysis of the data retrieved on Bio mapping workshops was based on:

▪ Web map with GPS track + heart rate (in Google Earth)

▪ Voice recording during the walk

▪ Semi-structured interview after the walk

Ten women (5 pairs) participated in the Bio mapping workshops (1 pair in Porto and 4 pairs in Lisbon). The Table 11 summarizes information about the Bio mapping workshops and of the women who participated.

	Local and date	Participants	Observations	GPS track data
Workshop 1	Porto, St. Catarina (downtown) It is not near residence or work areas of either of them April 20th Light rain	46 years, lesbian, postgraduate, translator (heart rate monitor) 38 years, lesbian, graduate, teacher They both live and work in Porto On a relationship	They did not hold hands (on public spaces they never have displays of affection) The HRM stop functioning after 14 minutes (battery failure)	Start Time 6:43 PM Distance 2.07 km Duration 40m:50s Avg Speed 19:44 min/km Max Speed 2:16 min/km Calories 145 kcal Altitude 136 m / 185 m Elevation 62 m↑ / 70 m↓ Heart Rate 91 / 118

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[65] GPX (the GPS Exchange Format) is a light-weight XML data format for the interchange of GPS data (waypoints, routes, and tracks) between applications and Web services on the Internet.

	Local and date	Participants	Observations	GPS track data
Workshop 2	Lisbon, Príncipe Real (LGBT bars area) It is near the residence area of the PhD student April 30th Light rain	26 years, lesbian, PhD student (heart rate monitor) 26 years, lesbian, graduate student They both live and study in Lisbon On a relationship	They held hands (on public spaces they usually have displays of affection) They both are volunteers on a youth LGBT association	Start Time 11:48 PM Distance 2.91 km Duration 54m:41s Avg Speed 18:47 min/km Max Speed 2:37 min/km Calories 204 kcal Altitude 88 m / 180 m Elevation 220 m ↑ / 189 m ↓ Heart Rate 134 / 233
Workshop 3	Lisbon, Sete Rios It is near the residence area of the social worker May 1st Sunny	24 years, bisexual, graduate, social worker (heart rate monitor) 22 years, lesbian, graduate, social worker trainee They both live and work in Lisbon On a relationship	They held hands (on public spaces they usually have displays of affection) They stopped during the walk to enter a cafe and eat The 24 years old is a volunteer on a youth LGBT association	Start Time 11:31 AM Distance 1.10 km Duration 43m:11s Avg Speed 39:15 min/km Max Speed 2:27 min/km Calories 77 kcal Altitude 90 m / 266 m Elevation 157 m ↑ / 148 m ↓ Heart Rate 101 / 126
Workshop 4	Lisbon, St. Apolónia It is near the residence area of the graduate student May 19th Sunny	23 years, lesbian, graduate student, lives and studies in Lisbon (heart rate monitor) 30 years, lesbian, graduate, civil engineer, lives and works in Aveiro (250 km away from Lisbon) On a relationship	They held hands (on public spaces they usually have displays of affection) They are both volunteers on a youth LGBT association	Start Time 7:20 PM Distance 1.41 km Duration 20m:59s Avg Speed 14:56 min/km Max Speed 2:28 min/km Calories 98 kcal Altitude 39 m / 91 m Elevation 51 m ↑ / 65 m ↓ Heart Rate 125 / 152
Workshop 5	Lisbon, Largo do Rato It is not near residence or work areas of either of them June 26th Sunny	20 years, lesbian, secondary, supermarket employee, lives and works in Algarve (270 km away from Lisbon) (heart rate monitor) 25 years, lesbian, graduate, sociocultural animator, lives and works in Algarve (270 km away from Lisbon) On a relationship	They held hands (on public spaces away from their residence and work areas they usually have displays of affection) They both used to live in Lisbon when they were students The 25 years old is a volunteer on a youth LGBT association	Start Time 6:33 PM Distance 1.79 km Duration 24m:08s Avg Speed 13:29 min/km Max Speed 3:36 min/km Calories 125 kcal Altitude 119 m / 183 m Elevation 140 m / 140 m ↓ Heart Rate 113 / 135

Table 11 - Information of Bio mapping workshops and participants

All the pairs of women were couples (on a relationship). Most of the women identify themselves as lesbians; only one identifies herself as bisexual. In what concerns

their level of education almost all have at least a graduate degree, with the exception of one woman who has the secondary level of education. The women who participated in Lisbon's workshops have some common characteristics: they are all under 30 years old, they usually have same-sex displays of affection on public spaces, and at least one of the women of the pair is a volunteer on a youth LGBT association. The women of the workshop in Porto have a distinct profile, they are over 30 years old, never have same-sex displays of affection in public spaces and do not participate in any LGBT association.

Most of the workshops conducted in Lisbon (3 out of 4) took place near the residential area of the woman equipped with the heart rate monitor, and all the pairs of women held hands and embraced during the walk. The workshop in Porto was quite different, women did not hold hands nor had any other physical display of affection, and they walked in a geographical area away from their residence or work. The workshops in Lisbon are more in line with the initial workshop design.

The visualization of GPS track and heart rate data on the Endomondo website was automatic; the mobile phone software was permanently sending information to the website (even during the walk it was possible to monitor the participants' location on the Endomondo website). The display of Endomondo website (Figure 31) provides a map of the geographical area and a bar with information on 'Pace', 'Heart Rate' and 'Altitude'. This information makes it possible to relate the heart rate data with the participant's pace, and the difference in altitude along the walk. An example is the information on minute 30:00 of the bar on Figure 31, it is possible to visualize the increase in altitude and heart rate, at the same time that there is a reduction of pace. These data indicate that the record of the heart rate data is trustworthy. All the data of the workshops is available at https://sites.google.com/site/sensingworkshops/.
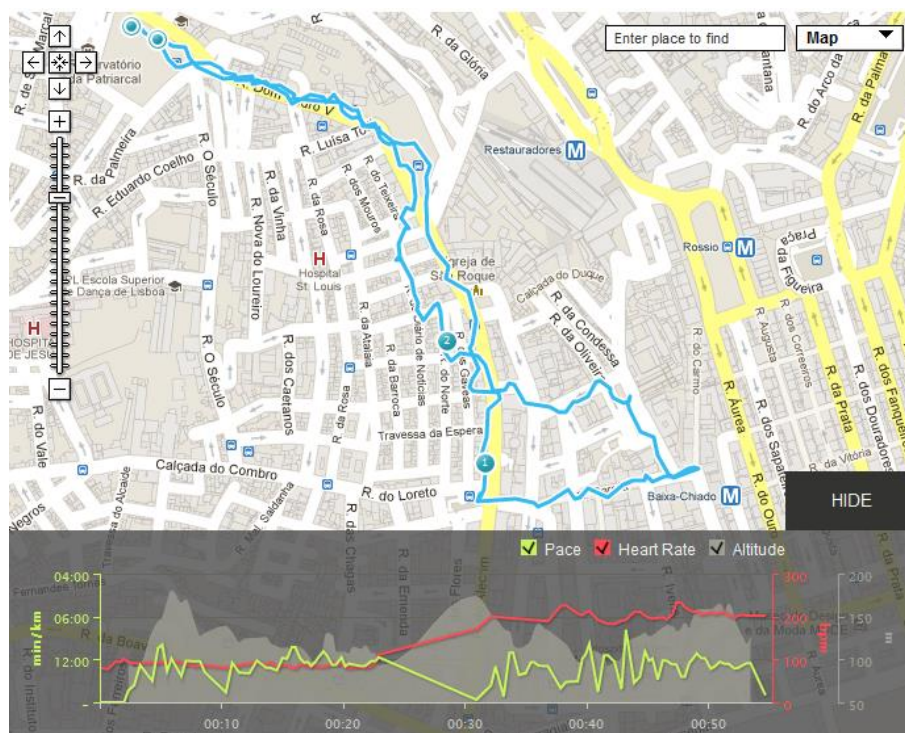
Figure 31 - Display of GPS track of Workshop 2 (pace, altitude and heart rate data) on Endomondo website

At the end of the walk the data retrieved by the Endomondo software was exported to a gpx file to allow the visualization of the information (GPS track, pace, altitude and heart rate data) on Google Earth[66]. The visualization of the information on Google Earth facilitates the identification of specific locations where changes occur on the heart rate values, as exemplified on Figure 32 (while crossing the street there is a rise of the heart rate values).

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[66] The gpx files can be downloaded on https://sites.google.com/site/sensingworkshops/
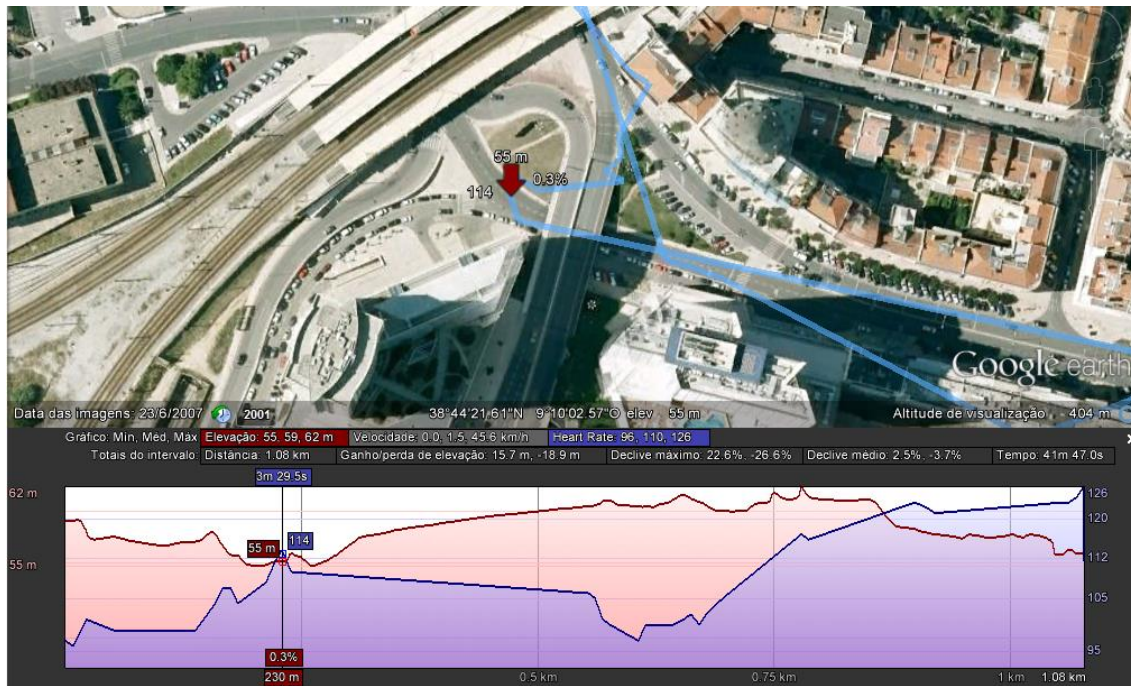
Figure 32 - Display of GPS track of Workshop 3 (pace, altitude and heart rate data) on Google Earth

Although the Endomondo website allows the visualization on satellite mode (alternative to the map view), the display on Google Earth allows the visualization of much more realistic images of the geographical area, including the 'Street View'[67]. The Google Earth display and its navigation features support a more usable analysis of the data retrieved during the workshop and facilitate the identification of specific locations by participants.

The results of the Bio Mapping workshops indicate that the methods used can highlight the relations between bio data and spatial variables, such as: increased heart rate while crossing the streets; and correlations on altitude, pace and heart rate. However, there was no evidence of relation between bio data (heart rate) and participants' reactions to specific occurrences during the walk that support exploring how the reactions of people on the streets affected them.

There were some events of people staring at them that made them uncomfortable, but there was no visible correlation with the heart rate. For instance, on workshop 3 the girl with the heart rate monitor said: *"They are looking at us ... keep*

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[67] Google Street View provides 360° panoramic street-level views and allows users to view parts of selected areas at ground level.

walking ... look she was carrying the bags and stood there looking at us"[68] but there was no heart rate change during this occurrence.

The analysis of the voice recordings during the walk and of the semi-structured interviews after the walk provided significant data. The analysis was based on conventional social science techniques (Jackson, 2001).

During the walk, on all 5 workshops, women mostly had casual conversation, as for example: comments on things they see on the streets like shop windows, to decide on what direction to go, common events of their lives, dinner plans or TV shows. Sometimes there were several minutes without any conversation. A common trend was the existence of critical comments on heterosexist advertising displayed on the streets. Being aware that the conversation was being recorded most probably made participants particularly attentive to whatever they talked about, and possibly restricted more spontaneous conversations.

An interesting data, probably related to the context of the workshop, was the existence on all workshops of comments on people passing by that they identified as lesbians or gays. It is interesting to stress out that the couple of Porto, although they do not usually disclose their sexual orientation in public spaces, expressed a safe feeling about the possibility of being recognized as lesbians by other lesbians or gays. Like if there was a kind of imagined safe space made of interrelations between non-heterosexual people (Nicholas, 2004).

Some reflexive comments were made about their experience during the workshops:

"I think that nowadays it is politically correct not to gaze at homosexuals, like for instance at disabled people as well. People think something like, if I do not look directly, only from the corner of the eye, maybe people won't realize that I'm looking at them." Lesbian, PhD student, 26 years old (Workshop 2)

"If someone took our photo while kissing they would win an award (laughs) and end up on a magazine cover." Lesbian, social worker trainee, 22 years old (Workshop 3)

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[68] Retrieved from the voice recording during the walk.

"If we were in Chelas[69], just being there, my heart would speed up." Lesbian, graduate student, 23 years old (Workshop 4)

At the end of the last workshop, in Lisbon, after disconnecting the heart rate monitor a man passed by us (the participants were still holding hands) and made a negative comment (something like: "look at this" on a negative tone). There is no bio data (heart rate) associated with this occurrence but the participants commented on it, mentioning that this kind of behaviour occasionally occurs and they expressed discomfort with the situation.

The semi-structured interviews after the walk lasted approximately one hour. While visualizing the information on Google Earth the participants interpreted the data and added personal experiences and significances. Besides the analysis of the data retrieved during the workshop, the semi-structured interview focused on the coming out process to family, friends and co-workers, and their practices on same-sex public displays of affection. These items were not discussed in depth. Women who participated had already spent more or less 30 to 40 minutes on the walk, and the visualization and interpretation of data on Google Earth took on average 30 minutes, so it was not reasonable to ask for more time. The objective was to contextualize these women's experiences in what concerns their sexual orientation, to better understand and interpret the results.

A very significant outcome of these interviews was to understand that all of these women have some unsolved issues in what concerns their coming out process to their families and/or co-workers. Considering that these women are the ones that agreed to participate in the workshop accepting to have same-sex public displays of affection near their residence area (with the exception of the women in Porto – Workshop 1), that they acknowledge to have these behaviours on a regular basis, and that they have a visibility profile in what concerns their sexual orientation in most of their life contexts, it is significant that even for them sexual orientation is still a cause of distress and discomfort in some contexts of their lives, namely family and work.

"In my family only my sister knows about my sexual orientation, I mean she is the one I ever talked about it. Probably more relatives know about it. As far as

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[69] A suburban area of Lisbon known to be a dangerous neighbourhood.

friends are concerned there are not many of them that know, outside REA[70] there is only one friend of mine with whom I talked about it." Lesbian, graduate student, 26 years old (Workshop 2)

"*For some time I was president of REA and this information was registered in my tax declaration and it was my father who took care of taxes, so it was there to see, the name of the organization with the words lesbians, gays, bisexuals and transgenders, however he never asked me anything, we never talked about it.*" Lesbian, civil engineer, 30 years old (Workshop 4)

"*At work no one knows about my sexual orientation, I have talked about my work as volunteer on an association, but never told what it was about, I just said it was something related with the organization of events.*" Lesbian, sociocultural animator, 25 years old (Workshop 5)

"*I used to work as a kindergarten teacher and I think that people would not react well if I disclosed my sexual orientation, because of the children.*" Lesbian, graduate student, 26 years old (Workshop 2)

It is important to underline that the residential areas where the workshop occurred was not near their parents or family houses. If this was the case, none of them would have accepted to participate in the workshop.

"*My mother has asked me to restrain myself from having certain behaviours where they live and we respect that request.*" Lesbian, social worker trainee, 22 years old (Workshop 3)

"*Near my parents' house we are more cautious; we do not want them to feel uncomfortable.*" Lesbian, PhD student, 26 years old (Workshop 2)

The work place is identified as one of the most restrictive ones on disclosing their sexual orientation.

"*We went to a dinner with work colleagues and we did not hide that there was some intimacy between us, but did not have displays of affection, none whatsoever. As a social worker, there are always people from the neighbourhood where I work and then people may start talking. At work it is*

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[70] Rede ex aequo (REA) - LGBT youth organization

always more complicated and difficult." Bisexual, social worker, 24 years old (Workshop 3)

"At the work place we have to be more careful, you never know what consequences one might have for disclosing the sexual orientation." Lesbian, supermarket employee, 20 years old (Workshop 5)

"I work on a problematic neighbourhood and I think that if they knew about my sexual orientation I would no longer be respected by them." Lesbian, sociocultural animator, 25 years old (Workshop 5)

Most of these women are active participants of an LGBT youth organisation and although they acknowledge that their work as volunteers made a difference in their lives in terms of dealing with their sexual orientation and coping with the social aspects of coming out process, having same-sex public displays of affection on some spaces and coming out in some contexts is still problematic and difficult.

"For me it is never easy to have same-sex public displays of affection, I always fear that people might be looking at me and might do something; I know that there are more people around and nothing really bad would happen ... however I am always afraid and defensive. But I try to overcome my fears and behave the way I feel." Lesbian, civil engineer, 30 years old (Workshop 4)

Even though the results of the Bio Mapping workshops did not uphold exploring how the reactions of people on the streets affected the participants, there were indicators that support the use of this methodology to explore relations between bio data and spatial variables. The audio recording during the walk was an important source of data to analyse the participants' experiences in each workshop. The mixed use of bio data, GPS track and audio recording can be used to explore the socio-spatial mediation and articulation of emotions.

7.2. Emotional mapping workshop

The objective of this workshop was to explore the eyes-on-the-street impressions of lesbian and bisexual women in LGBT friendly spaces. More than just eyes-on-the-street, it was about body-on-the-street impressions. This workshop aimed to grasp the sensuous experiences of lesbians and bisexual women in LGBT friendly spaces, through the ways they registered on a map (on paper), the impressions produced by the stimulation of their senses.

Following Rodaway (1994) understanding of senses, the sensuous experience is not merely a passive reception of environmental stimuli; senses are actively involved in the structuring of the sensorial information and in the giving sense to the world. The sensuous experience of space is a complex of senses working together that give a range of 'clues' about the environment through which the body is passing and the basis of how people define and structure space (Rodaway, 1994).

Initially the Emotional mapping workshop was designed as an individual activity. Each woman would download a map[71] of LGBT bar zones of Lisbon or Porto (these spaces were identified in the first phase of the research as the most LGBT friendly) and after adding her eyes-on-the-street impressions, sent it back to the researcher. The contributions were very limited and group workshops were organized to facilitate the process of participation.

