

Shades of Hate:
Representations around homosexuality in
Chilean church and parliamentary
discourse (2005-2015)

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Abstract

Drawing on corpus-based critical discourse studies that investigate out-group representations of sexual identities, this study identifies representations instantiated in three purpose-built corpora about gay people, homosexuality and LGBTQ+ laws produced between 2005 and 2015 in Chile. These are made up of 51,188 and 86,271 words of articles from the websites of Evangelical and Catholic churches, and a 231,467-word corpus of transcriptions of parliamentary debates.

The methodological approach undertaken uses corpus tools to carry out a qualitative analysis of expanded concordance lines and incorporates aspects from Reisigl and Wodak's (2016) Discourse Historical Approach (DHA), van Leeuwen's (2008) framework for the analysis of legitimation, and Fairclough's (1989) three-dimensional model for critical discourse analysis. These allow for the identification of representations and legitimation strategies, and the explanation of similarities and/or differences across the corpora considering contextual factors.

In the analyses of the corpora, representations of gay people, homosexuality, gay marriage, same-sex relationships, and the different churches were identified. In the Evangelical Churches Corpus, the most overtly homophobic of the three corpora, representations negatively characterise gay people, homosexuality, and gay marriage, and positively portray the Evangelical churches in relation to their representations of these entities/phenomena. Similarly, the Catholic Church Corpus negatively represents homosexuality and same-sex relationships. The homophobic stance is expressed through more subtle and depersonalised ways, while positively representing the Catholic Church. Finally, the Parliamentary Debates Corpus represents gay people, homosexuality, the churches, and gay marriage in ways that foreground contesting arguments, covert homophobic stances, and the role of religion in politics.

The contextual analysis carried out helps to provide explanations for the differences and similarities among the representations and the manner in which they are instantiated in the three corpora, considering discursive and social practices as well as the historical context. In this way, the thesis provides an account of the ways that language is employed strategically within a society that is undergoing great change.

Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own work and has not been submitted in substantially the same form for the award of a higher degree elsewhere.

Table of contents

Abstract	i
Table of contents	iii
List of Tables.....	viii
List of Figures	x
Chapter 1. Introduction	1
1.1. Introduction.....	1
1.2. Language and sexuality	5
1.3. Discourse and representation.....	8
1.4. Research questions.....	11
1.5. Organisation of the thesis	13
Chapter 2. Religion, LGBTQ+ matters and politics in Chile	16
2.1. Introduction.....	16
2.2. An overview of Catholicism and Evangelicalism	16
2.2.1. Roman Catholicism.....	17
2.2.2. Protestantism, Pentecostalism and Evangelicalism	18
2.3. The Catholic and Evangelical churches in the Chilean context	20
2.3.1. The Catholic Church in Chile	20
2.3.1.1. The role of the Catholic Church in politics and the Chilean society.....	21
2.3.2. Pentecostal Evangelical churches in Chile.....	24
2.3.2.1. The role of the Evangelical churches in politics and the Chilean society	25
2.4. The rise of Evangelicalism and the decline of Catholicism in Chile.....	29
2.5. Religion and sexuality	31
2.5.1. The Catholic Church and homosexuality.....	33
2.5.2. The Evangelical churches and homosexuality	35
2.6. The LGBTQ+ movement and sexual diversity laws in Chile	36
2.7. Daniel Zamudio's murder.....	39
2.8. Attitudes about homosexuality in Chile	40
2.9. Representations of gay people in Chile	42
2.10. An overview of the political context in Chile.....	44
2.10.1. A political characterisation of Chile	45
2.10.2. Political distribution within the Chilean Congress	47
2.11. Conclusion.....	49
Chapter 3. Theoretical framework and literature review: Representation and discourse	51

3.1. Introduction.....	51
3.2. Representations.....	51
3.3. Critical Discourse Studies.....	55
3.3.1. The Discourse Historical Approach.....	64
3.3.2. Legitimation.....	69
3.3.3. Context.....	75
3.4. Corpus Linguistics.....	77
3.4.1. Corpus-based (critical) discourse analysis.....	79
3.5. Discourse and genres.....	82
3.5.1. Parliamentary discourse and parliamentary debates.....	83
3.5.2. Church discourse and church website articles.....	84
3.6. Key studies.....	86
3.6.1. Sexuality in parliamentary discourse.....	86
3.6.2. Sexuality in church discourse.....	90
3.7. Conclusion.....	94
Chapter 4. Data and Methods.....	97
4.1. Introduction.....	97
4.2. Research Questions.....	97
4.3. Data collection and cleaning.....	100
4.3.1. Church website articles.....	100
4.3.2. Parliamentary Debates.....	104
4.4. Description of the corpora.....	108
4.4.1. Evangelical Churches Corpus.....	108
4.4.2. Catholic Church Corpus.....	109
4.4.3. Parliamentary Debates Corpus.....	109
4.4.4. Corpus del Español Actual: CEA.....	111
4.5. Methods.....	112
4.5.1. The Discourse Historical Approach or DHA.....	112
4.5.1.1. Nomination and predication strategies.....	113
4.5.2. Legitimation strategies.....	116
4.5.3. Identifying Appropriate Methods of Analysis.....	118
4.5.3.1. Collocation analysis of the church discourse corpora.....	118
4.5.3.2. Keyword analysis of the churches corpora.....	126
4.5.3.3. Collocation analysis of the parliamentary debates.....	129
4.5.3.4. Concordance analysis of all the occurrences of <i>homosexual</i> *.....	132
4.5.4. Stages of Analysis.....	140

4.5.4.1. Concordance Analysis	140
4.5.4.2. Contextual Analysis.....	141
4.5.4.3. Presentation of Findings	143
4.6. Conclusion	146
Chapter 5. Representations around homosexuality in the Evangelical Churches Corpus	148
5.1. Introduction.....	148
5.2. Concordance analysis of the Evangelical Churches Corpus.....	148
5.3. Representations of gay people	152
5.3.1. Gay people are immoral	152
5.3.1.1. Homosexuality is a sin.....	152
5.3.1.2. Gay people are promiscuous	155
5.3.2. Gay people are powerful	159
5.3.2.1. Gay people are modifying religion.....	159
5.3.2.2. Gay people are a powerful minority	163
5.3.2.3. Gay people are being legally recognised.....	166
5.3.3. Gay people are dangerous to children.....	168
5.3.3.1. Gay people are an influence on children	168
5.3.3.2. Gay people are paedophiles	172
5.3.4. Gay people are mentally unstable	176
5.3.4.1. Gay people are troubled.....	176
5.3.4.2. Homosexuality is a consequence of childhood sexual abuse	179
5.3.4.3. Gay people are prone to psychological disorders.....	183
5.4. Representations of homosexuality	185
5.4.1. Homosexuality is not normal	186
5.4.1.1. Homosexuality is a deviation	186
5.4.2. Homosexuality is not part of a person's identity	190
5.4.2.1. Homosexuality is transitory.....	190
5.5. Representations of gay marriage	192
5.5.1. Gay marriage is wrong.....	192
5.5.1.1. Gay marriage laws are being rejected	192
5.6. Representations of the Evangelical churches	196
5.6.1. The Evangelical churches are against equality	196
5.6.1.1. The Evangelical churches are against LGBTQ+ rights.....	196
5.7. Conclusion	199
Chapter 6. Representations around homosexuality in the Catholic Church Corpus	204

6.1. Introduction.....	204
6.2. Concordance analysis of the Catholic Church Corpus	204
6.3. Representations of homosexuality	208
6.3.1. Homosexuality is not part of a person’s identity	209
6.3.1.1. Homosexuality is a tendency.....	209
6.3.1.2. Homosexuality is provoked.....	213
6.3.1.3. Homosexuality is a behaviour	217
6.3.2. Homosexuality is a problem	219
6.3.2.1. Homosexuality is an issue	219
6.4. Representations of the Catholic Church	221
6.4.1. The Catholic Church is tolerant	222
6.4.1.1. The Catholic Church is accompanying gay people	222
6.4.1.2. The Catholic Church is not discriminatory	224
6.4.1.3. The Catholic Church is accepting.....	227
6.4.1.4. The Catholic Church is respectful	229
6.5. Representations of same-sex partnerships	232
6.5.1. Same-sex relationships are wrong.....	232
6.5.1.1. Legalising same-sex relationships is wrong	232
6.5.1.2. Same-sex relationships are unnatural	235
6.6. Conclusion	237
Chapter 7. Representations around homosexuality in the Parliamentary Debates Corpus	242
7.1. Introduction.....	242
7.2. Concordance analysis of the Parliamentary Debates Corpus	242
7.3. Representations of gay people.....	246
7.3.1. Gay people are vulnerable.....	246
7.3.1.1. Gay people are discriminated	246
7.3.1.2. Gay partnerships are unregulated	250
7.3.1.3. Gay partnerships are not recognised.....	253
7.3.1.4. Gay couples are unprotected	254
7.3.2. Gay people are uncommon	256
7.3.2.1. Gay people are different from heterosexual people	256
7.3.3. Gay people are unexceptional	259
7.3.3.1. Gay people are like other people	259
7.4. Representations of the churches	261
7.4.1. The churches are tolerant	261
7.4.1.1. The churches are accepting of gay people.....	262