The group workshops were meetings of women (lesbians or bisexuals) in urban areas identified as LGBT friendly (specific bar zones in Lisbon and Porto) with the purpose to collect their eyes-on-the-street impressions of these spaces, using a printed map where each of them could register whatever caught their attention with colouring pens supplied by the researcher. The instructions clearly stressed out that they should pay attention to everything around them, using all their senses, not only their eyes. Sounds, smells, skin sensations, etc., should also be included in their notes. They should drift around paying particular attention to everything that would relate to sexual orientation issues, such as heteronormative aspects of public space or discomfort on displaying same-sex displays of affection. Women were free to go alone, in pairs or in

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[71] Maps retrieved from Walking Papers http://walking-papers.org/, with information from Open Street Map http://www.openstreetmap.org/

small groups; whatever was their choice, each one of them had one map to make personal notations.

Emotional mapping workshop material:

▪ Printed maps (A4 size) retrieved from Walking Papers http://walking-papers.org/ (appendix 4 – Lisbon; and appendix 5 - Porto) - with a hard paper holder to facilitate writing on the move

▪ Colouring pens (each woman had 4 pens: blue, red, green and black)

The workshops were advertised online and no inscription was required. There was no information prior to the workshop on how many women would participate.

It is noteworthy to mention that the meeting in Porto only had 2 participants, while in Lisbon there were 20 participants. Some women from Porto emailed me afterwards referring that they did not feel comfortable to be in a public space with a group of women that might be identified as lesbians. The results of the Porto meeting were not included in the analysis of results.

The analysis of the data retrieved on Emotional mapping workshop was based on the maps' notations. All the maps were digitalised and are included as appendix 6.

Attached to the printed map of each participant there was a page with some questions about: year of birth, sex, sexual orientation, education level, professional occupation, and the question "Do you usually have same-sex public displays of affection?". The information collected supported the characterization of the group of 20 women who participated (Table 12 and 13).

Sex										
Female	**20**									

Sexual Orientation										
Lesbian	**17**	Bisexual	**3**	Other	**0**					

Education										
Primary	**1**	Secondary	**10**	Graduate	**5**	Postgraduate	**4**			

Age										
< 20	**0**	20 – 29	**2**	30 – 39	**6**	40 – 49	**8**	50 - 59	**4**	> 60	**0**

Table 12 - Characterization of the participants of the Emotional mapping workshop in Lisbon

Administrative assistant	3		Management consultant	1
Unemployed	3		Nursery assistant	1
Paramedic	2		Production assistant	1
Teacher	2		Sign language trainer	1
Graphic designer	1		Soldier	1
Journalist	1		Supermarket worker	1
Jurist	1		Technical editor	1

Table 13 - Listing of the professional occupation of the participants of the Emotional mapping workshop in Lisbon

Most of the participants identified themselves as lesbians, have at least a secondary level of education, and are more than 30 years old. The professional occupation is diversified and on various areas of activity. Three of the participants were unemployed.

Most of the participants state that they frequently have same-sex public displays of affection (Table 14), which is in line with the difficulties faced during the recruitment process. These results support the idea that mainly only women who frequently display same-sex affections in public felt comfortable to come to a public meeting with other women that might be identified as lesbians.

Never	Hardly ever	Frequently	Always
0	2	15	3

Table 14 - Answers to the question: "Do you have same-sex public displays of affection?"

On the whole of the 20 maps retrieved on the workshop (appendix 6), there were a total of 295 notations, with a minimum of 3 and a maximum of 32 per map, and an average of 15 notations per map. These numbers illustrate the diversity of the maps collected. Some had full sentences, others just scattered words, and very few had drawings (just some symbols like :-)). Figures 33, 34, 35 and 36 illustrate some of the maps retrieved on the workshop.

Figure 33 - Example of a map retrieved on the Emotional Mapping in Lisbon

Figure 34 - Example of a map retrieved on the Emotional Mapping in Lisbon
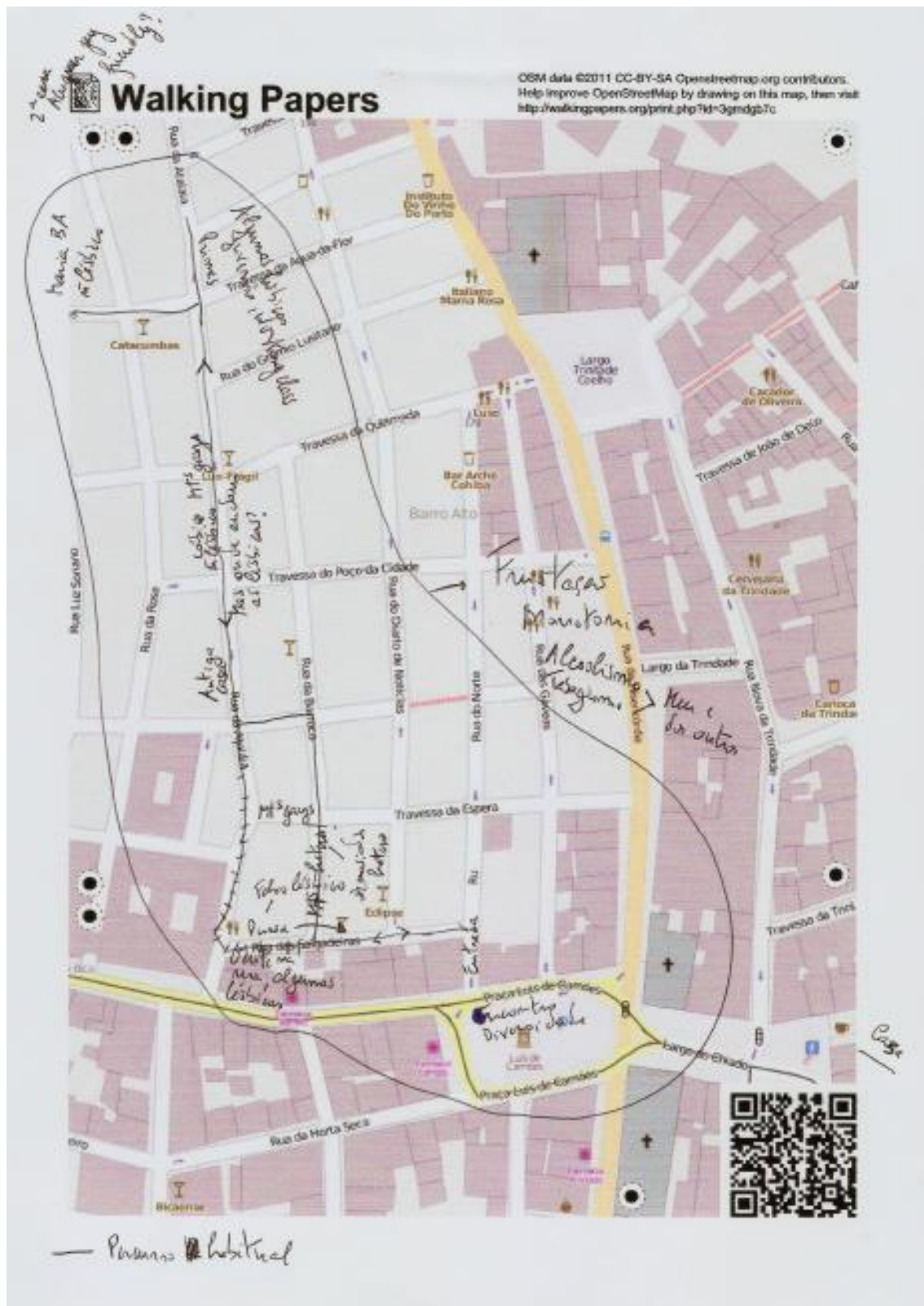
Figure 35 - Example of a map retrieved on the Emotional Mapping in Lisbon

Figure 36 - Example of a map retrieved on the Emotional Mapping in Lisbon
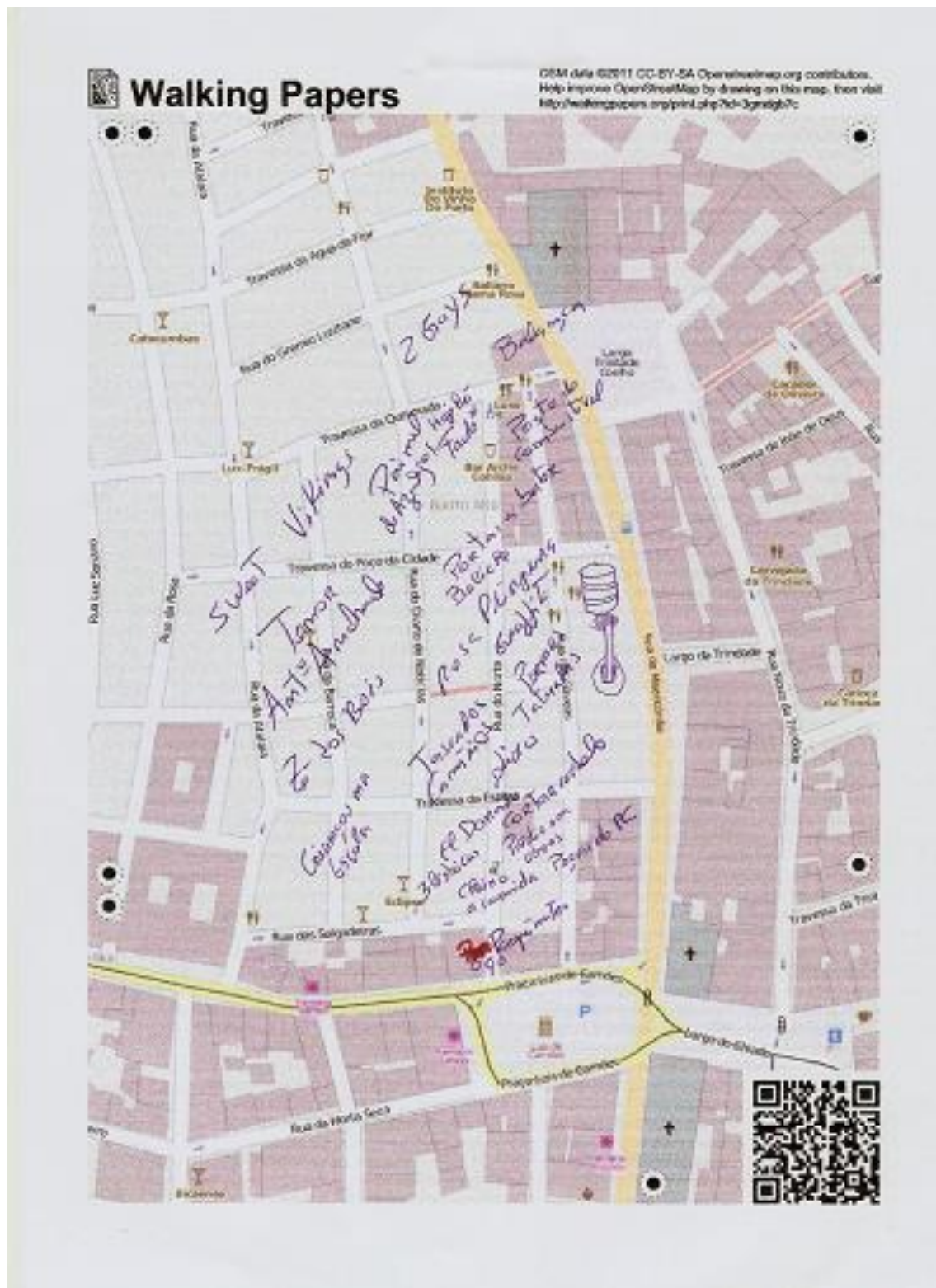
The analysis of the maps produced on the Emotional mapping workshop included the following steps:

- **Transcript:**
  - o To create a table with the map's notations: walk identification (each group of women is identified with a letter), map identification (each single map is identified with a number), notations (transcript of maps' notations);
  - o To make a list of all the words used in the notations, using the software TextSTAT[72].

- **Coding:**
  - o According to their content, to code each notation according to: the degree of pleasantness (Positive; Negative; Neutral; Danger), the use of perception/senses (vision, smell, hearing, taste, touch) or concepts (interpretations of perceptions, states of mind; abstractions);

- **Georeferencing:**
  - o To create placemarks on Google Earth for each map's notation, according to their position on the maps produced by the participants. The placemarks are coloured according to the coding process of the degree of pleasantness (Positive-Green; Negative-Black; Neutral-Blue; Danger-Red), and organized by walk (groups of women) and in two versions: one with the coloured placemarks[73], and other with coloured placemarks and the notations' text[74].

- **Analysis:**
  - o To analyse the frequency and distribution of the degree of pleasantness, the use of perception/senses or concepts, and the interrelations between them;
  - o To analyse the words used on the notations.

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[72] http://neon.niederlandistik.fu-berlin.de/en/textstat/

[73] Lisbon maps.kmz (available at http://eferreira.net/Lisbon_maps.kmz)

[74] Lisbon maps with legends.kmz (available at http://eferreira.net/Lisbon maps com legendas.kmz)

Although all the participants were given 4 colouring pens (blue, red, green and black), most of them only used one of them, as such the colour of the pen used for the notations was not included in the analysis of the results.

Senses have emotional correlations ranging through positive and negative responses of varied character depending on the quantity and variety of the sensuous experience and the context of that experience (Rodaway, 1994, p. 70). The coding process of the degree of pleasantness of the notations followed some guidelines: only notations with a clear association with 'positive' or 'negative' adjectives were coded as such; the codification of 'danger' was ascribed only to notations with a clear identification of situations perceived as dangerous; all the rest was coded as 'neutral'. The results (Table 15 and Figure 37) show a majority of neutral notations, almost no danger related notations, and more positive than negative notations. In terms of emotional impressions (positive vs. negative) these results indicate that most of the participants in the workshop have a positive perception of this geographic area.

	Degree of pleasantness			
	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Danger
Number of notations	93	55	145	2
Average per map	4,65	2,75	7,25	0,1
%	31,53%	18,64%	49,15%	0,68%

Table 15 - Codification of notations according to the degree of pleasantness
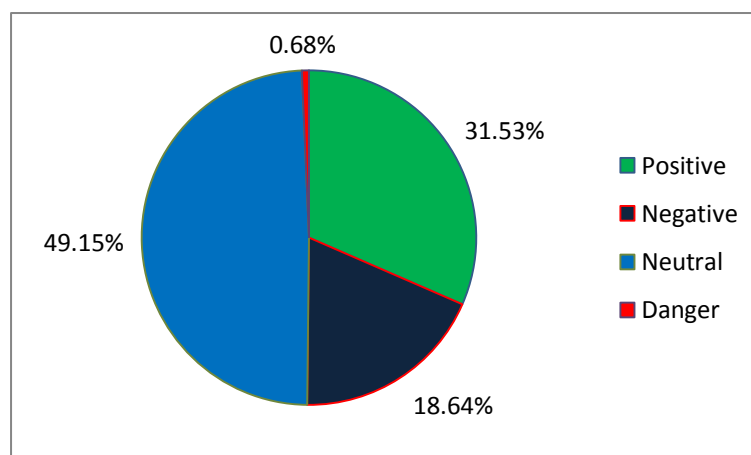
Figure 37 - Percentage of the degree of pleasantness of notations

The Georeferentiation of the notations on Google Earth enables the visualization of these results on the geographic area of the workshop. There are two versions of

Google Earth files, one with the coloured placemarks[75], and other with coloured placemarks and the notations' text[76]. On Google Earth one can easily move from the visualization of the global area under study, to zoom on a specific zone. It is also possible to visualize only one of the maps' notations, or a group of maps, understanding the different pathways and georeferenced impressions of the participants.

The version with no text facilitates the visualization of the degree of pleasantness of the area, as illustrated on Figure 38 where some examples of negative and positive areas are pointed out.

Figure 38 - Visualization in Google Earth of the degree of pleasantness of the area

The version with text makes it possible to explore the content of the notations (Figure 39).

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[75] Lisbon maps.kmz (available at http://eferreira.net/Lisbon_maps.kmz)

[76] Lisbon maps with legends.kmz (available at http://eferreira.net/Lisbon maps com legendas.kmz)

Figure 39 – Visualization in Google Earth of the content of the notations

The maps' notations were also coded according to the use of Perception/Senses or Concepts. The coding of Perception/Senses differentiated 'Vision', 'Smell', 'Hearing' and 'Taste'. No notations had any references to 'Touch'. The Concepts coding was ascribed to notations that did not relate to information of the surrounding space acquired through the senses, and consisted of words, such as: freedom, lowliness, equality, diversity, etc.

The total number of codes ascribed to notations in terms of senses and concepts was 328, given that one notation could be coded with one or more senses and/or concepts (Table 16).

Group: 20 participants	Use of perception/senses or concepts				
	Vision	**Smell**	**Hearing**	**Taste**	**Concepts**
Number	132	20	31	4	141
Average per map	6,6	1	1,55	0,2	7,05
%	40,24%	6,10%	9,45%	1,22%	42,99%

Table 16 - Codification of notations according to the use of senses and concepts

The geographical experience of spaces is multi sensual; however one or more senses may be dominant in a given situation (Rodaway, 1994). Although the instructions specifically instructed the use of all senses, vision was clearly dominant. The Figure 40 visually displays the codification of notations according to the use of senses and concepts. These results are consistent with the understanding that visual images are an important and ever-increasing means through which social life happens (Rose, 2007). Notations with reference to the senses of smell and hearing have similar

percentages, the sense of taste was almost absent from notations, and there were no references to the sense of touch (skin sensations). The use of concepts was very frequent and consisted of a great diversity of words (Table 17).
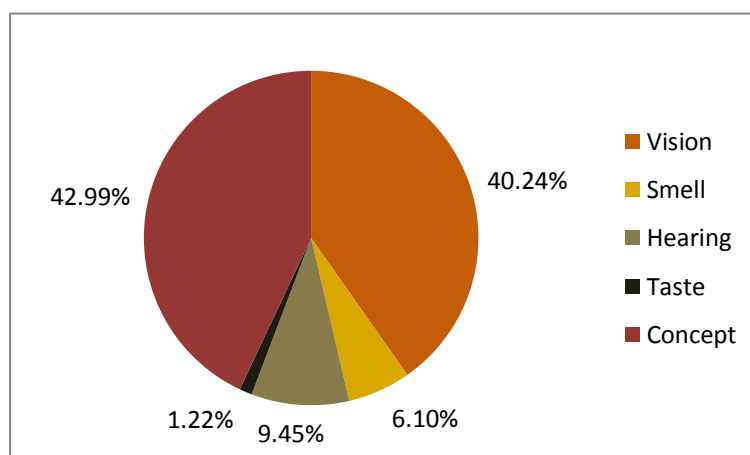
Figure 40 - Codification of notations according to the use of senses and concepts

In Table 17 there is a list of the words on notations coded as concepts and the frequency in which they were used.

Charm	4	Tourism	3	Pleasant	2
Enchantment	4	Confused	2	Portugal	2
Diversity	3	Empty	2	Quiet	2
Environment	3	Friendly	2	Tradition	2
Meeting	3	News	2		

Table 17 - List and frequency of the words used on notations coded as concepts

An interesting occurrence of the workshop was the participation of a group of 3 Deaf[77] women. As stated before, the workshops were advertised online and there was no information prior to the workshop on the women that would participate. It is quite interesting that these women did not feel constrained to participate in this workshop although it was advertised as based on the use of different senses to perceive images; sounds, smells, skin sensations, etc.

These Deaf women use sign language to communicate. They participated in the workshop with their sign language trainer and other two women.

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[77] One uses the term 'Deaf' with upper case to affirm our understanding of these women as belonging to a linguistic minority disabled by social structures and institutions, and not as disabled women with medically defined hearing impairments (Butler, Skelton, & Valentine 2001)

Subgroup		Use of perception/senses or concepts				
		Vision	Smell	Hearing	Taste	Concepts
Deaf women: **3 participants**	**Number**	17	3	1	0	15
	%	47,22%	8,33%	2,78%	0,00%	41,67%
Hearing women: **17 participants**	**Number**	115	17	30	4	126
	%	39,38%	5,82%	10,27%	1,37%	43,15%

Table 18 - Comparison of the notations in terms of the use of senses and concepts between the group of Deaf women and the rest of the participants

Although the number of Deaf participants is limited to support a more in depth analysis, it is interesting to observe that the sense of vision seems to be more dominant than in the group of hearing women (Table 18). These results are in line with the fact that they are sign language users which implies that their life revolves around visual means of interaction, which include a vision-centred language, communicative practices and ways of thinking and knowing (Skelton & Valentine, 2003). The hearing notation of one of the Deaf women is related with "cars noise" which can be inferred from ground vibrations or visual stimulus.

Analysing the different use of senses and concepts on the notations (of all participants) coded as positive or negative, it was interesting to note that the use of vision was more frequent on negative notations and that the use of concepts was more frequent on positive notations (Table 19 and Figure 41).

	Positive		Negative	
Vision	27	25,71%	29	47,54%
Smell	7	6,67%	4	6,56%
Hearing	7	6,67%	6	9,84%
Taste	3	2,86%	0	0,00%
Concept	61	58,10%	22	36,07%
Total	105		61	

Table 19 - Use of senses and concepts on the notations coded as positive or negative
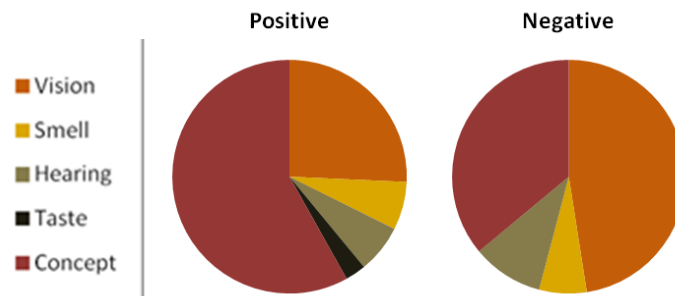
Figure 41 - Use of senses and concepts on the notations coded as positive or negative

Based on these results one can hypothesise that the concepts and ideas associated with this geographic area are more positive than the actual perception of this neighbourhood. For a long time, this neighbourhood has been a very cosmopolitan area of Lisbon and perceived as one of the most LGBT friendly areas, not only of Lisbon, but as well of Portugal. The results of the first phase of this research are in line with this representation of *Bairro Alto*. But nowadays this geographic area has deteriorated and has severe problems with the Botellón[78] phenomena. All around *Bairro Alto*, there are small stores who sell alcoholic drinks in bottles, much cheaper than the drinks in bars. These stores were open until 3:00 or 4:00 AM and lots of young people hung out in the streets drinking. Lots of garbage, empty bottles and all sorts of things were left on the streets. In order to control this situation the City Hall, on November 17th 2011, has published a regulation[79] that forces these stores to close at 8:00 PM. The workshop was conducted before this regulation, on June 2011, what accounts for the negative perception of *Bairro Alto*, namely as being dirty (see Table 20 and 21).

After the transcription of all notations, the text analysis software TextSTAT[80] provided a list of all the words used and their frequency (Table 20).

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[78] "... a mass meeting of young people between 13 and 24 years, mainly in open areas of free access, to consume drinks previously purchased in shops, listen to music, and talk." (Baigorri & Fernández, 2004, p. 99)

[79] Despacho n.º 138/P/2011, Boletim Municipal N.º 926, available at http://www.jf-santacatarina.pt/BA_r_horarios.pdf

[80] http://neon.niederlandistik.fu-berlin.de/en/textstat/

Good	21	Food/To eat	6	*Bairro Alto*[81]	4
Garbage/Dirt	20	Cars/Traffic	5	Charm	4
Smell	16	Colour/s	5	Diversity	4
Lesbian/s	14	Cool	5	Flag	4
Woman/en	14	Date/s	5	Frágil (Bar name)	4
Bar/s	13	Fado	5	House	4
Gay/s	11	Men	5	Nice	4
Gaze	9	Noise/s	5	Restaurant/s	4
People	8	Stranger	5	Urine	4
Music	7	To like	5	Window	4
Dark	6	Tourism/Tourists	5	Wine/Beer	4

Table 20 - Words used on notations (4 and more times)

To support a more in depth analysis of the words used in notations, they were organised according to the degree of pleasantness of the notations – only words that appear 4 and more times in each category (Positive, Negative and Neutral) are listed (Table 21).

Positive		Negative		Neutral	
Good	19	Garbage/dirt	17	Gay/s	9
Lesbian/s	8	Dark	6	Bar/s	7
Smell	7	Noise/s	6	Music	7
Bar/s	6	Cars/Traffic	5	Lesbian/s	6
Cool	6	Men	5	Smell	6
Woman/en	6	Gaze	4	People	4
Food / To eat	5			Tourism/Tourists	4
Diversity	4			Wine/Beer	4
Nice	4				
To like	4				

Table 21 - Words used for notations according to the degree of pleasantness of the notations

The words 'Garbage/Dirt' are amongst the more frequently used for notations (Table 20), and most of them appear on notations coded as negative (Table 21), which

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[81] Name of the city area

clearly illustrates the problems that *Bairro Alto* faced when the workshop was conducted.

The high frequency of the word 'Smell', as well as the use of words such as 'Music', 'Fado' and 'Noise' (Table 20), indicates that the use of senses was not exclusively based on visual stimulus. These results confirm that participants made use of the diverse senses as recommended in the workshop's instructions. It is interesting to note that the word 'Smell' is more used for notations coded as positive and the word 'Noise' on notations coded as negative (Table 21). One may assume that the word 'Smell' is related to restaurants and food (word 'Food' also frequent in notations coded as positive) and the word 'Noise' with cars and traffic (the words 'Cars/Traffic' also frequent in notations are coded as negative).

The workshop's instructions also recommended that participants should pay particular attention to everything that would relate to sexual orientation issues, such as heteronormative aspects of public space or discomfort on displaying same-sex displays of affection. Accordingly it is not surprising that words related to gender or sexual orientation, such as: 'Lesbian/s', 'Woman/en', 'Gay/s' and 'Men', are amongst the most frequently used (Table 20). What is particularly interesting is the analysis of the degree of pleasantness of the notations (positive, negative or neutral) in which these words are used (Table 21). The words 'Lesbian/s' and 'Woman/en' are the only words related to gender or sexual orientation used in notations coded as positive. The word 'Men' is only used in notations coded as negative, and the words 'Gay/s' and 'Lesbian/s' are present in notations coded as neutral. These results indicate that the participants of the workshop registered a more positive reaction to women and lesbians in public spaces, than to men. It is also interesting to note that in these results the reaction to gays is not as negative as the reaction to men.

The word 'Gaze' is one of the most frequently used in notations (Table 20) and most of the times in notations coded as negative (Table 21). Crossing this information with the results of the first phase of this research corroborates the perception of 'the eyes of others' as one of the most pervasive causes of discomfort and intimidation in public spaces.

The name of the bar 'Frágil' stands out as the only bar name used 4 or more times on the notations. 'Frágil' was one of the pioneer bars of *Bairro Alto* and celebrated 30 years in 2012. Its golden age was in the 80s, but still has a special

mystique. Internationally recognized, was the scene of movies, theme songs and scored generations. This bar was a space where artists, intellectuals, among other public figures of the Lisbon society used to get together. When the owner decided to sell the bar in 1997, a group of "regulars" joined in society and acquired 'Frágil'. This bar is one of the bars of *Bairro Alto* identified as LGBT friendly in diverse LGBT guides. The other bars' names presented on the notations (but less than 4 times) are: 'Primas', 'Purex' and 'Salto Alto', who are identified as more Lesbian friendly, in LGBT guides and blogs, than other LGBT friendly bars of Bairro Alto.

The methodology of the Emotional mapping workshop can contribute to a better understanding of emotions related to a specific location/space. As an example, it was possible to identify the dissonance between the positive representation of the neighbourhood and the more negative perception of the space, related to the Botellón phenomena. This methodology also supported exploring emotional reactions to different stimulus, such as lesbians, gay, men and women.

7.3. Conclusions

In this research, and particularly in the Sensing the landscape phase, the focuses has been on emotions and embodied practices. In this context it might be expected that recent theoretical and methodological advances on the emerging field of emotional geographies would be addressed. However, the researcher found herself in a conflicting dilemma when addressing emotions in this research. The academic and professional background of the researcher is in psychology, an area of knowledge in which emotions and affects are central. In the scientific area of psychology the approach to emotions and the affective life are deeply rooted on the physiology of the human body. This is the reason why Antonio Damasio's understanding of emotions was refereed (p. 64) as the basis for the methodological design in this phase of the research. On the other hand, in the scientific area of geography, and particularly on the emerging field of emotional geographies, we can find a large and diversified understanding of emotions and affects that mostly do not account for the specific literature that studies the physiological structure and function of the human body. Notwithstanding the most interesting contributions and advances in the area of emotional geographies, the researcher resisted to work with definitions of emotions, affects and feelings that did not have into account the literature on the interrelations of emotions and affects and the physiology of the

human body. Although the researcher acknowledges the different epistemologies of these approaches to the emotional and affective aspects of life, in the context of this phase of the research based on bio data it was not adequate to use theoretical approaches to emotions that rely on biology and body functions but that do not take into account updated literature on physiology. As an example, Nigel Thrift, who has done a remarkable work on the non-representational theory, on which this thesis draws upon, uses biology as a key concept in his theory of affects and refers to semiconscious phenomenon and a series of automatisms to explain affects. It would be expected that this kind of approach would consider integrating updated knowledge of the physiology of the body. It is interesting to notice that Thrift (2008) briefly quotes Damasio but does not advance a way to integrate different ways of understanding emotions and affects. Russell and Barrett (2009) in the editorial of the first number of the journal Emotion Review reflect on the fact that scholars from different national and cultural backgrounds, different disciplines, and different points of view should work toward a common language and understanding of emotions so that they can communicate their ideas and scholarly investigations to one another and consider perspectives that are different from their own.

Analyzing the results of this phase of the research it was clear that the difficulties in the recruitment process, described earlier in this report, were related with the objectives of the **Bio mapping workshop**: to explore how the reactions of people on the streets to same-sex public displays of affection affect the participants. Only women who felt comfortable to have same-sex public displays of affection volunteered to participate in the workshops. The only exception was the women who participated in Porto, but who did not fully comply with the instructions. Women who regularly display affection for a girlfriend/partner in public space are more likely to have learned ways to deal with the less positive reactions from others. This issue is explored on the semi-structured interviews after the walk.

Even though the results of the Bio Mapping workshops did not produce sufficient information to understand how the reactions of people on the streets affected the participants, there were indicators that support the use of this methodology to explore interrelations between bio data and spatial variables. In particular, the use of the audio recording during the walks, mixed with the bio data and GPS track, can provide substantial data to explore the socio-spatial mediation and articulation of emotions.

Moreover, these results suggest that giving access to people to the georeferenced information of their bodily states, such as the heart rate, and having them to reflect on what might have caused these bodily reactions, can be a method worth exploring to further understand people's reactions to different aspects of public space.

The participants' awareness to the presence of other LGBT people in public spaces was one of the most interesting outcomes of these workshops. Cross analysing this outcome with the pervasive invisibility of lesbian and gay sexualities in public spaces, helps us to better understand how the cycle of invisibility works and the consequent reinforcement of heteronormative power structures.

The interviews with the participants did reveal some interesting data, as the fact that sexual orientation is still a cause of distress and discomfort in some contexts of these women's lives, namely family and work, despite the fact that they acknowledge to have same-sex public displays of affection on a regular basis and that most of them are active participants of an LGBT youth organisation. None of them would have agreed to participate in the workshop if it was near their parents or family houses, and they identify the workplace as one of the most restrictive contexts on disclosing their sexual orientation.

Based on the results of this phase of the research it is possible to state that the methodology of the **Emotional mapping workshop** can contribute to a better understanding of emotions related to a specific location/space. The analysis of what people decided to register, how they registered it (words, symbols, drawings), and what interrelations exist between diverse notations, can inform on people's emotions related to specific spaces. The participants registered on paper their perceptions, this is, how they made sense / interpreted the physical sensations and processes of what they saw, heard, smelled, tasted and sensed on their skin, using language grounded in previous experiences and expectations, depending on sensual and sensory capacities and educational training and cultural conditioning (Rodaway, 1994). With this method it was possible to explore how the surrounding environment affected (on the sense of having an effect) the participants. For example, it was possible to identify the emotional reactions to different stimulus, such as lesbians, gay, men and women, as well as the dissonance between the positive representation of the neighbourhood and the more negative perception of the space, related to the Botellón phenomena.

In what concerns the objective of this phase of the research, **Sensing the landscape**, to identify significant dimensions of space and places that relate to lesbian and bisexual women's social identities (namely emotions, representations and behaviours), it is possible to conclude that the visibility of other lesbians in public spaces (to cross on the streets with women perceived as lesbians) induces positive reactions, that there are strong positive representations of LGBT friendly areas (areas with a concentration of LGBT friendly commercial spaces), and that the others' gaze is experienced as a restraint and causes negative emotions.

The difficulties to have volunteers to participate in the activities of the workshops (held in public spaces) are in line with the findings of the first phase of the research which indicated that public spaces are perceived as not friendly to non-heterosexuals. These difficulties highlighted the limitations experienced by lesbians and bisexual women in what concerns same-sex public displays of affection. It was very particularly challenging to recruit volunteers to participate on the Bio mapping workshops in which women had to hold hands and wander around in public spaces near their residence area. However, it was also very difficult to have volunteers to participate in the group meeting in Porto for the Emotional mapping workshop in which it was not necessary to perform same-sex public displays of affection. Just the possibility to be in a public space with a group of lesbians that might in some way be identified as such, was reason enough for some women not to participate. These results reinforce the conclusions of the first phase of the research that analysed the discrimination of lesbian and gay sexualities in public spaces in terms of the hidden, subtle, not verbalised and not explicit codes of behaviour that foster the heteronormative power structures inscribed in socio-spatial landscapes, and made evident the feedback process of the pervasive invisibility of lesbian and gay sexualities in public spaces and the heteronormative socio-spatial landscape.

The methods used on this phase of the research proved to have the potential to explore the sensual and affective dimensions of space highlighting how senses are both a relationship to a world and a kind of structuring of space and defining of place (Rodaway, 1994). The methods used in 'Sensing the landscape' can contribute to create a different way of mapping, making visible the interactions of space and identities, including people's perceptions and emotions on maps, and producing specific maps to specific groups of people.

8. CREATING LANDSCAPES

The objective of 'Creating landscapes' phase of the research was to explore how creating and sharing digital layers of lesbian visibility on collaborative web maps can disrupt a hetero pervasive reality and impact social identity and belonging. The methodological approach of this phase of the research was based on public authoring of collaborative web maps (Lane et al., 2005) through two structured workshops:

- Collaborative web mapping workshop – a collaborative web map was produced, based on georeferenced data created by lesbian and bisexual women, to explore how the creation and sharing of layers of personal experiences, thoughts and emotions, can empower women who experience discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation;

- Layers of Visibility workshop – a web map with positive lesbians' experiences on public spaces was created and made accessible on web browsers and directly on location with mobile devices (tablets, mobile phones), to investigate how creating and sharing digital layers of lesbian visibility on collaborative web maps can disrupt a hetero pervasive reality and impact social identity and belonging.

The decision process of designing 'Creating landscapes' workshops was based on the results of previous research tasks (Figure 42). Considering the objective of this phase of the research: to create and to access georeferenced layers of web maps; and the need to use a free and usable software (so that participants could easily collaborate), did not allow them to opt for a software that enables the creation and access of web maps information both online and on local. The available software with these features is not yet user friendly and/or requires mobile phones with access to the Internet (it is not yet a feature commonly used in mobile phones in Portugal[82]). Additional constraints were related to the need of using free and usable software compatible with a diverse set of hardware, considering that the participants had to use their own equipment (the research had no funding). Based on the results of the previous phases of research one became aware of some aspects that had to be taken into consideration, namely: the need to organize an engaging and interactive activity; to ensure that the participants' personal information, and in particular their sexual orientation, was not disclosed publically; and

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[82] http://www.anacom.pt/render.jsp?contentId=1173360&languageId=1

to protect information on participants location for security reasons (on accounts of the discriminatory social context). These aspects lead the researcher to opt for a collaborative/shared web map that was visible only to the workshop's participants. As a result of this decision process the choice was:

- Collaborative web mapping workshop - the application Google Maps with the privacy and sharing settings set to 'Unlisted', which allows sharing its content only with selected people who have the map's URL[83];
- Layers of Visibility workshop - the *Wikitude MyWorld* Facebook App, shared with a group on Facebook (privacy level set to 'secret group' - only group members can see posts, members by invitation only).