7.5. Representations of Homosexuality	264
7.5.1. Homosexuality is not dangerous to children.....	264
7.5.1.1. Homosexuality is not paedophilia	264
7.6. Representations of gay marriage	266
7.6.1. Gay marriage is wrong.....	266
7.6.1.1. Gay marriage is not marriage	267
7.7. Conclusion	269
Chapter 8. Conclusion.....	275
8.1. Introduction.....	275
8.2. Summary of findings	275
8.2.1. RQ1: What does a concordance analysis reveal about the representations around homosexuality in parliamentary and Catholic and Evangelical church discourse in Chile?	276
8.3. Comparison and explanation of findings considering the social context	282
8.3.1. RQ2: How are the representations around homosexuality influenced by the social context within which they are instantiated?	282
8.4. Reflection on the method.....	295
8.4.1. RQ3: What is the most appropriate method of analysis to answer RQ1 and RQ2? 295	
8.5. Contribution of the research	297
8.6. Reflecting on the study	298
8.7. Reflecting on the researcher’s positionality	301
8.8. Further research	302
8.9. Concluding comments	303
Appendix I.....	307
Appendix II	308
Appendix III.....	312
Appendix IV.....	314
Appendix V	318
References	320

List of Tables

<i>Table 2.1.</i> Presidential terms in Chile since the end of the military regime in 1990 up to 2018..	46
<i>Table 2.2.</i> Distribution of seats taken by politicians (senators and deputies) in the most voted parties in the congressional terms held during 2005-2015.....	48
<i>Table 4.1.</i> Search terms used in the church websites data collection process.....	102
<i>Table 4.2.</i> Names of the laws and bulletin numbers as they appear on the bulletins webpage, as well as their corresponding dates of introduction and passing.....	105
<i>Table 4.3.</i> Breakdown of the Evangelical Churches Corpus (ECC).....	109
<i>Table 4.4.</i> Breakdown of the Catholic Church Corpus (CCC) corpus.....	109
<i>Table 4.5.</i> Breakdown of the Parliamentary Debates Corpus (PDC) distributed by law, house, debate, and date.....	110
<i>Table 4.6.</i> Example of nomination strategies (in italics) taken from the ECC corpus.....	115
<i>Table 4.7.</i> Example of predication strategies (in italics) taken from the ECC corpus.....	115
<i>Table 4.8.</i> Example of a nomination strategy (in italics) with a predicational function taken from the ECC corpus.....	116
<i>Table 4.9.</i> Collocates of <i>homosexual*</i> in the Catholic Church Corpus data set.....	122
<i>Table 4.10.</i> Representations and overarching representations around <i>homosexual*</i> in the Catholic Church and Evangelical Churches corpora The figures in brackets indicate the number of concordances instantiating each representation, which are also presented as percentages of the total number of lines scrutinised at this stage (CCC=281; ECC=527).....	125
<i>Table 4.11.</i> Collocates of <i>homosexual*</i> in the Parliamentary Debates Corpus (PDC).....	131
<i>Table 4.12.</i> Representations in the concordances of the collocates of <i>homosexual*</i> in the Parliamentary Debates Corpus (PDC). The figures in brackets indicate the number of concordances instantiating each representation, which are also presented as percentages of the total number of lines scrutinised (i.e. 262 concordances).....	132
<i>Table 4.13.</i> New representations identified when analysing all the concordances of <i>homosexual*</i> in the Parliamentary Debates Corpus. The figures in brackets indicate the number of concordances instantiating each representation, which are also presented as percentages of the total number of lines scrutinised (i.e. 272 concordances).....	133
<i>Table 4.14.</i> Comparison of the representations identified in the Catholic Church Corpus when analysing the 281 concordances of the collocates of <i>homosexual*</i> (left column) in shared categories 1-9 in Table 4.9, and when analysing all the 162 concordances of <i>homosexual*</i> (right column). The figures in brackets indicate the number of concordances instantiating each representation, and their corresponding percentage value when considering the total number of lines scrutinised at each stage.....	135

<i>Table 4.15.</i> Comparison of the representations identified in an exploratory analysis of the Evangelical Churches Corpus when analysing the 527 concordances of the collocates of <i>homosexual*</i> (left column) in shared categories 1-9 (see Appendix I), and when analysing all the 304 concordances of <i>homosexual*</i> (right column). The figures in brackets indicate the number of concordances instantiating each representation, and their corresponding percentage value when considering the total number of lines scrutinised at each stage.....	137
<i>Table 4.16.</i> Example of a concordance extract as presented in the analysis chapters.....	144
<i>Table 5.1.</i> Total number of ECC concordances separated by search term and ordered by frequency.....	149
<i>Table 6.1.</i> Total number of CCC concordances separated by search term and ordered by frequency.....	205
<i>Table 7.1.</i> Total number of PDC concordances separated by search term and ordered by frequency.....	243

List of Figures

<i>Figure 4.1.</i> Example of a law bulletin as displayed on the Senado.cl website.....	107
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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1. Introduction

In 1986, an official Catholic Church document discussing the pastoral care of gay people¹ was issued by the Vatican in Rome. Although this document rejects violence against gay people, characterising it as ‘deplorable’ and deserving ‘condemnation from the Church’s pastors’, it describes homosexuality as ‘an inclination’, ‘an objective disorder’ and a ‘tendency ordered toward an intrinsic moral evil’. This understanding of homosexuality was ratified by this church² in 1992, when a document addressing the legislative proposals on the non-discrimination of gay people³ was issued. This document stated that sexual orientation discrimination was justified in some contexts, since homosexuality was a disorder, thus ‘not comparable to race, ethnic background, etc.’ During ten of the fifteen years this study considers, Pope Benedict XVI, formerly known as Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger, was the leader of the Catholic Church (2005-2013). Before that, Cardinal Ratzinger (1981-2005) was in charge of the Congregation of the Doctrine of the Faith, the group that authored these documents, which are still recognised as conveying the official stance of the Catholic Church on these matters. Despite this strongly negative stance towards homosexuality, in my home country of Chile, a country where around two thirds of people identify as Catholic, on August 28th, 2017, President Michelle Bachelet signed a bill which aims to legalise same-sex marriage by redefining marriage as ‘the union between two

¹ Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (1986) Letter to The Bishops of the Catholic Church on the Pastoral Care of Homosexual Persons, available at http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cfaith/documents/rc_con_cfaith_doc_19861001_homosexual-persons_en.html

² Throughout this thesis, I write the word *Church* with an initial capital letter when I refer to the Catholic Church. This is a common practice within Catholicism, which I follow for economy, to indicate that I refer to this church without having to write the name Catholic each time.

³ Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (1992) *Some Considerations Concerning the Response to Legislative Proposals on the Non-Discrimination of Homosexual Persons*, available at http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cfaith/documents/rc_con_cfaith_doc_19920724_homosexual-persons_en.html

people'. This thesis examines the role of organised religion in the politics of sexual identity within the context of Chile, a formerly Catholic country. Although there has been no official religion in Chile since 1925, the influence of Catholicism is reflected in conservative state policies that have strongly opposed civil rights such as abortion, divorce, or sexual equality. The difficulty with which laws about these matters are passed in the country is likely to be the result of the fact that the two most represented political parties in the Chilean congress originated under the auspices of the Catholic Church, still having strong ties with it.

In a country where the number of complaints about LGBTQ⁺ discrimination is on the rise (Movilh 2018: 13), where two people were murdered and fifty-six attacked in 2017, the way that sexual identity is discussed and negotiated in congress should be rightly viewed as highly relevant to those interested in LGBTQ⁺ matters. However, in a context that is heavily influenced by the Catholic Church, considering church and parliamentary discourse becomes of paramount importance, as congressional debates in Chile often draw on the religious views about homosexuality that originated in the aforementioned documents, and are thus deeply incompatible with such equality.

Discriminatory attitudes and opinions about LGBTQ⁺ people are influenced by our cultural context. As Hall (2013a: xvii) points out 'language is the privileged medium in which we 'make sense' of things, in which meaning is produced and exchanged. Meanings can only be shared through our common access to language. So language is central to meaning and culture'. With that in mind, the language used in the aforementioned church documents, that includes words like 'disordered' and 'evil',

⁴ An acronym standing for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Queer or Questioning. Similar acronyms include LGBT, LGBTQIA and LGBTQIA+ with I standing for Intersex, A for Asexual and + for additional sexual identities. There is no consensus over which is the 'best' or most appropriate term and the decision to use LGBTQ⁺ is based, to a large extent, on my own preference (it is the term I have encountered most frequently).

can be seen as contributing to our understanding about homosexuality and LGBTQ⁺ matters, particularly in a context that is still heavily influenced by this church. Against this backdrop, this study follows a critical discourse approach in the investigation of representations around homosexuality in Chilean church and parliamentary discourse between 2005-2015. This time frame was chosen because two laws considering gay people were introduced, discussed and passed in the Chilean congress in this period, namely the anti-discrimination (2005-2012) and civil-partnership (2011-2015) laws. One of the reasons why I decided to conduct this study was my increasing awareness of the important role played by language in the way LGBTQ⁺ equality is discussed and negotiated in the political and religious contexts in Chile. This motivated me to look for ways of raising awareness about these matters because, as Fairclough (1989) asserts, awareness is necessary to promote social change.

Another motivation for me to carry out this study pertains to its contribution to academia, more specifically to the field of language and sexuality. Through the identification of the ways in which gay people, homosexuality and related social actors/phenomena are discursively represented in parliamentary and church discourse in Chile, I intend to help broaden the spectrum of representations already identified by previous studies in this area. Additionally, it allows me to incorporate a different context which has not often been studied, since most studies to date have been carried out in Europe and the United States of America. Additionally, this study focuses on church discourse, a type of discourse that has been relatively neglected⁵ in spite of its significance, since opposition to LGBTQ⁺ matters is often grounded on arguments, opinions or pseudo-scientific evidence that have been greatly influenced by religious

⁵ Within language and sexuality studies, religion has mostly been considered in its relation to in-group identity, but church discourse has not been given much attention to date.

morality. Furthermore, religious groups tend to be a very strong opposing force when it comes to LGBTQ⁺ equality, so it becomes necessary to consider them in studies that aim to address LGBTQ⁺ inequality.

Before I carry on with this introduction, it is necessary that I situate myself within the matters dealt with in this study. All social research is carried out through the lens of the researcher's own values and background and rather than attempting to gloss this over and present the research as completely objective, I feel it is more important to acknowledge one's own 'positions' and reflectively consider them when interpreting findings (see Burr 2015 for further discussion). In terms of religion, I am an atheist that was raised as a Catholic. I drew away from Catholicism after I realised this church's stance about various topics did not represent the values that it promoted or those that I held, particularly when it pertained to sexuality. Consequently, I reject any type of gender and sexual discrimination, gender policing, and policing regarding women's bodies and people's relationships. This also follows from the fact that I am a feminist and believe in sexual and gender equality, as well as freedom over our bodies and to decide how our relationships should be. Regarding sexual and gender identity, I am a heterosexual person who identifies as a woman, although I am aware of the fluidity and performative nature of these categories. In terms of politics, I have a left-leaning political stance, but I do not identify with any political parties. However, I believe political and religious matters must be separated. Due to this, I hold a highly critical stance regarding any intolerance pertaining to the matters on which this thesis is focused and reject any type of interference from religious organisations in public policies. Therefore, my stance about the findings that I may encounter in the corpora is likely to be impacted by this, since I am alert to these phenomena.

In what follows, I define some key terms and briefly outline the field of language and sexuality (section 1.2). Then, I briefly characterise the concepts of discourse and representation (section 1.3). After that, I present the research questions that explain the analytical choices I made (section 1.4). To finish, I describe the organisation of this thesis (section 1.5).

1.2. Language and sexuality

To better understand discussions around sexual identity it is necessary to distinguish some basic concepts, starting with the notions of sex and gender. Sex can be defined as a biological descriptor of the sexed body based on a person's reproductive organs (Queen 2014), which commonly results in the distinction between males and females. On the other hand, gender corresponds to a social and cultural construction, determined by agreed and expected differences between masculine and feminine behaviour and expression. These differences traditionally form what is known as the feminine/masculine binary. Gender is usually regarded as more fluid and malleable than sex, showing different degrees, with gendered identities being able to change within a person's lifetime or across contexts. Additionally, the qualities that constitute a gender in one culture or historical period may be completely different in another, while the same is not often the case with sex.

Closely related to sex and gender is the concept of sexual orientation, which pertains to individuals' 'preference' of sexual and/or romantic partner, determined by whether they feel attracted to people of the same and/or opposite sex and gender. According to sexual orientation, at the time of writing, people are generally identified as heterosexual, homosexual or bisexual (at least in the British context where the research on this thesis was carried out, and in Chile where the data used in this thesis come from). The notion of sexual orientation is sometimes used as a synonym of

sexual identity. However, it has been argued that contrary to common belief, the former is a constitutive element of the latter. Queen (2014) states that sexual identity is a social categorisation in terms of the sex and/or gender of an individual's sexual object choice or partner, but it is also determined by the individuals' sexual beliefs, behaviour, and/or practices.

Another concept that is necessary to clarify is that of sexuality, which can be understood as a cultural phenomenon that refers to the ways in which individuals experience and express their sexual feelings. This includes sexual beliefs, behaviour, practices and identity, but also desire and pleasure (Baker 2008, Cameron and Kulick 2003). Because of this, sexuality can be understood as a 'system of mutually constituted ideologies, practices, and identities' that, as Bucholtz and Hall (2004: 470) suggest, 'give sociopolitical meaning to the body as an eroticised and/or reproductive site'.

In the 1990s, there was a strong connection between studies within the emerging field of language and sexuality and studies on language and gender, a field whose origins can be traced back to the 1970s. Because of this, both fields can be said to overlap, not only because the concepts involved in either area complement each other, but also because of the way in which gender and sexuality relate to power. However, Rubin (1984) argues that even though sexuality and gender are related phenomena, they involve two different types of social organisation and practice, an idea that is believed to have influenced queer theory and, consequently, Queer Linguistics.

Queer Linguistics is considered one of the most important approaches in the field of language and sexuality (Motschenbacher and Stegu 2013). Queer Linguistics seeks to question heterosexuality and (hetero)normativity by analysing all the linguistic means and mechanisms that help construct heterosexuality and gender binarism as the norm

and what counts as natural. One of the most important publications that follows this approach is Livia and Hall's edited volume aptly called *Queerly Phrased* (1997), which is recognised as marking the beginning of the relationship between linguistics and queer theory (Morrish and Sauntson 2007).

Unlike the majority of research prior to mid-1990s, Queer Linguistics studies mark a move away from a focus on white middle-class English-speaking gay males to include different subjects from an array of geographical origins, with studies addressing contexts such as India (Hall 1997), Nigeria (Gaudio 1997), France (Pastre 1997) and Japan (Valentine 1997), to name just a few. Queer Linguistic research has also covered a variety of themes, such as lexical variation, gender constructions, speech styles, representations, homophobic slang, insults, gender play, performativity, coherence creation, and resistance.

Despite being considered one of the most important approaches to language and sexuality, the separation of gender and sexuality that radical Queer Linguistics proposes is one of the main sites of contestation by scholars doing language and sexuality research. Among these we find Bucholtz and Hall (2004), who claim that a politically responsible study of language and sexuality cannot do without gender, power and agency. Similarly, Morrish and Sauntson have suggested that gender and sexuality are inseparable, since "in making performative statements about one, we are inevitably making performative statements about the other" (2007: 13). The field of language and sexuality at large operates under this assumption, and so does this study. Due to this, I have chosen to position this study within the field of language and sexuality rather than Queer Linguistics.

Generally speaking, the field of language and sexuality is concerned with the ways that sexuality is constructed through language. This can be done by individuals when

they ‘enact sexuality and perform sexual identity’ (Cameron and Kulick 2003: 12), and also when these sexualities are represented throughout a variety of discourse genres via linguistic means.

Theoretically speaking, language and sexuality research has focused on concepts such as difference, identity and erasure (Morrish and Sauntson 2007) and we can distinguish two main branches: one that focuses on language use (e.g. Levon and Beline Mendes 2015) and another focusing on the construction and representation of sexual *identity* (e.g. Baker 2005, Koller 2008).

According to Bucholtz (2014), linguistic approaches focusing on ‘marked’ sexual identities have tended to concentrate on three areas (which can overlap), that is social and political struggles (e.g. Junge 2010, Baker 2004), linguistic practices (e.g. Borba and Ostermann 2007), and in-group and out-group discursive representations (e.g. Chirrey 2007, Baker 2005). My study is situated within the area of *representation* of sexual identity, particularly out-group representation.

In terms of methodology, studies within the field have been carried out from a variety of approaches, including conversation analysis (e.g. Land and Kitzinger 2005), sociolinguistics (e.g. Baeck et al. 2011), corpus linguistics (e.g. Bachmann 2011), and critical discourse studies (e.g. Koller 2009). Additionally, research on language and sexuality has started to be addressed from various cultural contexts, taking into account different social variables such as ethnic origin (e.g. Milani 2013), and social class (e.g. Hall 2005).

1.3. Discourse and representation

This study can be situated within the field known as Critical Discourse Studies (henceforth CDS). Due to this, it is important that I characterise the notion of discourse as it is understood within it. As Wodak and Meyer (2016) assert, this term

has been used in different ways by different researchers and academic cultures, being highly polysemous. According to Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 258) CDS consider discourse, that is language use in speech and writing, as a social practice. This means that there is a dialectical relation between discourse and the social world, where one shapes the other and vice versa. In this sense, discourse plays a role in the maintenance and reproduction of the social status quo, hence being related to ideologies and having the potential to contribute to the transformation of power dynamics.