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[83] Uniform resource locator (URL) is a specific character string that constitutes a reference to an Internet resource.
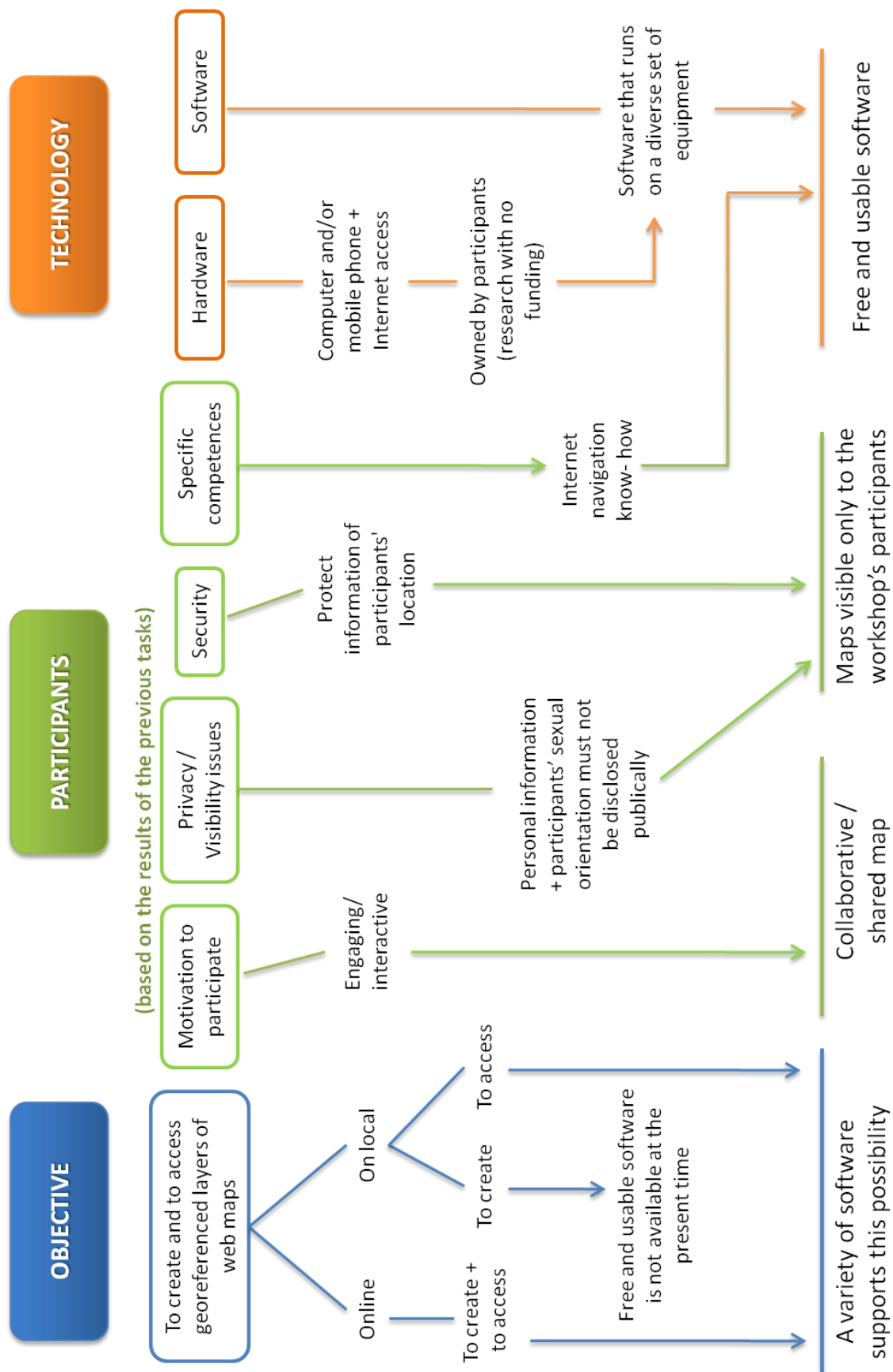
Figure 42 - Map of the decision process of designing 'Creating landscapes' workshops

The field work was conducted from January 2012 through October 2012. The Table 22 presents the research methodology chronogram with a detailed overview of all the methodology steps.

	Description	Timeline
Call for participation on Collaborative web mapping workshop	Call for participation on LGBT Portuguese mailing lists and social networks (2 calls for participation within two weeks) + Facebook	January 2nd to January 15th 2012
	Personal contacts to promote the workshop	
Collaborative web mapping workshop	Web map creation (7 weeks)	January 16th to April 3rd 2012
	Inquiry to assess collaborators activity during the workshop	
Layers of Visibility workshop	Creation of the Layers of Visibility map	March 30th to June 10th 2012
	Group on Facebook	
	Online inquiry	
	Organized meeting on local - augmented reality experience (June 10th)	
	Group meeting (the decision to organize it was made after analysing the results of the augmented reality experience)	October 1st 2012

Table 22 - 'Creating landscapes' chronogram

8.1. Collaborative web mapping workshop

This workshop consisted of a collaborative web map of Portugal, based on georeferenced data created by lesbian and bisexual women. The call for participation was explicit that the collaborative web map should be based on impressions, experiences, thoughts, emotions or memories, related to public spaces.

A Google Map "Camadas de Visibilidade[84]" (unlisted – not accessible through search engines, available only to people who have the map's URL) was created by the researcher and participants were invited as collaborators; all collaborators could create placemarks[85] and/or comment (add content) to placemarks created by other collaborators.

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[84] Translation to English: Layers of visibility

[85] Placemarks can have descriptive text, including rich text and HTML, photos and videos.

The steps of the workshop were:

- Call for participation on LGBT Portuguese mailing lists and on Facebook (with relevant information, such as: online workshop with privacy and anonymity, tasks to be accomplished, collaboration according to each participant's availability, deadline);

- Detailed instructions were mailed to collaborators: to create and to access a Google account, to access the collaborative web map, to create and to comment on placemarks, to access the map with a mobile phone (appendix 7);

- Some placemarks were created by the researcher, with information from the Online Survey (Mapping the landscape) and from the Emotional mapping workshop (Sensing the landscape), so that collaborators did not face an "empty" map;

- Period of web map creation: 7 weeks;

- Regular emails to collaborators (1 per week) to remind that the workshop was running;

- Regular backups of kml files[86] (feature available on Google maps) to record the process of the web map creation;

- Online inquiry to assess collaborators activity during the workshop.

Initially 24 women accepted the invitation to participate in the Collaborative web mapping workshop, but only 14 created (or commented) placemarks. Most of the participants identified themselves as lesbians, live in urban areas, have at least a secondary level of education, and are more than 30 years old (Table 23 and Table 24). The professional occupation is diversified and in various areas of activity (Table 25). Two of the participants were unemployed. One of the participants identified herself as Belgian; she is living in Portugal and dating a Portuguese girl. Her comments on the web map were in English.

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[86] Google Earth's file format for storing placemarks.

Sex

Female **14**

Sexual Orientation

Lesbian **9** | Bisexual **5** | Other **0**

Education

Primary **0** | Secondary **4** | Graduate **6** | Postgraduate **4**

Age

< 20 **0** | 20 – 29 **4** | 30 – 39 **5** | 40 – 49 **4** | 50 - 59 **1** | > 60 **0**

Table 23 - Characterization of the participants of the Collaborative web mapping workshop

Lisbon	6
Porto	3
Coimbra	3
Évora	1
Setúbal	1

Table 24 - Listing of the district of residence of the participants of the Collaborative web mapping workshop

Student	3	Freelancer	1
Unemployed	2	Journalist	1
Teacher	2	Management consultant	1
Administrative assistant	1	Supermarket worker	1
Biologist	1	Translator	1

Table 25 - Listing of the professional occupation of the participants of the Collaborative web mapping workshop

The inquiry to assess collaborators activity during the workshop explored: the clarity of the instructions; frequency of web map visualization; number of placemarks created and/or commented; access with mobile phone; and the effect of their participation on their perception of the spaces where they usually circulate and/or areas that they are familiar with. Based on the results one can conclude that the participants considered that the instructions on how to participate were clear and easy to follow. In what concerns the participants' activities during the Collaborative web mapping workshop: 6 participants accessed the web map at least once a week and 8 less than once a week; 9 participants created 5 or less placemarks, 4 created between 6 and 10, and only 1 created more than 10 placemarks; 6 participants commented on placemarks

created by others; and only 1 participant accessed the web map on a mobile phone. The main ideas expressed by the participants on the effects of the workshop on their perception of spaces, are related to: the unexpected overall positive content of the placemarks; access to information of country areas where lesbians are more 'visible'; and an increased awareness of the surrounding space.

> *"I became more attentive to what is happening around me."* Lesbian, Student, 22 years old

> *"It is positive that there are not many references to homophobic attitudes; I expected more on this topic."* Lesbian, Freelancer, 37 years old

> *"I got a clearer picture of areas of the country in which lesbians are visible and perhaps, indirectly, where there are more LGBT people."* Lesbian, Biologist, 34 years old

> *"I became aware of places identified as friendly to lesbians that I did not know."* Lesbian, Translator, 41 years old

> *"My perception of places was affected by the experiences reported on the map. I already knew many of the places mentioned on the map, and the experiences reported were coincident with my previous ideas, however to participate in this activity made me more aware of diverse experiences. It was very important for me to participate."* Bisexual, Journalist, 43 years old

The analysis of the web map produced during the Collaborative web mapping was based on the following steps:

▪ Geo localization:

- o To count the number of placemarks according to their geo localization.

▪ Transcript:

- o To create a table with the content of the placemarks: identifying the place, type of icon, content (words and/or photos);
- o To make a list of all the words used in the placemarks, using the software TextSTAT[87].

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[87] http://neon.niederlandistik.fu-berlin.de/en/textstat/

▪ Coding:

      o To code each placemark as positive, negative or neutral, according to their content;

      o To code the types of content of each placemark (Observations: description of something that was noticed or perceived; Ideas: thoughts, conceptions or opinions; Memories: personal situations experienced; Names: just the name of the place; Events: reference to specific events; Emotions: expression of feelings);

      o To identify all the placemarks related to same-sex public displays of affection;

▪ Analysis:

      o To analyse the interrelations of the diverse coding results;

      o To analyse the words used on the placemarks.

The initial map[88] had 44 placemarks distributed accordingly with the results of the participative website of 'Mapping the landscape' to map LGBT friendly spaces (more placemarks in Lisbon, followed by Porto, and more in the littoral than on the interior – see p. 75). As stated before (see p. 133) these placemarks were created based on information from the Online Survey (Mapping the landscape) and from the Emotional mapping workshop (Sensing the landscape).

The final Google map "Camadas de Visibilidade"[89] (Figure 43), after removing the initial placemarks created by the researcher, had 88 placemarks: 43 in Lisbon Region (which includes Greater Lisbon and Peninsula of Setubal), 14 in Porto, 5 in the Littoral (considering the entire area of the Portuguese littoral with the exception of Algarve), 5 in the Algarve, 2 in Azores, 1 in Coimbra; and the rest scattered in the interior areas of the country (mostly with indication of holidays). Notwithstanding that most of the collaborators were from Lisbon, the distribution of the placemarks is similar to the results of 'Mapping the landscape'. An interesting data is that there is only 1 placemark in Coimbra although 3 participants live in that area. The 2 placemarks in Azores are of particular interest since it is one of the geographical areas of Portugal that did not have any data on the previous phases of this research. However one may assume

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[88] Kml file (opens in Google Earth) with the initial version of the map
www.eferreira.net/initial_version.kml

[89] http://goo.gl/maps/dC6I

that they were created by someone traveling, since none of the collaborators lives in the Azores.
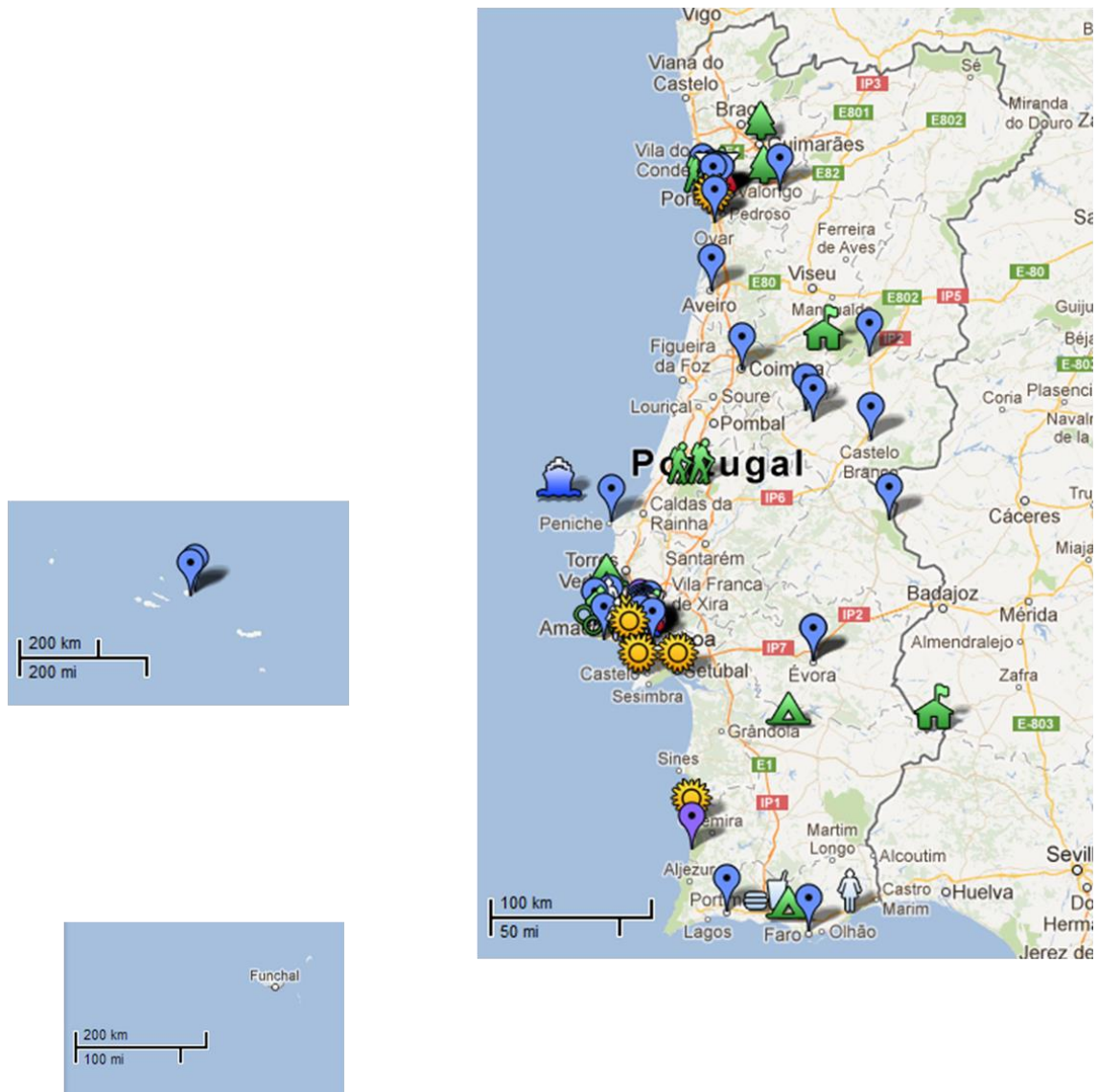
Figure 43 - Final web map of the Collaborative web mapping workshop

From the 88 placemarks on the web map, 66 (75%) have text. Most of these placemarks have full sentences or small texts; only 14 (16%) have a single word, mostly the name of the location. These results indicate that participants actually contributed with information to the web map.

Although the instructions explained step-by-step how to insert photos on the placemarks and how to change the icon, only 7 (8%) have photos, and 43 (49%) of the placemarks use the default Google maps icon ⍟ . Out of the 45 changed icons, 12 are a woman symbol ⍟ , and the rest is quite diverse, from camping tent, train, food, danger

signal, tree, sun, etc. One may say that the graphic aspect of the map was not the most important for the participants, words were privileged over images.

In terms of positive/negative/neutral connotations of placemarks, most of them 59 (67%) have a clear positive content, and the rest are equally divided in negative or neutral connotation. These results present a prevailing positive content of the web map.
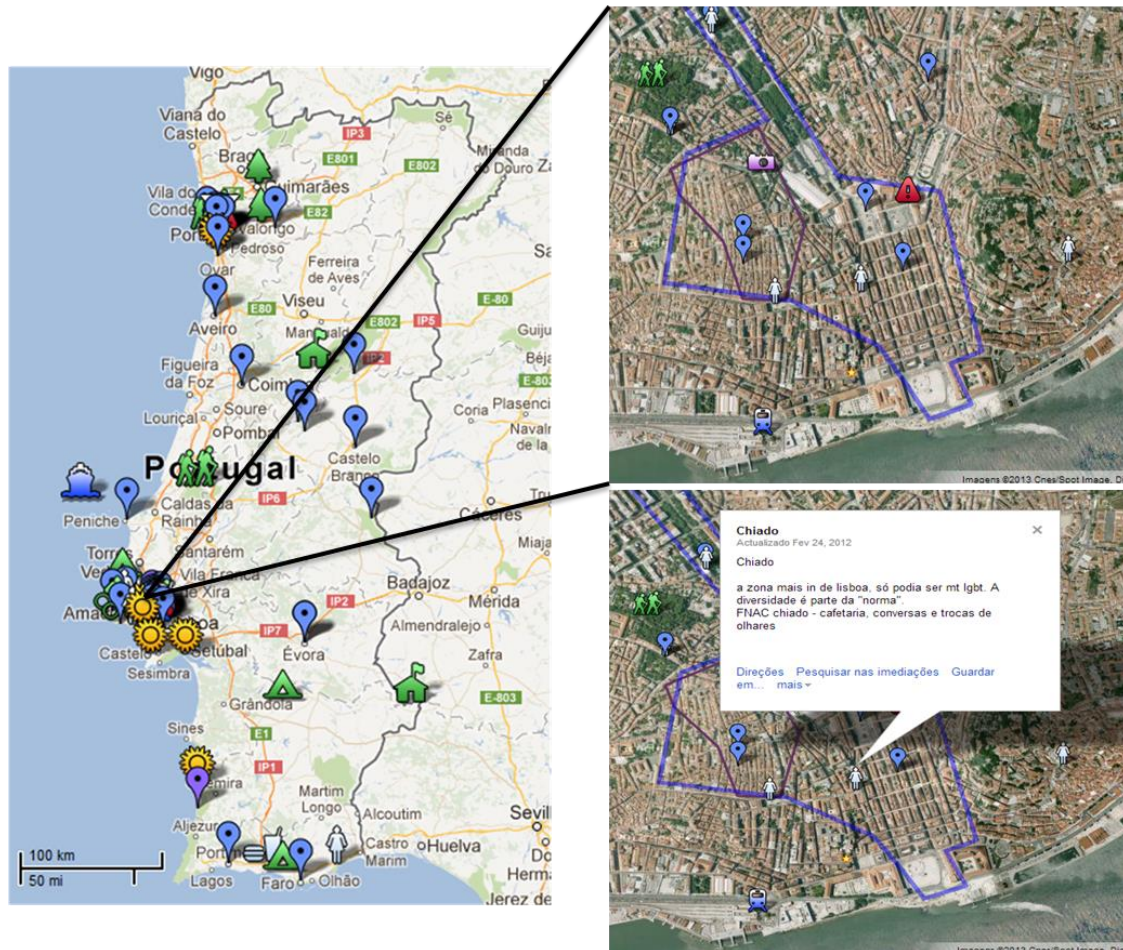
Figure 44 - Details of the web map of the Collaborative web mapping workshop with the satellite view of Google maps

The Figure 44 shows an example of visualization of details of the web map of the Collaborative web mapping workshop with the satellite view of Google maps. In the example presented on the figure, it is possible to see on the top right a detail of the placemarks in Lisbon downtown, and on the bottom right an example of the content of one of the placemarks.

Although the call for participation in this workshop was rather general, asking for participants to contribute with: impressions, experiences, thoughts, emotions or memories, related to public spaces, it is noteworthy that 33 (37,5%) placemarks are

related to same-sex public displays of affection. These results might be related to the context of the research project; by the time of this workshop the research project was widely publicized on a wiki with information on previous phases' results and current activities, and participants might be aware that the overall objective was focused on same-sex public displays of affection. The fact that 30 (90%) of the 33 placemarks related to same-sex public displays of affection have a positive connotation might seem unexpected. Although, if one considers the fact, based on the content of the placemarks and the results of "Mapping the landscape", that most same-sex public displays of affection are usually performed in isolated spaces, preventing the occurrence of negative reactions, this result becomes more easily comprehensible.

Analysing the type of content of the placemarks one can further explore these results. The categories used to code the type of content, were: **Observations**: description of something that was noticed or perceived; **Ideas**: thoughts, conceptions or opinions; **Memories**: personal situations or experiences; **Names**: just the name of the place; **Events**: reference to specific events; **Emotions**: expression of feelings. According to the content each placemark could have multiple coding, resulting on 172 coding data on 88 placemarks. The Figure 45 presents the results of this process.
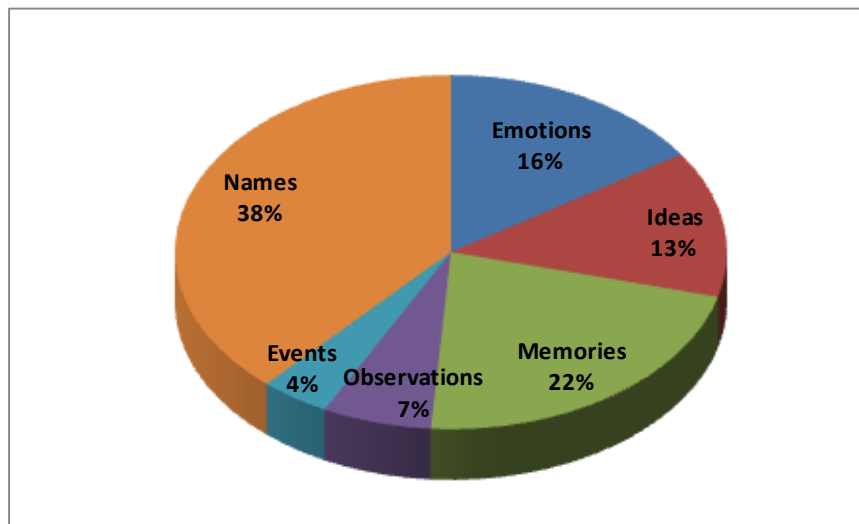
Figure 45 - Percentage of types of content of the placemarks on the web map

It is interesting to note that participants felt the need to name the places (38%) where the placemarks were positioned, notwithstanding that this information was provided by their georeferenciation on the web map. Personal situations or experiences (Memories), expression of feelings (Emotions), and thoughts, conceptions or opinions (Ideas) were the most frequent type of content. A description of something that was

noticed or perceived (Observations) and reference to specific events (Events) were minor. Based on the contents of the placemarks one can state that participants did contribute their own experiences, emotions, thoughts and opinions, which was the main objective of the workshop. The collaborative creation of this web map provided a lived representation of georeferenced experiences, emotions, thoughts and opinions of lesbians and bisexual women. This is significant given that having access to the everyday practices and emotions of lesbians and bisexual women, can contribute to the understanding of how they negotiate their daily lives on a heteronormative context (Rooke 2007).

Crossing the information on placemarks related to same-sex public displays of affection with a positive connotation and their geolocation, discloses some interesting results. The percentages of placemarks on specific regions[90] of the country (Lisbon Region, Porto, Coimbra, Interior, Littoral, Algarve and Azores) differ when one compares the overall distribution with the 30 placemarks related to same-sex public displays of affection with a positive connotation (SSPDA+), as illustrated on Figure 46.
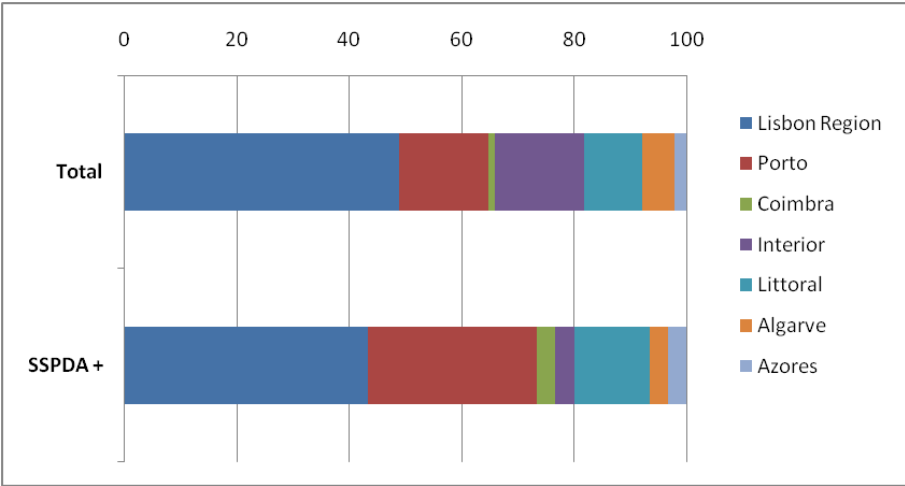
Figure 46 - Percentage of types of content of the placemarks on the web map

For instance, Porto has a higher percentage of placemarks on the universe of SSPDA positive placemarks (30%) when compared to the total placemarks (16%), and the Interior has a lower percentage (3% of SSPDA positive placemarks and 16% of total placemarks). These data may indicate that georeferenced experiences, emotions, thoughts and opinions of the participants have a different geographical distribution if related to same-sex public displays of affection. Porto relevance on the web map's

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[90] See p. 136 for the description of these regions.

representation is more significant if one considers only the positive placemarks on same-sex public displays of affection, and the Interior of the country registers the opposite situation. Lisbon Region, Porto and the Littoral are represented on this web map as more friendly to same-sex public displays of affection.

Analysing the words more frequently used on the placemarks (Table 26) it is clear that most of the content was related to same-sex relationships: couple(s), girlfriend, dating, kisses and lesbians, are amongst the words most frequently used. These results are in line with the workshop's context and demonstrate that participants did comply with the workshop's objective.

Couple(s)	15	Lesbian(s)	10
Girlfriend	15	Lisbon	10
Dating	15	Gaze	10
To kiss, kisses	11	LGBT	8
Porto	11	People	8
Beach	11	Public	8

Table 26 - Words more frequently used on the placemarks

These results support the possibility of using geospatial practices to highlight how emotions, subjectivities and spaces are mutually constitutive (Kwan 2007; Lin 2013).

A particular contribution was quite interesting. In this case it was possible to determine that the placemarks were created by the same person by the date of their creation and the type of content (given that the placemarks creation was anonymous). This contribution consists on the last 17 placemarks of the web map (on the left sidebar of the Google map there is a list with all the placemarks ordered by the day they were created or commented on) and reports a personal history. It illustrates how a web map can tell a georeferenced history; by reading these georeferenced placemarks one can understand the relation of different places with specific episodes of life, states of mind, emotions and individual positionality. One comes to understand the path lived by this woman, from her adolescence in a small town characterized by loneliness and oppression, through her university years in Porto (when her sexual orientation was a cause of distress as well as a trigger to self-awareness and active resistance), experiencing years of suffering and destructive behaviour, the discovery of the independence of having her own house, to a time of change and LGBT activism in the

90s in Lisbon. This history fits in the context of the LGBT movement in Portugal; it was not until the 90s and in Lisbon that LGBT associations became relevant and visible.

Participants acknowledged that contributing with their own experiences, emotions, thoughts and opinions to the web map made them more attentive to the spatial dimension of their lives. Concurrently, having access to the web map made them more aware of the experiences of other lesbian and bisexual women contributing to a sense of belonging. The perception of other women who engage on same-sex relationships affects the way lesbians experience space contributing to build a sense of community and belonging (Rothenberg 1995).

The content of the placemarks was mostly positive even when related to same-sex public displays of affection. However the results point to a heterogeneous geographical distribution of positive placemarks related to same-sex public displays of affection. Lisbon Region, Porto and the Littoral are represented on this web map as more friendly to same-sex public displays of affection, in concordance with the results of the previous phases of the research.

The analysis of the words used on the placemarks confirm that the participants complied with the workshop's objective, sharing experiences, emotions, thoughts and opinions related to same-sex relationships.

The collaborative creation of this web map provided a lived representation of georeferenced experiences, emotions, thoughts and opinions of lesbians and bisexual women, and one particular example illustrated how a web map can tell a georeferenced history. This workshop illustrates how participatory geospatial practices of discriminated groups can create collective significance out of individual actions, turning the invisible visible.

8.2. Layers of visibility workshop

A web map with positive lesbians' experiences on public spaces was produced by the researcher with information from Collaborative web mapping workshop and made accessible on web browsers and directly on location with mobile devices (tablets, mobile phones).

The decision on what area was going to be used in the map of Layers of Visibility workshop was made based on information gathered on the first phase of the

research "Mapping the landscape". This particular area of Lisbon, Parque das Nações[91], has some characteristics suitable for the workshop: it is not identified as LGBT friendly (the objective of the workshop requires a hetero pervasive reality), and it is a cosmopolitan area with lots of people walking by (the cosmopolitism and peoples' presence can provide security – this is particularly important since the map used in the workshop can create the impression of a lesbian friendly area and participants may feel safer to have same-sex public displays of affection).

The placemarks displayed on the map used in this workshop[92] were selected from all the placemarks created by the collaborators of the Collaborative web mapping workshop. The criterion to select the placemarks was related to positive lesbians' experiences on public spaces. Most of the placemarks on the map of Layers of Visibility workshop (12 out of 16) contain information on positive experiences of same-sex public displays of affection. The placemarks were moved from their original locations (diverse places all over Portugal) to ensure collaborators privacy, and their georeferentiation was chosen in order to cover the whole area of Parque das Nações.

The initial idea was to publish and to gather information on reactions to the map of Layers of Visibility workshop through Facebook. The procedures were: to create a group on Facebook (members were selected from Portuguese lesbian groups on Facebook); to set the privacy level to 'secret group' (only group members can see posts, members by invitation only), to share the 'Layers of Visibility' web map with *the Wikitude MyWorld* Facebook App, and to call for comments on the Facebook group about the mapped area (reactions in terms of representation and possible behavioural changes). *Wikitude myWorld* is a feature of the *Wikitude World Browser*, announced at the Mobile World Congress 2012 in Barcelona (27 February - 1 March, 2012). *Wikitude World Browser* was the first mobile Augmented Reality[93] browser worldwide. It allows the search for points of interest by current position and to view them on a map, list, and on an Augmented Reality (AR) camera view. With *Wikitude myWorld* users can create georeferenced tags to places with descriptions, photos and comments producing an Augmented Reality (AR) World directly from their mobile device and share it with

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[91] http://goo.gl/maps/KyuZ

[92] http://goo.gl/maps/jHcp

[93] AR allows the user to see the real world, with virtual objects superimposed upon or composited with the real world. (Azuma, 1997).

Facebook friends. Places can be created in real time on Smartphones or by interacting with a world map via the *Wikitude myWorld* Facebook App[94] on the web. *Wikitude myWorld* is available on Android, iOS and BlackBerry handsets. Although *Wikitude myWorld* enables the creation and access of information on local (see Figure 42 - Map of the decision process of designing 'Creating landscapes' workshops), it requires mobile phones with access to the Internet.

The members of the Facebook group had access to a post with the link to the *Wikitude myWorld* Facebook App. They just had to click on it and they would visualize the map of Layers of Visibility workshop (Figure 47). They could read the content of each one of the placemarks (Figure 48) while navigating into the map.
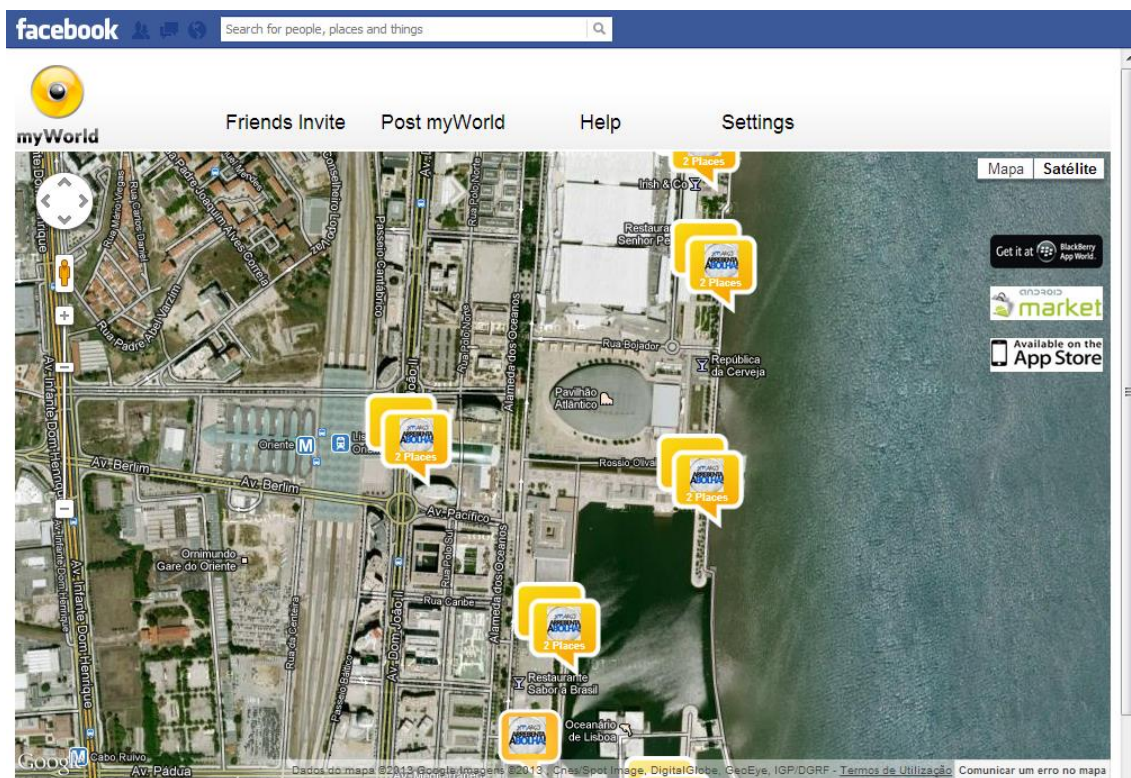
Figure 47 - Map of 'Layers of Visibility' workshop map, using *Wikitude myWorld* Facebook App

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[94] Wikitude myWorld Facebook App https://apps.facebook.com/wikitude
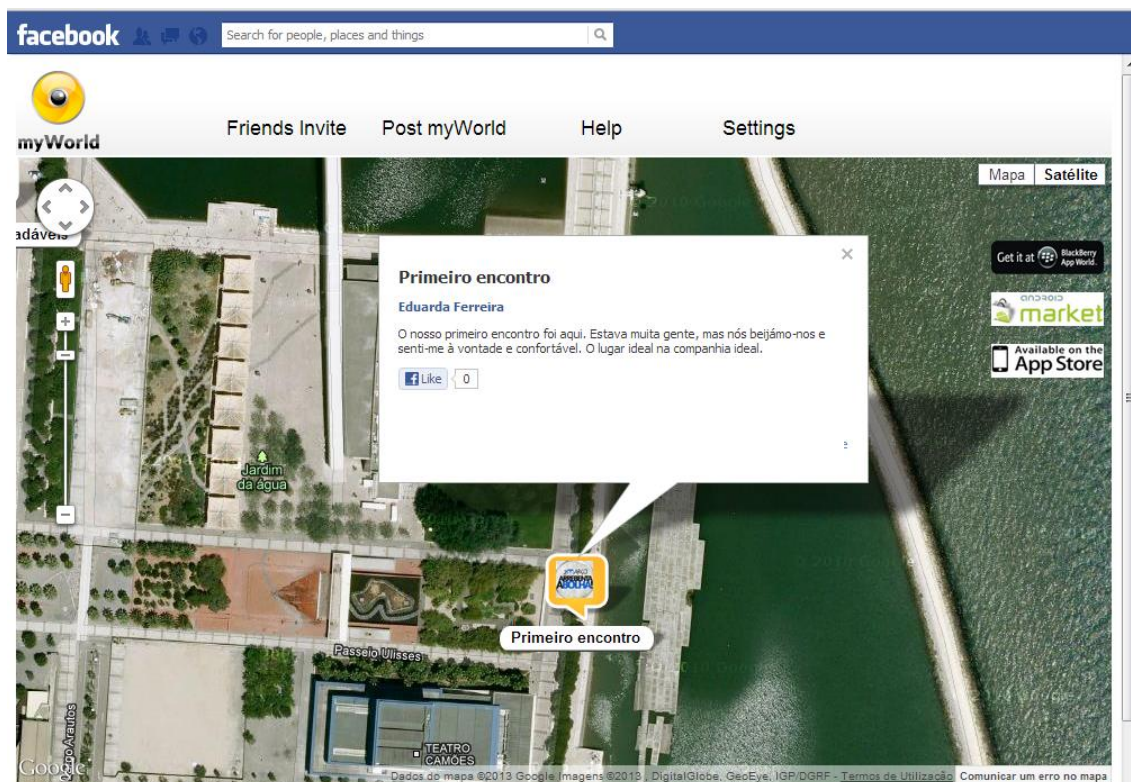
Figure 48 - Example of a placemark of 'Layers of Visibility' workshop map, using *Wikitude myWorld* Facebook App

Although the Facebook group had 62 members (self-identified lesbian and bisexual women), almost no-one commented on the map. Some participants mentioned that they were not comfortable using a Facebook App given that it requires that the user grants access to personal information.

A Google map version (Figure 49) was made available to facilitate the participation. All it required was to click on the web link to navigate to the web map, and there was no need to share personal information. Exploring the Google web map participants had access to the content of the placemarks (Figure 50).
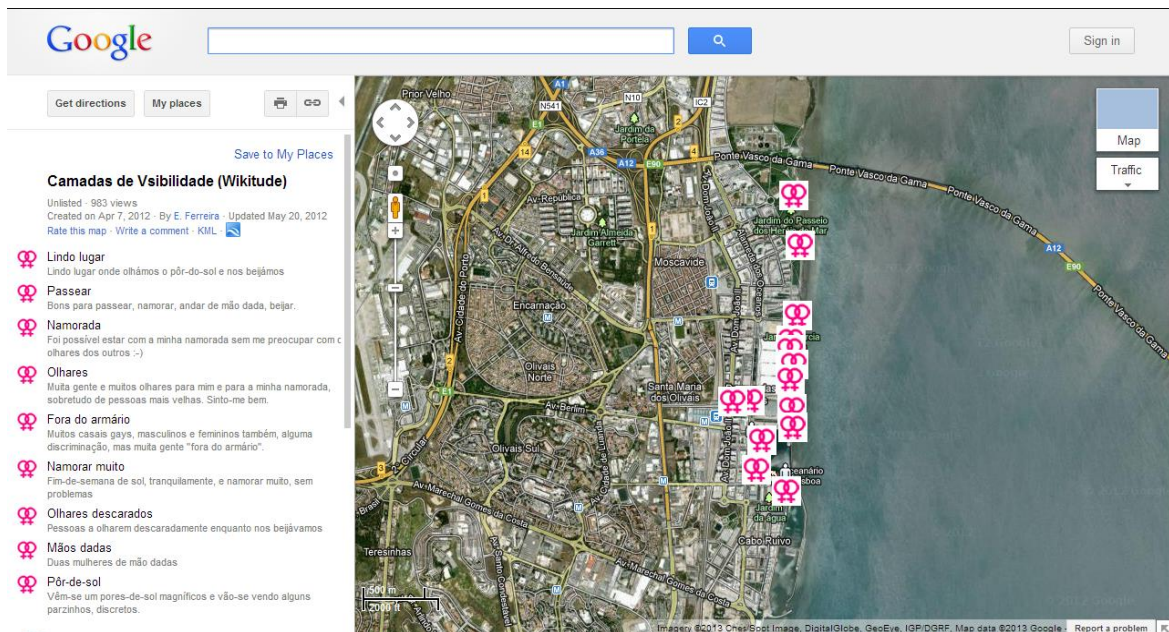
Figure 49 - Map of 'Layers of Visibility' workshop (default view)
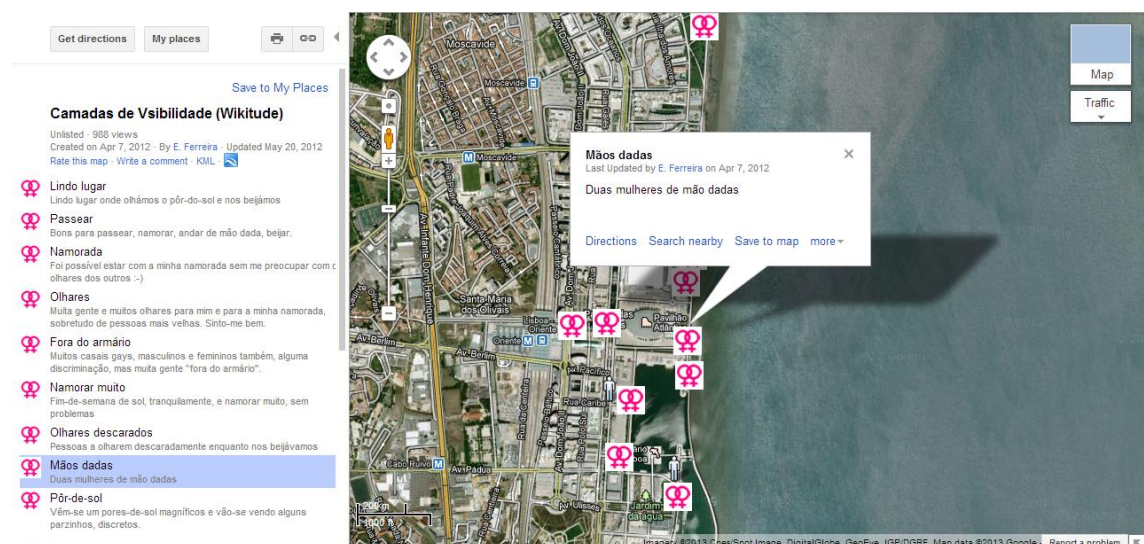
Figure 50 - Example of a placemark of 'Layers of Visibility' workshop map

Using the Google Earth feature available on Google maps one can explore the web map as illustrated on Figure 51 and Figure 52, and experience a much more realistic view of the area. The Google Earth feature facilitates the perception of the mapped area and the recognition of specific places.