In this study I analyse parliamentary and church discourse in order to identify representations around homosexuality within them. The concept of representation has been extensively researched in the field of cultural studies. One influential scholar within this field is Stuart Hall (2013b: 2), who defines representations as ‘the production of meaning through language’. In this sense, representations are responsible for the production of culture, which are meanings that are shared, exchanged, produced and made sense of with language. In this way, representations help to normalise, set rules and conventions that determine our social life, thus being useful for those who aim at governing other people’s lives (Hall 2013a). Additionally, they can influence human conduct, acting as a stimulus that provokes a certain social attitude or response.

Hall (2013a) explains that meanings give sense to our identities, and they are assigned to entities or events in the ways in which the members of a culture represent them. This is carried out by different means, such as the way we characterise things, our classification of these entities, or the images of these things that we produce, among others. Because of this, meanings, and consequently representations, are always being

produced, exchanged, and negotiated. They are not fixed, having the potential to change.

Sunderland (2004) notes that representations are based on stereotypes, which makes it difficult to determine whether they are intentional or not. According to Sunderland (2004), the term representation can be understood in opposition to the notion of construction, where the former refers to the constitutive function of discourse in relation to an entity other than the self and the latter to the opposite. However, as Baker and Ellece (2010) assert, the two terms can be used with the same meaning and are in practice often used interchangeably, which I could verify through my revision of the literature. Due to this, I do not ascribe to the distinction proposed by Sunderland and prefer to understand both terms as conveying the same meaning. However, in this thesis I use the term representation rather than construction so as to avoid confusion. Due to its polysemous quality, the term discourse is often used with a very similar meaning to the concept of representation. Consequently, there are several studies within CDS and other fields that have identified discourses about certain entities or phenomena. However, in this study I identify representations, as this concept better captures the focus of my analysis, since it foregrounds the role of language in the construction of identity and its relation to stereotypes. Also, this term better illustrates the potential effect of the meaning produced on its context, as it considers the influence of representations on human conduct (I characterise representations in more detail in Chapter 3).

In this study, the identification of representations is carried out by means of a combined CDS and corpus linguistics approach. I refer to these in the next section, which introduces the research questions.

1.4. Research questions

In order to provide a clear focus at the start of this thesis, it is useful to outline the research questions and also discuss how they were formulated. They were identified and refined as a result of carrying out the analysis of the corpora I collected, being formed in a bottom-up as opposed to a top-down way. Due to this, they reflect the ‘research journey’ that I have undertaken, one which involved a number of false starts and dead-ends (see section 4.5.3.1), hence necessitating the creation of a set of methodological questions which reflects how I developed a methodology (RQ3). I took a prospective approach to the data, allowing findings to emerge rather than having a clear-cut framework where I knew which features I would examine from the outset. This resulted in some questions (like RQ1c) being formulated around the findings at a later point in the analysis.

Considering the contribution of corpus-based critical discourse studies, this thesis turns to the analysis of expanded concordance lines of various search terms that refer to the ‘marked’ sexual identity so as to identify representations around homosexuality in Chilean church and parliamentary discourse between 2005 and 2015. With that aim, the Overarching Research Question is as follows:

ORQ: What are the representations around homosexuality in Chilean church and parliamentary discourse between 2005-2015?

In order to answer this Overarching Research Question, three research questions and their corresponding sub-questions are addressed in the analysis chapters. Research questions 1 and 2 are concerned with the analysis of the data itself while question 3 is concerned with the methodology used to carry out the analysis. Research Question 1 (RQ1) and its sub-questions are answered in chapters 5, 6 and 7; Research Question 2

(RQ2) and its sub-questions in chapter 8; and Research Question 3 (RQ3) is answered in chapters 4 (sub-question 3.a) and 8 (sub-question 3.b). These research questions and sub-questions are:

RQ1: What does a concordance analysis reveal about the representations around homosexuality in parliamentary and Catholic and Evangelical church discourse in Chile?

- 1.a) How are nomination and predication strategies used to instantiate the representations around homosexuality identified in each corpus?
- 1.b) How are legitimation strategies used to justify the representations around homosexuality identified in each corpus?
- 1.c) What is the legitimating function of the representations around homosexuality identified in each corpus?

In order to answer RQ1a, I apply Reisigl and Wodak's (2016) Discourse Historical Approach (henceforth DHA) to the identification of nomination and predication strategies. In the DHA, nomination strategies are discursive strategies that refer to or identify entities, while predication strategies characterise or describe them. On the other hand, the answer to RQ1b involves the application of van Leeuwen's (2008) framework for the analysis of legitimation. Legitimation strategies are used to justify social practices, and they answer questions such as "Why should we do this?" or "Why should we do this in this way?" (2008: 105). I describe these methodological frameworks and their application in chapters 3 and 4, respectively. Finally, I answer RQ1c by considering legitimation in a broader sense, following van Leeuwen and Wodak's (1999) suggestion that representations have a legitimating function.

RQ2: How are the representations around homosexuality influenced by the social context within which they are instantiated?

- 2.a) How are the representations around homosexuality similar and/or different in the three corpora?
- 2.b) Why are the representations in the three data sets similar and/or different?
- 2.c) What are the implications of the representations identified in the wider social context where they take place?

In order to answer RQ2, I interpret and explain the findings using the last two levels of Fairclough's three-dimensional model for discourse analysis, which I integrate with the fourth dimension for the analysis of context of the DHA. I refer to context and characterise these models and their application in chapters 3 and 4.

RQ3: What is the most appropriate method of analysis to answer RQ1 and RQ2?

- 3.a) How can working with small specialised corpora (i.e. less than 250,000 words) influence the methodological approach undertaken?
- 3.b) What forms of contextual analysis are more relevant in explaining the research findings?

These research questions and how they were developed will be addressed again in Chapter 4. The next and final section outlines the organisation of this thesis.

1.5. Organisation of the thesis

This thesis is organised in eight chapters. After the introduction, Chapter 2 provides an overview of the Chilean socio-historical context pertaining to religion, LGBTQ+ matters, and politics. Here, I describe Protestantism and Roman Catholicism, and the churches considered in this study, namely the Evangelical and Catholic churches in

Chile. To achieve this, I refer to their historical development, their role in politics and social matters, and their situation in terms of their following. Additionally, I describe these churches' understanding and evaluation of sexuality and homosexuality. Then, I refer to the Chilean LGBTQ⁺ movement and the state of sexual diversity rights in the country. After this, I refer to a high-profile case of homophobic discrimination in Chile, I summarise the findings of attitude surveys considering sexual diversity, and finish with a description of studies that have identified representations of gay people in Chile. In the final part of Chapter 2, I characterise the Chilean political system and the political distribution in congress for the period considered in this thesis, referring to the two most represented political parties in the country. In Chapter 3, I outline the theoretical framework and literature that supports my research. With that aim in mind, I introduce the concept of representation to then characterise CDS. Also, I provide an overview of the frameworks and concepts which are relevant to my analysis: Reisigl and Wodak's (2016) DHA, the concept of legitimation and van Leeuwen's (2008) framework for its analysis, and the concept of context and Fairclough's (1989) three-dimensional model for discourse analysis, as well as the DHA's dimensions for the analysis of context. Also, I provide an overview of corpus linguistics, I refer to its contribution to CDS, and define concepts and theories that are relevant to this study, such as semantic and discourse prosody, and the lexical priming theory. To finish, I describe the types of discourse and genres that make up the corpora and mention studies similar to this one, which have considered parliamentary and church discourse in relation to homosexuality. In Chapter 4, I outline the research questions that guided the analysis and describe the data collection and cleaning process, as well as the corpora that resulted from this. Then, I describe the preliminary analysis carried out, illustrating the process that led to the identification of the most suitable

methodological approach for the corpora collected. This provides the answer to research question 3.a. Finally, I outline the final stages of analysis followed in this thesis. Chapters 5, 6 and 7 present the findings resulting from the analysis conducted, answering RQ1. Each chapter presents the most salient representations identified in a corpus. These are the Evangelical Churches Corpus, the Catholic Church Corpus, and the Parliamentary Debates Corpus, respectively. Additionally, each chapter presents extracts where the main representations are instantiated. These extracts are representative of the patterns identified. In each analytical chapter, I identify predication, nomination, legitimation and other discourse strategies used by the text producers to represent various entities and phenomena. Also, I reflect on the legitimating function of the main representations identified. Finally, Chapter 8 summarises the findings as they relate to RQ1 and RQ2 and provides the answer to research question 3.b. Also, it includes a critical reflection about the contributions of this study and its limitations. Finally, I provide some suggestions for future research and offer some final thoughts about the study and the Chilean context.