Figure 51 - Global view of 'Layers of Visibility' workshop map, using the Google Earth feature of Google maps

Figure 52 - Detailed view of 'Layers of Visibility' workshop map, using the Google Earth feature of Google maps

One can explore with detail the place where each placemark is positioned (Figure 53) and by clicking on the placemark it is possible to read its content (Figure 54). The navigation on Google maps is user friendly, intuitive and accessible to anyone who has the basics knowledge of navigating on the Internet; it does not require any specific knowledge of online technologies. The Google Earth feature makes the visualization of the mapped area more realistic and engaging.

Figure 53 - Close view of one of the placemarks of 'Layers of Visibility' workshop map, using the Google Earth feature of Google maps
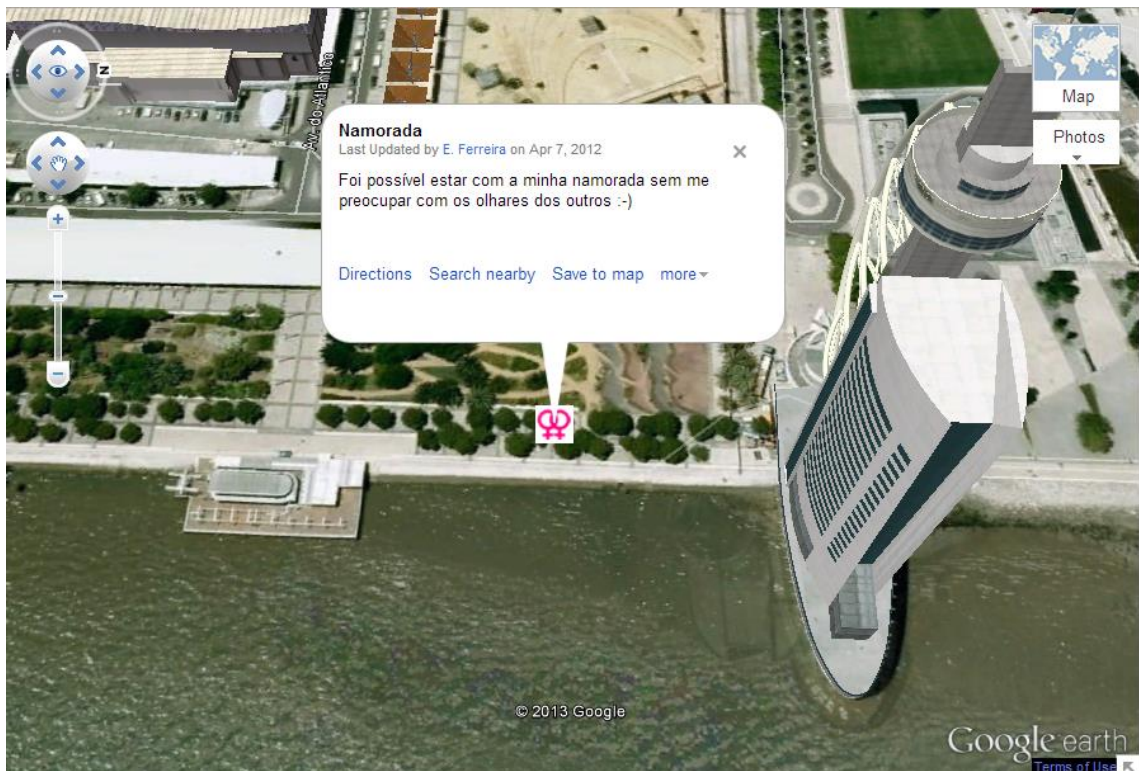
Figure 54 - Close view of the content of one of the placemarks of 'Layers of Visibility' workshop map, using the Google Earth feature of Google maps

An online inquiry[95] was created in order to assess participants' reactions to the Layers of Visibility map. The online inquiry (from April 2nd to May 6th 2012) explored how the visualization of the map influences ideas and the representation of that area, the likelihood to have affective behaviours with another woman in this space, and the perception of safety for lesbian and bisexual women.

The women who answered the online inquiry are characterised on Table 27, Table 28 and Table 29. Most of the participants identified themselves as lesbians, live in Lisbon region, have at least a graduate degree, and are more than 30 years old. The professional occupation is diversified and in various areas of activity. None of the women who participated on the 'Collaborative web mapping' workshop participated on this workshop. The idea was to collect 'first time' reactions to the web map.

Sex
Female **23**

Sexual Orientation
Lesbian **16** | Bisexual **6** | Other **1**

Education
Primary **0** | Secondary **4** | Graduate **8** | Postgraduate **11**

Age
< 20 **1** | 20 – 29 **7** | 30 – 39 **6** | 40 – 49 **6** | 50 - 59 **2** | > 60 **1**

Table 27 - Characterization of the participants of the Layers of Visibility workshop

Lisbon	16
Porto	5
Setúbal	2

Table 28 - Listing of the district of residence of the participants of the Layers of Visibility workshop

Teacher	7	Biologist	1
Administrative assistant	3	Psychologist	1
Student	5	Sales woman	1
Social worker	2	Soldier	1
Architect	1	Unemployed	1

Table 29 - Listing of the professional occupation of the participants of the Layers of Visibility workshop

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[95] https://sites.google.com/site/layersofvisibility/

It is interesting that not only women from Lisbon answered the online inquiry. Parque das Nações is one of the most well known places in town, even for people out of Lisbon (this was the site of Expo 98 and since then it is a rather cosmopolitan and touristic area).

The results indicate that most of the participants acknowledge the effect of the web map on their ideas and representation of Parque das Nações, namely that they perceive this space as safer for lesbian and bisexual women, and that it is more likely to have same-sex public displays of affection in this space. To have lesbians safely acting on their sexual orientation on a specific space promotes the social validity of lesbian sexual desire and creates a momentary safe space (Wolfe 1997).

Some participants explicitly refer to the sense of belonging, safety and joy elicited by the visualization of the web map with positive lesbians' experiences on this public space. The positive emotional reaction to the web map is worth mentioning if one considers that participants (as we all) live in a pervasive heteronormative public space that discriminates non-normative sexual orientations.

"It was refreshing and liberating to understand that a space that I know is a space of visibility and affection to people with the same sexual orientation than mine. I feel joy, belonging, freedom." Bisexual, Administrative assistant, 24 years old

Having other visible lesbians on a specific space is important to lesbians and bisexual women given that it reaffirms a sense of identity and community (Eves 2004; Podmore 2001).

One interesting outcome is the increased awareness of the importance of space to lesbians and bisexual women's behaviours. Although the intimate connections between the disclosure of sexual orientation and space have been uncovered and studied by a diverse range of researchers (Mitchell, 2000; Valentine, 1993b, Ferreira, 2011) it is worth mentioning that some of the individuals enduring discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation are not themselves aware of this fact.

"It seems to me that more people are disclosing their sexual orientation in some areas and it provides a sense of security. I had never thought about the spatial aspects of lesbian visibility." Bisexual, Teacher, 45 years old

Some participants speculate on the possible reasons for this particular public space to have reports of positive lesbians' experiences, which can point to some scepticism about the reality revealed on the map.

"Most of the areas identified on the map, are near the river, which means that only half of the space can have people, restraining the visibility issues. Is this one of the reasons for these behaviours?? At least there no one sees us. On the other hand people in this space may be more absorbed in jogging, cycling or conversations. It is a place frequented by urban people, with a neutral behaviour. It is an area with no apparent risk of adverse extreme reactions." Bisexual, Social worker, 40 years old

The most evident change on the participants' representation is an increased perception of this space as safer for lesbians and bisexual women. This change is supported by the reasoning that more frequent same-sex public displays of affection can contribute to people's indifference and a corresponding loss of interest (people staring was identified in the previous phases of this research as one of the most unpleasant aspects of public space for non-heterosexuals and inhibitor to same-sex public displays of affection).

"Because imagining myself surrounded by people who share my ideals can make me feel safer, knowing that there it is less likely to be discriminated." Bisexual, Student, 24 years old

"Given that there is a greater lesbian visibility it is likely to be a safer place." Bisexual, Student, 19 years *old*

"Knowing about the existence of these behaviours among women on this space, I assume that it can contribute to an indifference of "others" towards these behaviours." Lesbian, Teacher, 40 years old

"First, because I do not think people will have any other aggressive behaviour besides staring, then because if more of us do the same, perhaps the gestures become more trivial and less noticed." Lesbian, Psychologist, 40 years old

Another reason for the increased feeling of safety is based on the idea that other people can intervene and help in case of possible negative reactions. This idea is strongly related to a sense of belonging, of being a part of a group of anonymous people that will stand up for you (Rothenberg 1995). This kind of feeling is uncommon for

most non-heterosexuals in public spaces, if they choose to disclose their sexual orientation, with the exception of LGBT friendly areas or specific time/space events, such as Pride events.

> *"Yes, because I see that there is not as much discrimination as I had imagined, and because the fact that there are more people with the same behaviour than me (affective behaviour with another woman) I think that in this space if there was a case of active discrimination I would feel more protected by this group of unknown people. I imagine that for example before any physical or verbal aggression, I could have reactions of solidarity by same-sex couples who witnessed the situation."* Lesbian, Teacher, 45 years old

Watching and witnessing others' experiences feeds our understanding of spaces. Having access to information about other lesbians and bisexual women positive experiences on public spaces can work as a facilitator to same-sex public displays of affection.

> *"Probably I will not be the only lesbian walking around with a girlfriend or wife and if there have been no strong negative reactions to others then there should not be to me."* Bisexual, Teacher, 45 years old

> *"I learned that this space is more welcoming than I thought, because there are other couples at ease, it helps me to feel comfortable too (for kissing, hugging, holding hands)."* Lesbian, Psychologist, 40 years old

The 'Layers of Visibility' web map did contribute to change most of the participants' representation of Parque das Nações, in terms of safety, belonging and increased possibility of same-sex public displays of affection. The most significant change has been the perception of this space as safer for lesbians and bisexual women. One of the arguments for this change in perception is associated with the fact that more frequent same-sex public displays of affection can increase people's indifference to overt lesbians and bisexual women. The increased sense of belonging is particularly relevant and worth exploring in future work, being an uncommon feeling for most non-heterosexuals in public spaces.

8.3. Augmented reality experience

To explore the reactions on-site to the visualization of augmented reality layers on mobile phone cameras, using the *Wikitude World Browser*, a meeting was organized on Parque das Nações, on June 10th 2012. Participants could use their own mobile phones (if they have access to the Internet) or use mobile phones provided by the researcher[96]. The meeting plan had three phases:

- Welcome and briefing on *Wikitude World Browser* software;

- Walk around Parque das Nações visualizing the augmented reality information of Layers of Visibility map on the mobile phone cameras;

- To answer an inquiry, similar to the online inquiry[97] plus exploring the reactions to the augmented reality experience.

The augmented reality information of Layers of Visibility map on the mobile phone cameras accessed by the *Wikitude World Browser* software looks like the images on Figure 55.

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[96] Three mobile phones (HTC Velocity, LG LTE and LG P500) were available on the meeting, provided by Vodafone Portugal for the period of one week (this was the only support for this research, see p. 128)

[97] https://sites.google.com/site/layersofvisibility/

Figure 55 - Photos that illustrate the use of *Wikitude World Browser*

The images on the left are photos of Parque das Nações, and the images on the right are photos of the mobile phone display with the *Wikitude World Browser* running and the camera pointing to the same place, showing us the information of the Layers of Visibility map superimposed upon the real image. If one touches the screen on one of the placemarks, its content is displayed (Figure 56). Using the *Wikitude World Browser* on a mobile phone one can see virtual layers of information superimposed upon the real image of the camera, enabling an experience of augmented reality.

Figure 56 - Examples of content of the placemarks as displayed on the mobile phone

Information on the location, date and activities of the meeting was published on LGBT Portuguese mailing lists and on Facebook. Besides publicizing this meeting on mailing lists and Facebook, information was sent directly to the emails of some respondents to the online inquiry that had expressed their interest to participate. Nevertheless no one showed up. The fact itself that the augmented reality experience "failed" was a result itself. It was necessary to critically reflect on the reasons why women did not participate on this experience.

In order to understand this occurrence an inquiry was made about the reasons of their non-attendance. The inquiry was published on mailing lists and Facebook, and emails were sent to those who had expressed their interest to participate. Most of the respondents said they had other activities planned or that they were away from Lisbon, however it is plausible to assume that the location and time of the meeting might have been one of the reasons why there were no participants. A meeting of lesbians and bisexual women, on a Sunday mid-afternoon in an open air public space could be considered too exposed. In particular Parque das Nações, on a Sunday afternoon is a very popular place, with lots of groups of people of all ages, including children, youngsters, adults and older people (Figure 57).

Figure 57 - Photo taken at the meeting point while waiting for the participants

The location, day and time of the meeting were in line with the objective of the workshop: to explore how augmented reality with layers of positive lesbians' experiences can disrupt a hetero pervasive reality and impact social identity and belonging. Taking into account the non-attendance this was not clearly a good option. Based on the results of the previous phases of the research this outcome could have been anticipated, namely the resistance of lesbians and bisexual women to be out in public spaces with a group of women whose characteristics might identify themselves as lesbians. However the online inquiry (about the Layers of Visibility web map) questioned respondents about the possibility of participating on an augmented reality experience in Parque das Nações. The overall positive answers raised the expectations, erroneously, on the number of participants.

The fieldwork is a dialogical process in which the research situation is structured by both the researcher and those being researched (England, 1994). In this case, the "failed augmented reality experience" was a challenging moment that provided the opportunity to critically reflect on the research. Based on a reflexive inquiry on the reasons why people did not attend the experience, a group meeting was organised to further explore the research results.

8.4. Group meeting

The reflexive inquiry on the "failed augmented reality experience" was the basis to decide on the main characteristics of the next step of the research. The group meeting (on October 4th 2012) had the following conditions:

- Participants were individually invited, and no general call for participation was published on mailing lists or Facebook;

- No technology nor mobile phones were used (most of participants don´t use mobile phones to access web maps – p.131);

- The meeting was indoors on a well-known feminist centre in Lisbon. Although this centre is LGBT friendly, it organizes diverse activities on all kinds of subjects, which ensures that going to this centre does not imply an identification with LGBT activities;

- Instead of presenting a specific approach (web maps and augmented reality) the participants were encouraged to engage in conversations about an open-ended question about technology-based strategies that could contribute to make public spaces friendlier to same-sex displays of affection.

From the group of women who participated on the previous research phases, 25 women were invited (resident in Lisbon or nearby), but only 6 could attend. All of them participated on the 'Collaborative web mapping' workshop. The participants' characterization (Table 30) was:

Sexual orientation	Age	Education	Professional occupation
Bisexual	23 years old	Graduate student	Student
Lesbian	25 years old	Graduate student	Student
Bisexual*	27 years old	Graduate student	Student
Lesbian	45 years old	Postgraduate	Teacher
Lesbian	50 years old	Graduate	Journalist
Lesbian	58 years old	Postgraduate	Teacher

* Belgian woman living and studying in Lisbon (she participated on the Collaborative web mapping workshop)

Table 30 - Characterization of the participants of the group meeting

The group met around a coffee table on an informal setting. The meeting started with a brief presentation of the results of the 'Mapping the landscape' phase of the research. Then the researcher challenged the participants to share ideas and to discuss about technology-based strategies that could contribute to make public spaces friendlier to same-sex displays of affection.

The first idea that the participants considered was Gaydar[98]. All the participants had heard about this website and mobile phone app, but none had ever tried to use it. Gaydar was clearly identified by the participants as targeted to gay and bisexual men, which is consistent with the advertisement information of the website: "The Premier Gay Dating Site. Home To Millions Of Men.". This website was also identified with dating and sexual encounters. According to the participants most men that use this website or mobile phone app are looking for sexual partners, and given that the website information is restricted to a specific group of users it does not contribute to increase the visibility of same-sex sexualities in public spaces.

> *"One idea would be to use a mobile phone app to know if there are other lesbians nearby. But I only know this kind of app for gays."* Lesbian, 25 years old, Student

> *"In Gaydar, you create a profile and then you get a map or just a list of names I'm not sure, of people that are in your area and how close, and I think that there is a picture. It´s a private thing, just to meet other people."* Bisexual, 27 years old, Student

> *"I know this app, it shows some information on other people who are using the app, and then they can interact by messages. It is possible to define what kind of sexual interaction you are interested in."* Lesbian, 45 years old, Teacher

Some considerations were made on the possibility of a similar website targeted for lesbians and bisexual women. This possibility was not considered to be appealing for the participants given that it is too centred in dating and sexual encounters. They also mentioned that one of the reasons for the nonexistence of similar websites for women is probably related with the lack of demand, given that this is a business driven initiative. None of the participants mentioned the Gaydar for women GaydarGirls[99] designed by QSoft Consulting, the same corporation of Gaydar. The Gaydar website is available in diverse languages, such as English, French, German, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, Dutch, Japanese, and Greek. GaydarGirls is only available in English, does

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[98] Gaydar (http://www.gaydar.co.uk/) is a worldwide, profile-based dating website for gay and bisexual men. Gaydar has a mobile phone app based on user location that identifies other Gaydar users nearby. Gaydar users can interact by messages or chat, and share maps or photos.

[99] http://gaydargirls.com/

not have a mobile phone app and the website is less appealing then the similar website for men (Figure 58). The differences between these two websites corroborate the ideas expressed by the participants. Gender differences using online dating websites have been reported in diverse studies, either for heterosexuals or homosexuals (Ross, 2011).
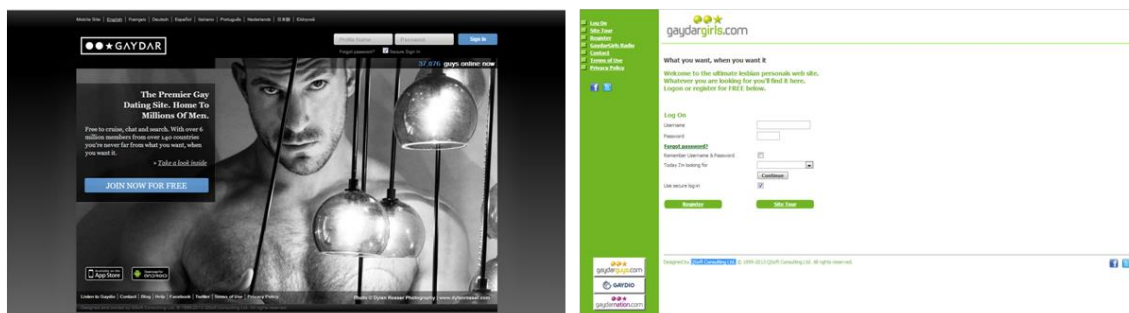
Figure 58 - Print screen of the homepages of the websites Gaydar and GaydarGirls (accessed on June 2013)

Besides not finding an online dating website appealing, the participants highlighted that these websites do not contribute to the visibility of lesbian sexualities in public spaces given that they mainly promote private encounters.

Another idea mentioned at the group meeting that participants found interesting and that potentially would appeal to lesbians and bisexual women, was a website with georeferenced information on diverse activities, such as cultural events, public gardens, nice places to walk around, coffee shops, exhibitions, etc. that are lesbian friendly. The main idea was to offer something different from the LGBT guides of bars and night places.

> *"Maybe an app with georeferenced information, but diverse information like cinemas, coffee shops, exhibitions, LGBT friendly accommodations, places in town where you knew people wouldn´t stare at you, and you could just enjoy ..."* Lesbian, 50 years old, Journalist

> *"I think that this kind of app could facilitate same sex affections on public spaces."* Lesbian, 58 years old, Teacher

Diverse issues were raised regarding the implementation of this kind of website, specifically: how to retrieve the information, how to keep it updated, and how to guarantee the accuracy of the information. However participants acknowledged that having access to this kind of information could facilitate same-sex public displays of affection in other places than bars.

The discussion of LGBT friendly bars was interesting given that there were different opinions. All the participants agreed that most LGBT friendly bars are more gay friendly than lesbian friendly. Though there were different ideas about the need for specific places for gays and for lesbians. Younger participants considered that they are not interested to go to a lesbians' bar given that they usually go out with groups that include male friends. On the contrary the older lesbians were more in favour of specific bars for lesbians. These results are similar to those of Fobear (2012) research on lesbian spaces in Amsterdam.

> *"If we usually go out with a male friend he wouldn't be able to go with us and that is not nice."* Bisexual, 23 years old, Student

> *"I think that places with a diversity of people are more interesting, otherwise it's like we are self-segregating ourselves. On the other side there are not many places where one can meet other lesbians, besides bars. There are some websites and social networks but I don´t think it's the same, not to actually meet people."* Lesbian, 25 years old, Student

The discussion on bars brought forward the idea that most LGBT friendly spaces are indoors, and that open spaces, such as the streets, are, for the most part, not safe to disclose same-sex public displays of affection.

> *"To map open-air places where you won't be harassed, that would be very useful."* Lesbian, 58 years old, Teacher

> *"What is important is to conquer the streets..."* Bisexual, 23 years old, Student

All kinds of diversity, cultural, ethnic and not just sexual diversity, were considered to be facilitators to openly display same-sex affections. Social diversity provides a sense of anonymity and security in which non-normative behaviours can go unnoticed more easily. However, participants clearly identified having more people on the streets openly expressing same-sex affections, as the key facilitator of same-sex public displays of affection.

> *"To know, for instance, how many lesbians live in that street would help, you would not need to know exactly in what specific houses, just to know that they live there. For example, there is a street where I saw more same-sex couples holding hands than I usually see in other public places, and that made me feel different, more comfortable."* Lesbian, 50 years old, Journalist

"Probably I would feel more comfortable in the streets with my girlfriend if there were more people out there holding hands or embracing, two women I mean…" Lesbian, 25 years old, Student

"If people are at a place where there are other people behaving naturally and expressing same-sex affections that would probably make them feel more at ease." Bisexual, 23 years old, Student

Digital information, such as information on a web map, was considered a possible alternative to the physical presence of people on the streets openly expressing same-sex affections. Even though people were not physically present on a specific place and time, digital information of their presence was considered to potentially affect the perception of that place as friendlier to same-sex public displays of affection.

Technology can help to provide information about people on the same place at the same time or at a different time. Participants expressed different opinions on the relevance of the time element of the digital information. Some argued that only information about people at the same time would affect the perception of place, and others argued that information on people that regularly use that place could be equally effective. However participants unanimously considered that information on the time span should be available to provide a more realistic idea.

"For many people it might be a small step to slowly start having these gestures in public spaces, the knowledge that there are more people like us around … I think that many people walking in the streets always think, or almost always, that they are the only ones, that all others are straight people, and if they knew that there are more people like them around it could provide a sense of security. We are not always alone, there are more people like us in all kinds of places, we just don't know it." Lesbian, 25 years old, Student

"It would be more meaningful an application that shows who is on that place at the same time, that would really make a difference." Lesbian, 45 years old, Teacher

"If when I go out in the streets and turn on the app could see how many people are out there, that alone would make me feel different, it is the psychological factor. I think that the information should be about the places that people usually attend, for example I use the train every day on the same route, if there

was information on people also using the same places that I use every day that would make me feel safer. To map the places that people use on their daily routines, not only the bars at night but places people pass by every day. Although I probably wouldn´t share my information if people could identify me." Bisexual, 23 years old, Student

"Information on what time people were at specific places is important; it has to be real, to give you a notion of when, day and time." Lesbian, 45 years old, Teacher

Talking about creating and not just accessing the web map, participants identified privacy and safety issues as the major obstacles to participate. Given that the web map would be open and accessible to everyone they would only feel confident to share information if personal identification was protected and no one could ever access their identity. The main issue was not about sexual orientation disclosure but about security issues.

"If it was possible not to identify yourself, it would be sufficient that people knew that someone who is lesbian was there, to know that you exist and that you were there." Lesbian, 25 years old, Student

"Maybe so, but you never know if people can use this information with other purposes, let's hope not, aiming to harass, and that could originate difficult situations. If I could post information anonymously I would, although I would not inform on all the places and times, but I think that just the fact of sharing the information that I was there, would help others ..." Bisexual, 23 years old, Student

Throughout the group meeting, participants shared diverse experiences related with the process of self-identifying as lesbian or bisexual. All stories had something in common, during that process there was always some moments when they felt that there was no one else alike, a feeling of isolation and loneliness. It is noteworthy that these feelings were also reported by the younger participants, on a time when there is more information available at the Internet, more movies and TV series with LGBT characters, books, journals, LGBT associations, and even legislation that openly promotes non-discrimination policies.

"I remember being in the university esplanade and to think that everyone else was straight, and that I was the only lesbian." Lesbian, 45 years old, Teacher

"I think that we know that there are more lesbians and gays around, but still do not feel comfortable having public affections. Even if we are at a place where others openly accept us, I think that most of the times we do not feel comfortable to hold hands or embrace, as if we do not have the same rights as heterosexuals. Many times I find myself thinking about it, why do I feel different? It's impossible that there are no more lesbians and gays, but people are afraid to disclose their sexual orientation..." Bisexual, 23 years old, Student

"I am from Setúbal, I grew up there and I always felt that I was the only one, I never saw anyone openly expressing their sexual orientation on the streets. In my group of close friends I am openly lesbian and they are all heterosexuals, the close friends I mean. There are other friends in Setúbal, not as close, that are also lesbians and gays, and we share this feeling that there is no one else like us. But it is impossible, Setúbal is a large city, there must be others..." Lesbian, 25 years old, Student

Another common aspect of the experiences reported by the participants was the difficulties of displaying same-sex affections in public spaces and the awareness that this constraint affected their relationships and ultimately their quality of life. These ideas are in line with the results of the first phase of the research 'Mapping the landscape'.

"People can go into a level of extreme paranoia. If I do something quite simple as touching the arm of my girlfriend in a public place, she will get extremely disturbed. It's easier to embrace a straight friend and kiss her on the face without any problem. However, if I do the same with another lesbian and mainly if we're in a romantic relationship she will think that everyone will realize that we are lesbians and that everyone will be looking at us. It's incredible, exactly the same gesture. And for me it is complicated to deal with it. I understand, obviously, yes, people have parents and family and don't want to be openly lesbian, but it is sometimes very complicated especially within relationships." Lesbian, 25 years old, Student

Although time can be a relevant aspect, such as other LGBT people being present at the same time, it is not the most important aspect. Participants acknowledged that having information on other LGBT people that were present at the same place as them can contribute to a sense of belonging, even though they are not present at the same time. Knowing that other LGBT people usually go to the same places as them helps to provide a sense of belonging and security. The feeling of not being the only non-heterosexual going into a specific place helps to deal with the context of social discrimination. Even if people stared at them and expressed criticism they would feel more secure and not alone. These ideas were backed up by participants' own experiences in diverse public spaces. Participants acknowledged that this information could be provided by web technologies, such as web sites, web maps, or mobile technologies.

> *"The idea is to offer something different, not just information on a bar or disco where you have to go on purpose, but rather information on everyday spaces where people go daily. If I knew that in my school there are 100 gays and 500 lesbians, I... the people who go there for the first time, freshmen, could feel more comfortable because they would know that there really are other lesbians and gays, otherwise we never know, it is never mentioned, only in small talks some people can say, that girl is lesbian or something like this. But it is only gossip."*
> Bisexual, 23 years old, Student

Participants shared some interesting experiences of being in public spaces where other people openly displayed same-sex affections. These experiences were mostly in other countries and they had a significant impact on how they deal with their sexual orientation. Participants unanimously acknowledged that in order to feel confident to have same-sex displays public of affection, first one has to witness other people doing it with no negative outcomes.

> *"This was a personal experience, when I went to Amsterdam I was in a relationship with another woman and we kept it secret from almost everyone. In Amsterdam for the 1st time I was on the street and saw lots of different things including two women openly expressing their affections, and that experience made me think that it should be like that everywhere, with different people feeling comfortable on the same place. I remember realizing that I was living a*

lie in Portugal. This experience gave me an inner strength, and from then on many things changed in my life." Lesbian, 58 years old, Teacher

"So that a person can be at ease and have these behaviours in public spaces, one must feel safe, you have to see other places where this happens and then realize that it is normal, that it is not wrong..." Bisexual, 23 years old, Student

There were some reports about less positive experiences on having same-sex displays of affection in public spaces, and the Belgian woman shared her experience comparing Portugal and Belgium. Participants reported that people staring was the most common reaction to same-sex public displays of affection, and it was felt as a hostile act and an aggression, that restrained their behaviours.

"I compare with Belgium, where you see a lot of people doing it on the streets and people don´t stare, they are used to it, of course not everywhere, there are places where it is more dangerous. Here, in Portugal, what is more difficult for me is that I feel people staring at me all the time and I am not used to it. It doesn't mean that people are more aggressive it is just that they are not used to it, so they stare." Bisexual, 27 years old, Student

"On the other day we were on the street and we hugged, just a simple hug and a lady passes by us, turns to us and starts crying out loud: go home, go home, really loud and it seemed that she would never stop." Bisexual, 23 years old, Student

Focusing on the potentialities of georeferenced digital information for LGBT people, participants considered that to access this kind of information with a computer at home, or other private place, was more appealing and safe than to access it with a mobile phone (with access to the Internet) at the georeferenced place. Guaranteeing one's privacy was identified as the main requirement to use a web map with lesbian and bisexual women experiences on public spaces, either sharing personal experiences or accessing others' experiences.

"I think that the computer is better, we can access it at home at night, to add information,... or even just one day a week and to see what has changed and what has not changed." Lesbian, 45 years old, Teacher

"If the app is easy to use I don't see why people will not use it. But never revealing too much personal information..." Lesbian, 50 years old, Journalist

Talking about technology-based strategies that could contribute to make public spaces friendlier to same-sex displays of affection, the first idea that occurred to participants was dating websites, such as Gaydar. Although participants promptly considered that this kind of websites does not contribute to facilitate same-sex displays of affection on public spaces. The gendered aspect of this kind of websites was also highlighted, being mostly targeted to men.

One idea that raised enthusiasm was a website with georeferenced information on lesbian friendly activities, such as cultural events, public gardens, nice places to walk around, coffee shops, exhibitions, etc. The main idea was to offer something that would go beyond the information on LGBT guides of bars and night places. Realizing that most spaces identified as LGBT friendly are indoors, led the conversation around the limitations of having same-sex public displays of affection on the streets and open air spaces. Participants acknowledged having difficulties to display same-sex affections in public spaces. However, the presence of other LGBT people can contribute to a sense of belonging, raising the probability of feeling confident to express same-sex affections in public. Besides having other LGBT people around, a context of social diversity was considered important to provide a sense of anonymity and security.

8.5. Conclusions

The **Collaborative web mapping workshop** adopted a participatory approach having participants themselves deciding on what data they wanted to share; exploring and using the web tools to create their own geospatial narratives and representations, and having the same control over the web mapping software as the researcher. It was a horizontal research design as far as control over processes and results was concerned.

Participating in the Collaborative web mapping workshop elicited some common reactions on all the participants, such as an increased awareness of the surrounding space, and surprise with the overall positive content of the placemarks on the web map. One of the facts that caused some surprise was the positive connotation of placemarks about same-sex public displays of affection. However, considering that most of these displays of affection are usually performed out of sight of other eyes it is easier to understand the positive connotation. Considering the content of the placemarks one can conclude that participants did contribute their own experiences, emotions, thoughts and

opinions to the web map, providing a georeferenced lived representation of lesbians and bisexual women. The participatory geospatial practices of this workshop supported the creation of collective significance out of individual actions, engendering a sense of belonging.

Having access to the web map of **Layers of Visibility workshop** (with positive lesbians' experiences) elicited on the participants a sense of safety and joy, and the increased possibility of performing same-sex public displays of affection in this space. The most common argument for feeling safer in this space was the idea that more frequent same-sex public displays of affection can lead to other people's indifference to these behaviours, reducing the possibility of having people staring. Equally important was the expectation of having a group of anonymous people that would stand up in case of any uncomfortable or violent reaction. This is an example of a countermapping geospatial web practice, based on user friendly software, surpassing geographical and temporal constraints, which enhanced its empowering potentialities and provided alternative possibilities for citizenship.

It was not possible to explore the potentialities of the **augmented reality experience** (accessing the Layers of Visibility web map on local with mobile phones) given the nonattendance of participants. This was a time to learn from a "failed fieldwork activity" and rethink the research approach. A face to face group meeting was organised with specific characteristics drawn from the reflexive inquiry on the "failed" previous activity. No technology or mobile phones were required, just people around a table talking about an open-ended question on technology-based strategies that could contribute to make public spaces friendlier to same-sex displays of affection.

Participants on the **group meeting** considered georeferenced digital information, such as web maps, on LGBT people in public spaces a plausible alternative to the physical presence on the streets, having the potential to transform the mapped spaces into LGBT friendly spaces. Having access to information about other LGBT people attending the same public spaces was considered to contribute to a sense of belonging and potentially facilitate same-sex public displays of affection. Participants considered that information on the time span of the presence of other LGBT people on public spaces would increase the potential impact on behaviours.

Privacy and safety issues were identified to be the main obstacles to participate in such a web map, either sharing information or accessing it. If one´s privacy could be

guaranteed (and perceived as such by the users) the preferential way to access the web map would be a computer at home or other private place. The possibility of using a mobile phone (with access to the Internet) to access information on local was not appealing given the privacy and security issues.

9. CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS

Considering that public spaces are one of the most discriminatory contexts for non-heterosexual individuals (FRA, 2012) this research explored ways to actively disrupt the intimate connections between the systematic production of space and the production of hegemonic heteronormativity. The present research explored the potentialities of collaborative web mapping to build capacities for action of lesbian and bisexual women, facilitating same-sex public displays of affection, aiming to advance ways to actively disrupt the heteronormative power structures inscribed in socio-spatial landscapes.

Poststructuralist approaches to space, place and identity, and feminist geographies analysis of the complexities of power, privilege and oppression, are the main references of the theoretical framework of this research. Non-representational theory understandings of concepts such as agency, embodiment, practices and performance, were particularly relevant to the design, development and results' analysis of the research.

The relational theory of space, as proposed by Michel de Certeau and Doreen Massey are at the core of this research. In particular, the arguments of these authors about the potential of the everyday practices of everyday people to reconfigure space and to disrupt systems of control and exclusion.

To acknowledge the mutual relation of constitution and reproduction of space and social identities leads to the understanding that inequalities can be perpetuated through the ways space is organized, experienced, represented and created, and that power relations and hegemonic discourses are inscribed in space (Massey 2005; Mitchell 2000; Smith 1991; Valentine 2001).

The interrelations of space and sexual identities are particularly significant, considering the pervasive context of social discrimination which restrains and excludes non-normative sexualities from public spaces. Identities, as spatially constituted and experienced, can become salient or foregrounded depending on the power-laden spaces in and through which experiences are lived (Valentine, 2007). In a context of social discrimination, individuals can decide not to disclose their sexual orientation, leading to the pervasive invisibility of lesbian and gay sexualities in public spaces (Ferreira, 2008).

The heteronormative power structures inscribed in socio-spatial landscapes are simultaneously a cause of and reinforced by the invisibility of lesbian and gay sexualities in public spaces. This invisibility reflects the inequalities endured by lesbians and gays and moreover contributes to their disempowerment (FRA, 2009). A recent online survey conducted by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights of LGBT people's experiences of discrimination, violence and harassment (FRA, 2013), reports on the lived experience of LGBT people in the key areas of discrimination, violence and harassment. The main findings point out that almost half (47 %) of all respondents had felt personally discriminated against or harassed on the grounds of sexual orientation; a majority of respondents who were attacked said that the attack or threat of violence happened partly or entirely because they were perceived to be LGBT (59 %); and respondents rarely report discrimination or violence, mainly because they believe nothing would happen or change if they reported such incidents to the authorities. One result in particular highlights the pervasive invisibility of non-heterosexual sexualities in public spaces: only 3 % of all LGBT respondents said that holding hands in public of same sex couples is "very widespread" in their country, compared with 75 % of different-sex couples; and two thirds (66 %) of the respondents said that they avoid holding hands in public with a same-sex partner for fear of being assaulted, threatened or harassed for doing so.