Chapter 2. Religion, LGBTQ⁺ matters and politics in Chile

2.1. Introduction

This chapter gives an overview of the socio-historical context considering religion, LGBTQ⁺ rights and politics in Chile. In section 2.2, Catholicism and Protestantism are described, mentioning how the latter gave origin to Evangelicalism. Then, section 2.3 refers to the arrival and development of the Catholic and Evangelical churches in Chile and their role in politics and the Chilean society. Section 2.4 refers to the ongoing decrease of Catholicism and rise of Evangelicalism in Chile and 2.5 mentions the ways the Catholic and Evangelical churches understand and evaluate sexuality in general and homosexuality in particular. After this, the Chilean LGBTQ⁺ movement is characterised in section 2.6, mentioning existing sexual diversity laws. Then, section 2.7 describes an important high-profile case involving discrimination and its role in the socio-political context. In 2.8, findings reported in surveys investigating attitudes about homosexuality in Chile are provided, while 2.9 refers to available studies that have identified representations of gay people in the country. After this, the Chilean political context is characterised in section 2.10, where section 2.10.1 refers to the political organisation of the country after the independence from Spain and 2.10.2 provides an overview of the political distribution in congress for the period considered in this thesis (2005-2015), characterising the two most popular political parties. Finally, 2.11 briefly outlines the main points to consider from this chapter.

2.2. An overview of Catholicism and Evangelicalism

Catholicism and Evangelicalism are Christian denominations; thus, their beliefs are based on and follow the alleged teachings of Jesus Christ. Both denominations believe

in one God⁶ that is realised in three entities: The Father, the Son (i.e. Jesus), and the Holy Spirit. In what follows, I characterise the two churches considered in this thesis.

2.2.1. Roman Catholicism

According to O'Collins (2008), the origin of the Catholic Church can be traced back to the first record of the use of its name in AD 107. Nowadays, the Roman Catholic Church is one of the largest religions worldwide, being the largest non-governmental provider of health care and education in the globe. O'Collins identifies modern Catholicism as accepting both faith and reason, even though it rejected the latter in the past. However, the church ethically and religiously evaluates any advancements in science and technology before accepting them.

Although there is some variation within the Catholic Church according to the different places where it operates, the church is unified through the governance of bishops, who oversee every diocese, or administrative territorial entities, with the assistance of priests and deacons. The Pope, who is the highest authority of the Catholic religion, leads the church from its headquarters in Vatican City.

Among the features that characterise this church is the practice of seven defining rituals or sacraments, namely the Eucharist or Holy communion, baptism, confirmation, matrimony, confession or penance, and the anointing of the sick. In Catholicism, authority is attributed to the Bible, the Sacred Tradition⁷ of the Roman Catholic Church and Catholic Theology or philosophy. In this way, the Catholic perspective is broader than that of other Christians, as it considers public worship,

⁶ I write God with a capital letter following the way this word is written by Christians, as if it was a proper name. I do the same with other words, such as the ones that identify the members of the Holy Trinity. It must be noted that I am not a Christian and I do not believe in that (or any) god.

⁷ The Catholic Tradition, spelt with a capital T to distinguish it from the common noun, is believed to comprise the oral teachings (not included in the Bible) that Jesus transmitted to his apostles and these to each new generation.

personal experience and philosophical reflection when drawing accounts of God, and not only the Bible (O'Collins 2008). Additionally, Catholicism has an interpretative approach to the Bible, rather than a literal one. Finally, the modern Catholic Church has moral convictions such as respect for life, the support of human dignity in life, and belief in justice and charity. Regarding church leadership, Catholicism does not allow women to become priests, denying them access to the Holy Orders. Now let us consider Protestantism.

2.2.2. Protestantism, Pentecostalism and Evangelicalism

As Noll (2011) asserts, the term Protestantism encompasses all the religious movements descending from the 16th century European Reformation initiated by Martin Luther and John Calvin. According to DeRogatis (2003), there are two main branches of Protestantism: (i) mainline or liberal and (ii) Evangelical or conservative Protestantism. The main difference between them is their understanding of the Bible, where the former (i) is more interpretive, and the latter (ii) more literal. Additionally, the first group focuses primarily on the social implications of Protestantism, while the second group is more concerned with moral issues and the conversion experience of believers. Nowadays, Protestantism can be found worldwide, being predominantly a non-Western movement that has influenced different Christian denominations.

The Atlas of Global Christianity (Johnson and Ross 2009) identifies more than 4 million Christian congregations worldwide, out of which more than 38,000 are Protestant. This multiplicity of groups makes it difficult to identify a specific Protestant position on any theological or social issues. However, common features among the different denominations include the message of salvation as a gift from God, the Christian Bible as the standard of authority, local and participatory forms of organisation and individual activity and responsibility (Noll 2011).

As Noll notes, since Protestant denominations are less centralised than others, they are more open to adopt indigenous local expressions. This has allowed the movement to be more diverse and multicultural, helping it to spread more widely. One denomination originating from Protestantism is Pentecostalism, which is currently one of the most active Protestant congregations outside Europe and North America. Although Pentecostalism is usually regarded as having started in America, Noll (2011) notes the movement simultaneously replicated in various parts of the world, including Africa, Asia, and Latin America. In America, it materialised in the Apostolic Faith Gospel Mission on Azusa Street, Los Angeles, consisting of a revival where participants are said to have “experienced the Holy Spirit’s unmediated power in divine healing, visions, words of prophecy, and especially the gift of tongues as evidence of the Spirit’s in-dwelling presence” (2011: 92). The gift of tongues is considered to be the most characteristic Pentecostal teaching, which is seen as “a sign-gift from the Holy Spirit marking the sanctification of believers” (2011: 91). Pentecostals are characterised by the importance they place on the gifts of the Holy Spirit, which are described in the New Testament’s Book of Acts. Pentecostalism was influenced by the ideals popularised by John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, the most successful Evangelical protestant movement since the Reformation (Noll 2011). As Goddard (2015) asserts, Evangelicalism is a global interdenominational movement and tradition, which can be identified within a considerable number of Protestant churches at varying degrees. In South Korea and South and Central America, Pentecostals are considered within Evangelical groups, being the most rapidly growing Protestant groups (Kay and Hunt 2015). This is the situation in Chile, where Pentecostalism, whose members are known as Evangelicals,

is the most important Protestant denomination (figures relating to participation in religion are given in section 2.4).

Regarding church leadership, due to the variety of Evangelical congregations, there is no general consensus regarding whether women can lead churches and become pastors. As Salas Molina (2015) asserts, there are and have been women pastors in some Chilean congregations, although men have predominantly fulfilled this function. In the following section I refer to the arrival and development of the Catholic and Evangelical churches in the Chilean context.

2.3. The Catholic and Evangelical churches in the Chilean context

2.3.1. The Catholic Church in Chile

The Roman Catholic Church arrived in the area where Chile is located led by the Spanish conquistadors in the 16th century during the European expansion period that followed the discovery and exploration of the Americas, being very influential in shaping the countries that later formed, as well as their national identities (Sánchez 2010).

As O'Collins (2008) asserts, during the European expansion, Pope Alexander VI (1492-1503) divided the New World between Spain and Portugal and the kings of these countries were held responsible of the regions assigned to them, having power over these lands, their people, and the obligation of evangelising them (Zambrano Tiznado 2015). This took place during the rule of Emperor King Charles V in Spain (1516-1556), when the Spanish Empire spread to Central and South America, where Dominicans, Franciscans and other missionaries settled. According to Montes (2010), the first priests that arrived defended the rights of the indigenous people. However, the evangelisation process is not famous for its peaceful methods (O'Collins 2008), being violently enforced on the indigenous population.

According to O'Collins (2008), by 1620, the Pope had lost control of bishoprics and parishes, which were being run by two viceroys that depended upon Madrid. An exception to this was the Society of Jesus, whose members remained obedient to the Roman Catholic Church. The Society of Jesus' methods of evangelisation were peaceful and included the integration of the indigenous language and culture with Christianity. This allowed them to successfully carry out their task. However, their work in the region was interrupted by their expulsion from Spanish America in 1767, as a consequence of the control imposed from Madrid. In the following section I characterise the involvement of the Catholic church in Chilean political and social matters.

2.3.1.1. The role of the Catholic Church in politics and the Chilean society

As a result of the colonisation of South America by Spain and Portugal, Catholicism was imposed across the whole region. In the geographical area that later became Chile, it was the main religion even after the country obtained its independence from Spain. In fact, during the process leading to Chilean independence, the Catholic clergy in the country was divided into those who supported independence and those who did not. Nonetheless, after independence was declared in 1818, Catholicism was named the official religion of Chile and the Catholic Church worked along the Republic contributing to the political stability of the country (Serrano 2010).

However, the relationship between the new Republic and the Catholic Church has not been free of conflict due to the church's intervention in politics. This is reflected in the creation of the church's own political party, *Partido Conservador* (*Conservative Party*), which disappeared in the second half of the 20th Century (Muñoz Barra 2003). Notwithstanding, the involvement of the church in politics continued, which resulted

in opposition to this intervention by liberal and radical parties. These conflicts diminished after the separation of Church and State in the Constitution of 1925, after which Catholicism was no longer the official religion of the Republic, although it remained the religion of the majority of the population.

After the separation of Church and State, the Church was recognised as a positive actor, particularly regarding its social work (Muñoz Barra 2003). Among the matters in which it was involved, Serrano (2010) identifies the promotion of the rights and inclusion of the poor, and the provision of education and help through benefit societies. As Serrano (2010) asserts, the Catholic Church was part of the communities of both religious and lay people and helped in the organisation of peasants, who were the most neglected social group.

Concerning education, the Church founded the first learning institutions in the country, which included schools and universities, expanding its reach beyond the marginalised groups (Sánchez 2010). As Serrano (2010) notes, during colonial times, the Church provided education to the higher social classes via its congregations, playing an important role in the formation of the Chilean elite.

Regarding workers' rights, the Church played an important role in the first organisations of workers, although it was not involved in industrial unionism, since union leaders consider the Catholic Church as part of the ruling classes (Serrano 2010). Notwithstanding, the Catholic Church in Latin America was very much involved with the rights of the poor and marginalised during the 1960s, who constituted the majority of the population in these countries (Haas 1999). This led to its support of left-wing political movements and its involvement in the struggle for the return to democracy during Pinochet's dictatorship (see section 2.10.1). In this context, the Catholic human rights organisation *Vicaría de la Solidaridad* (Vicariate

of Solidarity) was known for its opposition to the violations taking place at the time, the regressive economic policies undertaken by the Chilean military government and for protecting persecuted Chilean citizens during the period.

Nonetheless, the political role of the Catholic Church in Chile has changed since then, being mainly dedicated to defending family values and public morality, in accordance with the Vatican's ethical policies (Kamsteeg 1999). Against this backdrop, Haas (1999) notes that the Catholic Church in Chile is now a predominantly conservative institution that agrees with the political right, rejecting laws pertaining to reproductive rights, divorce, or programmes that promote the inclusion of sex education in schools⁸ or AIDS prevention⁹. In Chile, these matters are commonly referred to as *temas valóricos* (*matters related to values*), a term introduced by religious institutions, which encompasses topics such as abortion, same-sex marriage, gender identity, and euthanasia. Among the reasons identified as strengthening this church's conservatism, Haas (1999) identifies Pope John Paul II's replacement of several progressive bishops with conservative ones, with the purpose of stopping the involvement of the Latin American Catholic Church in left-wing politics during his papacy.

Muñoz Barra (2003) affirms that the church's predominantly conservative stance has damaged the once good relationship between the Catholic Church and the State. In 2018, the role of this church in politics still prevails, which is reflected in the lack of rejection of the Church's intervention in parliamentary debates and the religious arguments used in them. As Lagos (2005) asserts, politicians often use religious

⁸ In Chile divorce has only been legally permitted since 2004, while abortion is allowed only since 2017 and under three specific circumstances, namely when it is a consequence of rape, when the life of the bearer is endangered by the pregnancy, or when the pregnancy is unviable. Similarly, to this day, there is no official sex education programme being taught in Chilean schools, which is a direct consequence of the opposition by the Catholic Church and conservative parties in the country.

⁹ Source: "Iglesia Católica acusó que campaña contra el sida sólo fomenta uso del condón" (Catholic Church accuses AIDS campaign of only encouraging the use condoms) available at <https://www.cooperativa.cl/noticias/pais/iglesia-catolica-acuso-que-campana-contra-el-sida-solo-fomenta-uso-del/2003-12-01/135200.html>

beliefs to support their stances, overlooking the fact that the Chilean State is secular while succumbing to the pressures of religious groups. This shows a misunderstanding of the distinction between legal and religious entities and the different roles these play in society. Although it could also be a consequence of politicians' awareness of the importance of religion within their constituencies, so they may be quoting religious views to receive popular support. Considering this, Lagos (2005) suggests that the notion of 'lay State' is a myth in Chile, as the power of the Catholic Church is still palpable.

Despite the church's overall conservatism, Haas (1999) notes that it also supports matters that characterise it as left-leaning, such as those that pertain to workers' rights, the environment, or death penalty. However, the stance of the Catholic Church on the topic of this thesis is a conservative one, which rejects any social advancements that may contribute to present homosexuality under a positive light. In the following section I refer to the Evangelical churches in Chile.

2.3.2. Pentecostal Evangelical churches in Chile

As with all world religions, Protestantism reached the New World due to the missionary work undertaken as a consequence of international trade, colonial expansion, and immigration (Noll 2011). Through the colonies of Portugal, Spain and France, Catholicism was the first denomination to expand. Although in the 17th century, Protestant nations such as the Netherlands and England started expanding as well, taking Protestantism to non-European countries.

As Vergara (1962) asserts, Protestantism originated in Chile in the first half of the 19th century with the arrival of the British and Foreign Bible Society, whose members travelled to remote places in the country distributing the Bible. The first denominations to arrive in Chile were the Anglicans in 1836, followed by the

Lutherans in 1846. After this, Presbyterianism arrived from America, founding its church around 1868. Then, in 1877, American Methodist missionaries followed, establishing a church which later gave origin to Pentecostalism, the largest Protestant group in the country. Other churches established in this period are Alianza Cristiana y Misionera (*Christian Missionary Alliance*) in 1897 and Baptists in 1908.

The events that gave birth to Pentecostalism in Chile took place in a Methodist church in Valparaiso, where the Holy Spirit is said to have manifested. These events resulted in doctrinal contradictions between the leaders of the Methodist Church, which led to its separation in 1909 and the rapid expansion of the Pentecostal movement in the country (Vergara 1962; Noll 2011). According to Noll (2011), Chilean Pentecostalism was influenced by the 1905 Indian Mukti revival. However, Sepúlveda (2015) considers it to be a co-existing version of the Pentecostal identity, what Kamsteeg (1999) identifies as a Chilean indigenous movement, rather than a deviation from classical Pentecostalism. The different groups resulting from this separation called themselves Methodist-Pentecostals (Vergara 1962), but they are also commonly known as Pentecostals or Evangelicals (see Sepúlveda 2015; Fediakova 2002). In the following section I refer to the involvement of the Chilean Evangelical churches in political and social matters.

2.3.2.1. The role of the Evangelical churches in politics and the Chilean society

According to Fediakova (2012), Evangelicals contribute to Chilean society primarily within their communities, where they promote social development. Although their main interests concern everyday life, they are also known for contributing to the formation of civic habits in their followers, including the organisation of social campaigns, public speaking, argumentation and networking.

According to Lalive d'Épinay (1968), Evangelicals reproduce an old system of paternalism, where the pastor acts as the master, an authoritative figure whom the followers obey and do not question. This authoritative culture led to an 'ethics of passivity' in relation to the establishment. Traditionally, Evangelicals did not get involved in politics or social activities. Kamsteeg (1999) considers this withdrawal and submissive relation to authorities a consequence of their doctrine seeing mundane matters and the outside world as the place where sin, contamination and harm reside, in accordance to the teachings in the Bible.

Despite this politically passive tendency, Evangelicals have been involved in broader social matters since missionaries first arrived in the country. This participation was facilitated by the separation between Church and State introduced in the Constitution of 1925, which allowed religions different from Catholicism to play a role in matters such as education, in which they were involved. After this, a minor political commitment was present in the national Evangelical movement, within which political activity used to be punished with excommunication. However, Fediakova (2002) identifies a change in this pattern, which consists of a shift within the heterogeneous Evangelical movement in Latin America towards a reconsideration of their role in society. This led them to look for their own space in the local political scene, modifying their religious identity and the societal relations of the movement. She identifies this shift as a consequence of the consolidation of this movement and changes in the socioeconomic and cultural paradigms taking place in the preceding decades. Among these changes, Fediakova (2012) identifies age and education as playing a pivotal role in terms of the Evangelical population's degree of participation and politicisation. At the time of Fediakova's study, more than 30% of the Evangelical

population in Chile had been born into Evangelical families, with many of them being second and third generation Evangelicals.

Lalive d'Épinay (1968) found that Chilean Pentecostalism formed with the lowest social classes as its main focus, making Evangelicalism the religion of a predominantly marginalised population. Although Evangelicals can still be regarded as representing this social group, there have been changes in their educational level. In the 1990s, 55% of the Evangelical population had only completed primary education, while 40% and 5% had completed secondary and tertiary education respectively (Fediakova 2012: 128). By 2008, these percentages had changed to 18%, 49% and 33%, showing a significant increase at the level of tertiary education (ibid.).

According to Fediakova (2012), these new tendencies have meaningful potential consequences inside the Pentecostal churches, across congregations and within society. As Fediakova (2012) notes, the younger generations of Evangelicals, especially those who attend university, are more willing to challenge the power of the pastors, feeling entitled to their own opinions and able to express discontent towards church leaders. Additionally, they are more involved in their educational communities, no longer being socially passive actors concerning national matters. Generally speaking, Evangelicals are a conservative group. Although they do not empathise with a particular ideology, they feel consciously obliged to vote in elections and keep informed about what goes on in the country. Also, they are willing to support Christians involved in political parties, provided they represent their moral stance or politically contribute towards it. Due to this, they may sometimes be perceived as behaving in a contradictory and ambiguous manner (Fediakova 2002), which has also allowed them to gain notoriety.