Notwithstanding that the concept of the public/private binary has been widely questioned and contested, this research understands that it still has significance for how people make sense of their everyday lives (Richardson 2004, p. 404). By focusing on public spaces one has to acknowledge how the definition of public and private are historically determined and not free from the power hierarchies inscribed in gender roles (Baydar, 2012). As such, this research focused on lesbians and bisexual women, aiming to further explore the intersections of gender and sexual orientation. In the present research the term lesbians and bisexuals refer to women who engage in same-sex relationships, and self-identify either as lesbians or bisexuals.

Participatory geospatial practices based upon the memories, emotions and feelings of individuals, can disclose the socio-spatial mediation and articulation of the complex gendered, classed, raced, and sexualized aspects of social identities (Kwan, 2007). The possibility of production of alternative representations of space through participatory geospatial practices offers new opportunities to engage in the constitution

and reproduction of public spaces for individuals who experience social discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation. Geospatial web tools minimize geographical and temporal constraints and facilitate public participation, enhancing its empowering potentialities. There are some ground-breaking researches on participatory geospatial practices, such as Social Tapestries (Lane et al., 2005), which explored new practices around place, identity and community using collaborative web maps generated by everyday people based on their memories, stories and experiences. The projects of Brown and Knopp (2008) and Cieri (2003) were particularly relevant to this research given that they explored the potentialities of geospatial practices to disrupt the heteronormativity of space.

One of the most innovative aspects of this research is related to the performative act of mapping. Participants could decide on the data to include on the maps, explore and use the web tools, and create their own geospatial narratives and representations. More than just creating collective significance out of individual actions, the present research project explored how geospatial web practices can contribute to create public spaces that are more equal and friendly to lesbians and bisexual women.

9.1. Summary of findings

The present research was developed in Portugal, and as such it was relevant to critically report on the different perspectives of the context of non-normative sexual identities in Portugal. The Portuguese reality of lesbians and gays has changed significantly since the mid-1990s. There have been important legal changes, such as the recognition of same-sex civil unions in 2001, the constitutional ban on discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation in 2004, and same-sex marriage law in 2010. However, there still is widespread social discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation, as it is revealed in the research on sexual orientation and gender identity based discrimination conducted in Portugal (Nogueira & Oliveira, 2010), in the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights report on homophobia and transphobia in all European countries (FRA, 2010) and in the Discrimination Eurobarometer in the EU in 2012 (European Commission, 2012).

This research project explored how collaborative web maps can contribute to disrupt hegemonic heteronormativity and to create public spaces that are more equal and

friendly to lesbians and bisexual women. The research design was structured in three phases: 'Mapping the landscape' - aimed to map physical and online spaces of lesbian and gay visibility in Portugal and to explore same-sex displays of affection in public spaces; 'Sensing the landscape' - aimed to identify significant dimensions of space and places that relate to lesbian and bisexual women's social identities (namely in what concerns emotions, representations and behaviours) through collaborative maps based on bio data, on-site emotions, personal experiences and significances; and 'Creating landscapes' - aimed to explore how creating and sharing digital layers of lesbian visibility on collaborative web maps can disrupt a hetero pervasive reality and impact social identity and belonging. The research was organised as case studies based on detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information, privileging a qualitative approach.

The participants of the research were lesbians and bisexual women with the exception of the first phase that aimed to contextualise the Portuguese reality of non-heterosexuals and that included gays as well. This research explored how women who engage in same-sex relationships negotiate their same-sex displays of affection in public spaces, either they self-identify as lesbians or bisexuals. This approach made it possible to highlight the significant relations of sexual orientation disclosure with space given that displays of affection are observable behaviours and as such one can assume that the decision to display these behaviours is interrelated with the individual's perception of public spaces as being discriminatory or not to non-heterosexual sexualities. Public displays of affection are quite common in the Portuguese socio-cultural context, namely between family members, friends and heterosexual couples, a fact which offers a special opportunity for exploring how lesbians and bisexual women negotiate same-sex displays of affection in public spaces.

The results of 'Mapping the landscape' provided original empirical data on the interrelations between sexual identities and space. This research results support the understanding of widespread social discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation in Portugal. Most of the participants identified that they avoid displaying same-sex affections in public spaces and to have an ever-present feeling of a lack of safety. The proximity to the place of residence or work further limits same-sex public displays of affection, given that most of the respondents do not want to be identified as homosexuals or bisexuals by people with whom they interact daily. It is noteworthy

that, in spite of significant legal and social changes for LGBT people in the Portuguese context, younger and older homosexuals and bisexuals describe the same difficulties of having same-sex public displays of affection.

LGBT friendly spaces are one of the few public spaces where the participants feel comfortable displaying same-sex affections. However, LGBT friendly spaces in Portugal only exist in large urban areas, and even so in specific neighbourhoods ad in a small number. Moreover, these spaces are perceived to be friendlier to gay men, further limiting the spaces in which lesbians and bisexual women feel safe/comfortable having same-sex public displays of affection.

In what concerns the Portuguese cyberspace one concludes that this is not a space of personal visibility, in spite of being a space of liberty and civil rights claims for LGBT individuals.

It can be argued that the invisibility of lesbian and gay sexualities in public spaces relates to the hidden, subtle, non-verbalized and non-explicit codes of behaviour that discriminate same-sex public displays of affection. These hidden, non-explicit codes of behaviour are among the most pervasive and powerful expressions of heteronormative power structures inscribed in socio-spatial landscapes. In the context of a heteronormative socio-spatial landscape people can decide not to disclose their non-normative sexual orientation, leading to a pervasive invisibility of lesbian and gay sexualities in public spaces. At the same time the pervasive invisibility of lesbian and gay sexualities in public spaces reinforces power inequalities, feeding back into the heteronormative socio-spatial landscape.

The results of the 'Sensing the landscape' phase account for the potential of georeferenced bio data to explore the interrelations of emotions and space. The use of mixed sources of data (bio data, GPS track and audio recording during the walks) has proven to have potentialities to explore the socio-spatial mediation and articulation of emotions, worth further investigate in future research. In particular, to have access to the georeferenced information of the bodily states and to have the opportunity to reflect on what might have caused these bodily reactions, can be a method worth exploring to further understand people's reactions to different aspects of public space.

However, more than exploring georeferenced bio data, the analysis of how people registered their impressions about specific spaces in the Emotional mapping

workshop, as proven to be an effective way to explore how the surrounding environment affected (on the sense of having an effect) the participants, highlighting the socio-spatial mediation and articulation of emotions. For example, it was possible to identify diverse emotional reactions to different stimulus in public spaces, such as to lesbians, gay, men or women.

The results of the 'Sensing the landscape' phase of the research provide insights about alternative ways of mapping the interactions of space and identities, including people's perceptions and emotions on maps, and producing specific maps to specific groups of people. These emotional mappings have the potential to explore the sensual and affective dimensions of space and can be particularly relevant to specific groups of people, namely those who live in a context of pervasive social discrimination.

The participatory approach of 'Creating landscapes' is one of the most relevant and innovative aspects of this research. The participants themselves decided on what data they wanted to share; explored and used the web tools to create their own geospatial narratives and representations, and had the same control over the web mapping software as the researcher. Creating and sharing experiences, emotions, thoughts and opinions on a collaborative web map, made the lesbian and bisexual women who participated in the 'Collaborative web mapping' workshop more attentive to the spatial dimension of their lives, at the same time that accessing information on experiences of other lesbian and bisexual women contributed to engender a sense of belonging. Considering that the sense of belonging is an uncommon feeling for most non-heterosexuals in public spaces, this outcome is worth exploring in future work.

The 'Layers of Visibility' web map with information about lesbians' positive experiences in public spaces, significantly affected the participants' representations of the mapped space. The most significant changes were the perception of the mapped space as safer for lesbians and bisexual women, and the increased possibility to perform same-sex public displays of affection in that space. Participants acknowledged that having information about other lesbians and bisexual women positive experiences of same-sex displays of affection on public spaces increased the possibility of having themselves publicly displays of same-sex affections.

The "failure" to explore the potentialities of the augmented reality experience (accessing the Layers of Visibility web map on local with mobile phones) given the nonattendance of participants, was a result itself and provided the opportunity to

critically reflect on the research. To further explore the research's results a face-to-face group meeting was organized. This group meeting provided interesting results on the potential of georeferenced digital information, such as web maps to transform the mapped spaces into LGBT friendly spaces. Participants considered that having access to information about other LGBT people attending the same public spaces could contribute to a sense of belonging and potentially facilitate same-sex public displays of affection. However, privacy and safety issues were identified to be obstacles to participate in such a web map, either sharing information or accessing it; and participation would only be considered if privacy could be guaranteed.

9.2. Major conclusions

Collaborative web mapping to disrupt space

This research highlights the potentialities of participatory geospatial online practices to disrupt the heteronormative socio-spatial landscape. The results of the 'Creating landscapes' workshops provide evidence that lesbian and bisexual women can create new landscapes by creating and sharing geospatial web content with their experiences, emotions, thoughts and opinions on same-sex relationships. Providing a lived representation of same-sex public displays of affection through collaborative web maps can play a part in disrupting hegemonic heteronormativity, without exposing individuals to direct discrimination. This approach is particularly relevant on a context of pervasive social discrimination, which is the situation in Portugal as in other EU countries (FRA, 2010). And if one considers that EU is one of the parts of the world where there is a more comprehensive set of legislation protecting individuals against discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation, the importance of this approach is even more obvious.

This research project provides evidence that having access to web maps with layers of lesbians' positive experiences in public spaces can affect the perception of safety and belonging and increase the perceived possibility of same-sex public displays of affection, for women who engage in same-sex relationships. Virtual layers of lesbians' positive experiences of public spaces can facilitate the occurrence of same-sex public displays of affection, and more frequent same-sex displays of affection in public

spaces feeds back into the way these spaces are perceived in a cyclical process that can contribute to a more equal and non-discriminatory space.

Even though a single experience of being exposed to information on the positive experiences of same-sex public displays of affection may not be sufficient to effectively impact peoples' representation, it can trigger reflection and questioning, which can precede change. 'Creating landscapes' results support the possibility of using collaborative web mapping as a strategy to promote a non-discriminatory public space with respect to sexual orientation. Further work is needed to investigate whether these changes endure over time and to ascertain if the representations and ideas are put into practice and transformed into behaviours.

This research highlights how emotions, subjectivities, and spaces are mutually constitutive, and disclose the heteronormative power structures inscribed in socio-spatial landscapes. Participatory geospatial practices of discriminated groups can create collective significance out of individual actions and turn the invisible visible, constituting countermapping practices that provided alternative possibilities for citizenship. 'Creating landscapes' illustrates that geospatial web narratives of memories and stories of a discriminated group, can increase their visibility and contribute to contesting power relations, disrupting pervasive heteronormativity.

More than making visible non-normative sexualities at specific spaces such as LGBT friendly bar areas, or at particular space/time events such as Pride parades and festivals, what can more effectively disrupt the hegemonic heteronormativity is to make them visible on everyday practices in all contexts, spaces and times of people's lives. Specific LGBT events and spaces resonate with tolerance, with reinforcing hegemonic discourses in public spaces. Extending the visibility of non-normative sexualities beyond private spaces mainly to specific authorized public spaces, can be understood as a way of reinforcing the heteronormativity of public space (Hubbard, 2001). LGBT friendly commercial spaces and Pride events are subject to legal authorizations and limited to specific spaces and times; they are formally controlled as well as contained. What this research proposes is to go beyond those delimited spaces and times, extending the possibility of increasing the visibility of non-normative sexualities to virtually everywhere and on every occasion, by using geospatial online practices and providing alternative opportunities for sexual citizenship.

The possibility of having individuals actively participating in geospatial web practices without having to share personal details (particularly significant on a context of social discrimination) and the web potentialities to minimize geographical and temporal constraints, are determinant factors to transform the geospatial web on a privileged way to contribute to the visibility of the everyday practices of discriminated people.

Translating research findings into equality policy

Notwithstanding that the results of the 'Layers of Visibility' workshop support the use of collaborative web mapping as a strategy to create landscapes of non-discriminatory public spaces that are more equal and friendly to lesbians and bisexual women, equality policy is essential for effective change to occur.

Equality policies should consider the specificities of discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation, such as the pervasive reality of social discrimination, the possibility of not disclosing one's sexual orientation, and the widespread invisibility of lesbian and gay sexualities in public spaces. In addition to non-discrimination laws, it is crucial to promote the expression of lesbian and gay sexualities in the public sphere in order to break the cycle of invisibility and to advance significant social change. If equality policies do not actively promote the public visibility of homosexuality and bisexuality, the main burden of making lesbian and gay sexualities visible will be on the shoulders of individuals who have to deal with prejudice and discrimination. Equality policies should provide a wide set of measures that effectively support lesbian women, gay men and bisexual people in their individual struggle to gain public visibility.

These ideas are in line with the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA, 2013) formulation of opinions to support EU and national policy makers to introduce and implement comprehensive and effective legislative and non-legislative measures to respect and safeguard the fundamental rights of LGBT people. Some of the opinions formulated by FRA (2013, pp. 10-14) emphasize that "a more open support by politicians makes LGBT people feel more comfortable about living as LGBT people", that "EU Member States should encourage more detailed and targeted research at the national level and consider integrating questions on sexual orientation and gender identity in national surveys on areas such as living conditions, wellbeing, health and

employment", and that "EU Member States should ensure that objective information on sexual orientation, gender identity and gender expression is part of school curricula to encourage respect and understanding among staff and students, as well as to raise awareness of the problems faced by LGBT people".

Taking into consideration the specificities of discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation, some equality policies might include: a) school curricula related to the diversity of sexualities; b) openly representation of lesbian women, gay men and bisexual people on documents produced by governmental organizations in all areas of public life, such as education, health, justice, security and so on; c) official recognition of the diversity of sexualities in all official statements, discourses and documents; d) the implementation of an inclusive approach to people of all sexual orientations in all public services without assuming that everyone is heterosexual. Visual images are an important and ever-increasing means through which social life happens (Rose, 2007); and it would, therefore, be of particular importance if governmental organizations were to promote the regular public display of images of lesbian and gay sexualities.

Providing unbiased information and actively promoting a positive image is important for combating all forms of discrimination. In regards to sexual orientation, however, it is imperative if we are to guarantee that lesbian women, gay men and bisexual people can live in an open and inclusive environment with the guarantee of being respected and with the real possibility of achieving fulfilment.

9.3. Areas of Future Research

As stated before, further work is needed to investigate whether the changes registered in the participants' perception of the mapped space endure over time and if these changes are put into practice and transformed into behaviours. Future research can explore if effectively having access to web maps with positive lesbians' experiences increases the occurrence of same-sex public displays of affection.

One of the limitations of this research, common to other researches on sexualities (Taylor, 2012), is the difficulty to have participants from diverse socioeconomic and cultural background. As an example, most of the women who participated in this research have a graduate degree and some have a master's degree. This distribution does not reflect the social reality of Portugal where education levels

are still very low[100]. Future research can contribute to access the impact that socioeconomic class and cultural background can have on the potentialities of geospatial online practices to disrupt hegemonic discourses in public spaces.

As most of the research methods were online and the researcher only had access to the data that the participants shared by answering the characterisation questions of the online survey and inquiries, it was not possible to thoroughly access the diverse aspects of people's lives, such as the ethnical diversity of the participants or their degree of disability. The intersectionality of these aspects is also a significant area to explore in future research.

One could expect that by using online research methods, it would be possible to include a more diverse group of people. At the dawn of the Internet era there were high expectations on the potentialities to overcome socioeconomic inequalities and to enable more vulnerable and marginalised groups to participate and have a voice (Dasgupta, 2012). However, there are many evidences that this is not the case; online spaces are not absent of the inequalities of socioeconomic processes and power dynamics in which the Internet use is embedded (Castells, 1999). One question that remains to be answered is how to include a more diverse group of people as participants in participatory academic research?

Considering the specific use of collaborative web mapping to promote a more equal public space to women discriminated on grounds of sexual orientation, there are some issues raised during this research that need to be further analysed: information on when (time span) the experiences registered on the web map occurred, and the guarantee of the participants' privacy. Some of the questions that remain unanswered are: to what extent information on the time span of the shared experiences influences the impact on the perception of the mapped space, and does this information increases the perceived authenticity of the web map?

Privacy issues are the most important when considering the probability of individuals to engage in collaborative web mapping practices. Some of the key issues to further explore are related with the possibility to effectively guarantee the participants privacy. Is it possible to effectively guarantee privacy to participants? And if so, how to

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[100] Only 15% of the Portuguese population have a graduate degree of education (INE, 2012)

make this guarantee trustworthy on a time when people increasingly suspect of the Internet overrun of personal data?

Probably who promotes the collaborative web mapping practices will have a significant influence on individuals' perception of privacy and safety. LGBT associations or other non-governmental groups could be an option, as well as self-organized groups of people. One of the most interesting and promising aspects of geospatial online practices is that they are accessible to almost everyone, not requiring specific training or implying significant costs. All it requires is to have access to a computer, tablet or mobile phone, with an Internet connection, and a basic level of web navigation knowledge. What is the most important is to have a guiding idea or objective to achieve. Any individual or group of people can launch such an initiative. What is at stake is the credibility of the initiative, the trust on the project and the perception of the objectives and motivations. For these reasons it would be more likely to have people's participation if the initiative was promoted by a known LGBT association or non-governmental group. However, research on this issue is still needed to better understand the impact of the promoters of the collaborative web mapping experience on the participants' reactions.

The potential effect of the results of this research on policy makers and the way equality policies are enacted is a key question that deserves specific research, considering the importance of equality policies on the quality of life of LGBT people.

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Appendix 7 - Instructions to collaborate in the Collaborative web mapping workshop

Notes

Parts of this thesis have been published. The identification of chapters and corresponding publications are listed below:

Sexual identities: the Portuguese context	Ferreira, E. & Silva, M. J. (2011). Equality policy in Portugal: the case of sexual orientation. In J. Motmans, D. Cuypers, P. Meier, D. Mortelmans, P. Zanoni (Eds.) *Equal is not enough: challenging differences and inequalities in contemporary societies.* Antwerp: Policy Research Centre on Equal opportunities, University of Antwerp - Hasselt University, pp. 142-155.
Mapping the landscape	Ferreira, E. (2011). Geographies of (in)equalities: space and sexual identities, in R. Salvador, A. Firmino, C. Ponte, E. Ferreira (Eds.) *Proceedings of Geographies of Inclusion: challenges and opportunities*. Lisboa: e-GEO, pp. 36-60.
Sensing the landscape	Ferreira, E. & Salvador, R. (2012). Sensing the Landscape: Collaborative Emotion Mapping in Urban Spaces , in *Actas do XIII Colóquio Ibérico de Geografia*, pp. 578-588. Santiago de Compostela, 25 - 27 October.

Creating landscapes	Ferreira, E. (2013). Collaborative Web mapping: Creating Layers of Lesbian Visibility, in *Book of Proceedings IV International Meeting in Cultural Geography, Geographical Imaginations*, Universidade do Minho, pp. 54-73, Braga, 27-28 September 2012.
	Ferreira, E. & Salvador, R. (forthcoming). Exploring collaborative web mapping to disrupt heteronormativity: a case study on lesbians in Portugal. Paper submitted and accepted to *Gender Place and Culture* (in revision).