As a consequence of its popular roots, various groups in the Methodist-Pentecostal Church supported the Communist government of Salvador Allende at the beginning of the 1970s (see section 2.10.1), while other groups rejected it due to its atheist outlook. Furthermore, during the dictatorship that followed Allende's government, the Evangelical movement was divided into two groups, one that supported the military regime and one that opposed and denounced it. At that time, the Catholic Church had withdrawn its support from the military regime, making the support given by the Evangelical section appreciated by the dictatorial government. As a consequence, the Evangelical *Te Deum*, a thanksgiving Christian ceremony, was made one of the main official ceremonies of the period, which legitimated this religious group. These changes have given the Chilean Evangelical church a new social consciousness which has resulted in an increased political ambition. In 2018, it was not uncommon to have Evangelical candidates running for a seat in Congress¹⁰ and at the time this thesis is being written there are four Evangelical political parties being formed, although none of them has yet become official. In this way, Evangelicals are now playing a more direct political role in the protection and defence of their interests, hoping to obtain the same benefits granted to their Catholic counterpart, which has allowed Catholics to have control over religious education in state schools, as well as hospitals and military chaplaincies (Kay and Hunt 2015). However, the heterogeneity of Evangelical groups makes it difficult for them to agree on unified actions or stances about different topics or events, which can be regarded as a disadvantage (Fediakova 2012). Nonetheless, their heterogeneity has also allowed them to better adapt to the cultural market of the Chilean society, making them able to satisfy the various ethical

¹⁰ Source "Los candidatos evangélicos que triunfaron en las elecciones parlamentarias" (The Evangelical candidates that succeeded in the parliamentary elections) available at <http://www2.latercera.com/noticia/los-candidatos-evangelicos-triunfaron-las-elecciones-parlamentarias/>

and spiritual needs of the broader population. This has resulted in them having a wider reach than the Catholic Church. Now let us consider the current situation of the Evangelical and Catholic churches in Chile.

2.4. The rise of Evangelicalism and the decline of Catholicism in Chile

After the division from Methodism in 1909, the number of followers of the new Pentecostal movement increased very quickly, having twenty-two recognised congregations by 1929. The reason of this is attributed to its popular roots. While Methodists and Presbyterians worked in schools and education, Pentecostals were in contact with the most vulnerable, the lower social classes and illiterate people (Vergara 1962), providing help and support to those who needed it most. Additionally, Kamsteeg (1999) identifies other features of Chilean Pentecostalism that have facilitated its growth: their focus on spiritualism or spiritual healing, which proved to be very attractive to potential followers; its lay ministries, which meant that no theological education was needed to become a pastor, facilitating the formation of new congregations; and tithing, which allowed Pentecostal churches to provide for themselves and their leaders, not having to depend on external or foreign institutions to finance them. This, in turn, has given them more autonomy and freedom of action. As the movement grew, it further separated into smaller independent churches, some of which disbanded, while others still exist today. The two largest and most important groups were formed in 1932 after the separation of the National Methodist Church. These are Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal de Chile (Chilean Methodist Pentecostal Church) and Iglesia Evangélica Pentecostal (Evangelical Pentecostal Church). By 1999, 80 to 90% of Chilean Protestants were Pentecostals (Kamsteeg 1999). Regarding the Catholic Church, Valenzuela et al. (2013) identify a decline in the number of Catholics which is significant considering Catholicism was once the

official and main religion in the country. One reason for this decrease is secularisation, which has increased from 11.5% of the population in 2012 (Valenzuela et al. 2013: 5) to 19% in 2017 (Bicentenario and Adimark 2017: 87). However, Valenzuela et al. (2013) identify as the main reason the rise of Pentecostalism, which began when Protestant religions started to become more accepted in the country after the separation of Church and State.

As Valenzuela et al. (2013) note, it has been suggested that the sexual abuse accusations the Catholic Church has been reported as covering worldwide may have played a role in the decline of this religion. However, Valenzuela et al. (2013) believe that the accusations have mainly resulted in Catholic followers losing trust in the church, although they may have played a role in the secularisation of younger generations. Moreover, these authors identify an internal weakness of the Catholic Church as having a more relevant effect on the decline. This weakness concerns a lack of mediation between the church and its sacraments, where Chilean Catholicism has failed to establish ‘an effective institutional organisation of the religious experience’ and ‘to involve the population in the structure of sacramental mediation, with the exception of baptism’ (2013:1, my translation). As a consequence, Catholicism is primarily experienced at the margins of the institution, as there is an informal and widely shared way of being a Catholic in Chile, something specialists call ‘Popular Catholicism’ or what people describe as being a Catholic ‘in one’s own way’.

Within Pentecostalism this is different, since Evangelicals take their religion very seriously, performing rites and attending mass regularly. According to Arenas (quoted in Nuñez 2018), the features that attract new followers to Pentecostalism include a warmer reception, a stronger sense of community and solidarity and more charismatic ceremonies. As Evangelicals have closer links with the most vulnerable sections of

society, they have been able to gain predominance in places such as prisons, replacing the Catholic Church, or working with alcoholic individuals, helping them to rehabilitate.

The decrease of Catholics in Chile has been identified as the highest in Latin America (Augustyn 2006), being estimated at 25% in the last 50 years. In the 2012 census, 67% of the Chilean population identified as Catholics (Valenzuela et al. 2013: 2), while in the Encuesta Bicentenario¹¹ conducted in 2017 around 59% of the Chilean population identified as Catholics (Bicentenario and Adimark 2017: 87). On the other hand, Evangelicals have increased from 16.6% in 2012 (Valenzuela et al. 2013: 3) to 17% in 2017 (Bicentenario and Adimark 2017: 87). This shows that there is a higher rate in the decline of Catholics, but the rise in Evangelicals is an on-going process that shows a tendency nonetheless. In the following section I refer to the ways Christianity and the two denominations considered in this study understand and evaluate sexuality and homosexuality.

2.5. Religion and sexuality

As Campos Machado (2014) asserts, religions and religious institutions play an important role in the perpetuation of norms, stereotypes and attitudes regarding sexuality. Moreover, the perceptions of the different denominations are shaped by the contexts within which they originate. For Christianity, Greek and Jewish traditions played a pivotal role in the construction of the gender system and sexual morality (Campos Machado 2014). In Christianity, conceptions of sexual morality are based on the myth of the creation of man and woman, which sees human sexuality as fulfilling the function of populating the Earth through male and female

¹¹ A yearly nation-wide opinion survey conducted by the Sociology Institute of the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile (Pontifical Catholic University of Chile) and the opinion and marketing research agency Adimark GfK.

complementarity. This provides a foundation for ‘the natural law’ perspective, which follows St Thomas Aquinas’ classification of sexual sins into natural and unnatural in the 15th and 16th centuries. Natural sexual sins are sexual activities practised out of wedlock that could potentially allow for procreation. These include incest, theft of a person, fornication, adultery and rape. On the other hand, unnatural sins included masturbation, sodomy, homosexuality and bestiality. As they did not allow for procreation, unnatural sins were considered graver, going against God’s mandate. This naturalistic approach to sexuality is followed by Catholics and Protestants and explains the emphasis Christian denominations place on reproduction, while condemning any form of sexual pleasure and birth control strategies.

In Catholicism, men and women are believed to fulfil their religious and human lives through marriage, so premarital, extramarital, and homosexual sex are rejected, along with medical contraception. Additionally, Catholicism places special importance on chastity, reflected on the requirement that priests embrace celibacy as part of their commitment to God. Celibacy is considered ‘a special gift of God’ in the Code of Canon Law¹², which suggests it is highly valued. As Goddard (2015) asserts, Evangelicalism also promotes total abstinence until marriage, after which faithfulness is required. As opposed to the Catholic Church, however, celibacy is not a requirement for pastors.

Although scientific research about homosexuality has not drawn any final conclusions to date, there are various stances on it within Christianity nowadays. Some churches have started to consider experts’ opinions, which is an indication of secularity (Hunt 2009). However, there is considerable conflicting and pseudo-scientific evidence

¹² The Code of Canon Law comprises the ecclesiastical law of the Catholic Church. It refers to celibacy of priests in Chapter III, Canon 277 §1 available at http://www.vatican.va/archive/ENG1104/_PY.HTM

being used as arguments against homosexuality by different denominations.

Notwithstanding, there is some worldwide resistance from theologians, small religious groups and churches which aim to counter homophobia in religious institutions.

Among their initiatives are the modification of some expressions used in translations of the Bible and the unconditional acceptance of gay people as members of religious organisations or groups. Against this backdrop, let us consider the way the Catholic Church understands homosexuality.

2.5.1. The Catholic Church and homosexuality

The Catholic Church sees homosexuality as a transitory orientation that can be reversed, an avoidable pathology that chastity resolves (Hunt 2009), while gay people are seen as sinners needing guidance (Westerfelhaus 1998). According to Westerfelhaus (1998), the Roman Catholic Church's stance regarding homosexuality is determined by three influences: The Sacred Scripture, Catholic Tradition and Catholic theology. The Sacred Scriptures comprise the Old and New Testaments, while Tradition involves 'divine revelations' received by the apostles from Christ's words, actions, or the Holy Spirit. Finally, Catholic theology refers to this church's philosophical tradition as developed by Catholic scholars and Church representatives like St Thomas Aquinas and its natural law approach.

However, the church's views have changed over time, since homosexuality was tolerated in the past and gay people only started to be persecuted in the 12th century (Boswell 1980; Hunt 2009). As Westerfelhaus (1998) notes, this stance was modified during the Second Vatican Council (Vatican II) held between 1962-1965, when homosexual activity was still regarded as sinful, but gay people were no longer invariably condemned. In fact, the Vatican II promoted their acceptance and help through pastoral care, provided gay people remain celibate. In this way, there is a

move from a stance that condemned act and actor to one where the person is ostensibly embraced, that is a moral rhetoric that focuses on the act and a pastoral rhetoric that focuses on the person (Westerfelhaus 1998). These contradictory rhetorics have created a tension that makes the Church behave in an inconsistent manner. Examples of this are the church's promotion of acceptance and respect towards gay people, while rejecting the passing of laws that acknowledge them (Cavendish 2003) and putting pressure on politicians so they do not move forward (Westerfelhaus 1998). This can also be seen in Pope Francis's stance, which appears more accepting of gay people and homosexuality. Pope Francis, a former Argentinian Cardinal elected to papacy in 2013, is the second non-European Pope in history, the first from South America and the first Jesuit Pope. Although he holds the traditional Catholic conservative views on matters such as abortion, marriage, the ordainment of women and clerical celibacy, he famously asked the question 'Who am I to judge?' when talking about gay people¹³ and has been reported as stating that gay people are made this way¹⁴, showing a more nuanced stance about homosexuality than his predecessors. Although these comments suggest Pope Francis has a different understanding of homosexuality, he has never rejected the official stance of the Catholic Church which considers it sinful¹⁵. Moreover, he has suggested homosexuality (and transsexuality) can be taught¹⁷, which is coherent with the belief

¹³ Source: "*Pope Francis signals openness towards gay priests*" published on 29 July 2013, at <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jul/29/pope-francis-openness-gay-priests>

¹⁴ Source: "*Pope Francis tells gay man: 'God made you like this'*" published on 20th May 2018 at <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/may/20/pope-juan-carlos-cruz>

¹⁵ Source: "*Don't applaud Pope Francis's stance on homosexuality – it's still in line with Catholic teachings*" published on 21st May 2018 at <https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/pope-francis-homosexuality-stance-catholic-church-same-sex-marriage-catechism-a8361821.html>

¹⁶ Source: "*Pope Francis: Who am I to judge gay people?*" published on 29 July 2013 at <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-23489702>

¹⁷ Source: "*Pope Francis says transsexuals and gay people should be embraced by the Catholic Church*" published on 4th October 2016 at <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/10/04/pope-francis-says-transsexuals-and-gay-people-should-be-embraced/>

that it is an option, contradicting his previous comments. Now let us consider how the Evangelical churches understand and evaluate homosexuality.

2.5.2. The Evangelical churches and homosexuality

As Kay and Hunt (2015) note, Pentecostalism and all its variants, including Evangelicalism, is comprised of 300-520 million people worldwide. Consequently, it is difficult to find a common viewpoint among Evangelicals in relation to matters such as sexuality. However, Evangelicals may be the loudest and more visible in terms of their opposition to homosexuality (Hunt 2009), playing a central role in halting sexual identity and gender struggles.

As DeRogatis (2003) asserts, stances within the American Protestant denominations regarding homosexuality range from rejection to acceptance. However, the Evangelical stance is conservative (Goddard 2015), it follows the natural law approach and opposes the advancements in laws and potential changes within the churches. This conservative approach to sexuality is also based on the literal reading of biblical texts that condemn same-sex sexual activities (in the Old and New Testaments) or sexual expressions such as adultery or sex before marriage.

As DeRogatis (2003) points out, Evangelicals see homosexuality as a choice, a lifestyle, an addiction or a pathology, hence something that can be changed. Hunt (2009) notes that Evangelical Christians tend to base their arguments against homosexuality on its alleged 'causes'. These include poor parenting, experience of sexual abuse, and parenting styles where the mother is authoritative and the father is passive or absent. As a consequence, Evangelical conservative congregations consider therapy a viable solution to stop homosexuality. Goddard (2015) mentions the existence of ministries of healing for gay people within some charismatic and Pentecostals forms of Evangelicalism. These operate through prayer, counselling, and

other forms of reparative therapy, which are influenced by their ideas about holiness, personal conversion and the belief that the soul can be ‘saved’, individuals ‘born again’ and transformed by the Holy Spirit.

The concept of holiness for Evangelicals involves “abstinence from drugs, alcohol, gambling and sexual activity outside traditionally defined marriage” (Kay and Hunt 2015: 373), which makes it difficult for their stance about homosexuality to change. Also, although the biblical passages that mention homosexuality are not many¹⁸, they are highly and consistently negative (Goddard 2015), which reduces the chances of making a case in favour of homosexuality within an Evangelical tradition that sees the Bible as the highest authority.

Now let us move on to the next section, where I refer to the situation of the LGBTQ⁺ movement and rights in Chile.

2.6. The LGBTQ⁺ movement and sexual diversity laws in Chile

As Garrido (2015) asserts, the Latin American political context is characterised by a history of conservative military dictatorships and governments that have been strongly influenced by the Catholic Church. Consequently, Latin American countries tend to have conservative state policies that perpetuate heteronormative gender roles and strongly oppose civil rights such as abortion, divorce, or gender and sexual equality. Within this context, the first Chilean LGBTQ⁺ organisation, Movilh¹⁹, was founded in 1991, at a time when Chile was transitioning to democracy after a military dictatorship that lasted 17 years (1973-1990), during which social movements had been scarce and mainly clandestine.

¹⁸ For detailed studies of these passages from an Evangelical perspective see Gagnon (2001) or Bird and Preece (2012).

¹⁹ Movimiento de Integración y Liberación Homosexual (*Homosexual Movement of Integration and Liberation*).

When Movilh was founded, the Chilean criminal code penalised sodomy, constituting gay male sex as illegal. Because of this, the first matter on which Movilh took action was the repeal of this article, which was achieved in 1999. Among the matters that Movilh was concerned about when it first started were homophobia and AIDS, which began to be more publicly discussed in the media due to the visibility the organisation achieved. However, there were differences inside the movement that led to its fragmentation. These differences pertained to AIDS prevention and the treatment of lesbian women, who felt neglected by the organisation, accusing it of sexism as it was mostly concerned about matters related to gay men. As a consequence of these divisions, other LGBTQ+ organisations started to form in the country, many of these being constituted by former members of Movilh. Despite the proliferation of organisations, Movilh is the most widely-known LGBTQ+ organisation in the country. The most important advancements in LGBTQ+ laws in the Chilean context include the aforementioned decriminalisation of sodomy in 1999 and the passing of the anti-discrimination and civil-partnerships laws in 2012 and 2015, respectively. The relatively recent establishment of online social media networks has meant that discussions about the last two laws have been broadly reported to the population, allowing them to indirectly take part in them. In some cases, this public exposure has been influential in their passing, as was the case with the anti-discrimination law. The anti-discrimination bill was introduced in congress in 2005, being discussed in the lower and upper chambers of congress and modified by different committees in charge of perfecting it, until work on it reached a plateau in 2007. In 2011, the legislative process resumed, and the bill was fast-tracked in March 2012 after an attack suffered by a 24-year-old gay man called Daniel Zamudio, which finally led to its passing (I refer to Daniel Zamudio in section 2.7). Due to this, the law is informally

known as the Zamudio law, although it does not only penalise sexual identity discrimination, but any kind of ‘arbitrary discrimination’. This includes discrimination due to ethnic origin, nationality, socio-economic status, language, ideology or political stance, religion or belief, gender identity, sex, marital status, age, appearance, illness or disability, unionisation or lack of it, and filiation. However, discussions in congress centred mainly on the inclusion of sexual orientation as one of the variables considered, and the main opposition to the law came from religious organisations²⁰ and conservative politicians.

On the other hand, the civil-partnership law, known as Acuerdo de Unión Civil²¹ (AUC or Civil-partnership Agreement), was first introduced in the Chilean congress in 2011 by centre-right politician Sebastian Piñera. In spite of strong opposition from churches and the conservative right wing, the law was passed after forty-four months. As opposed to the anti-discrimination law, there were no special circumstances that sped up this process.

In August 2017, an equal marriage bill was introduced to congress by president Bachelet, months before her term ended, while in 2018 a gender identity bill became law. This bill had been in congress since 2013. Despite these advancements, by 2018, no modifications had been made to the age of consent in Chile, which is set at 14 years old for heterosexual couples, and 18 for gay ones, thus establishing a discriminatory difference. In 2009, Movilh managed to get a bill sent to congress in

²⁰ "La carta de Monseñor Ezzati y líderes de otras iglesias en contra de la Ley Antidiscriminación" (*The letter by Mons. Ezzati and the leaders of other churches against the Antidiscrimination law*) published on 28th March 2011 on <http://www.elnortero.cl/noticia/sociedad/la-carta-de-monsenor-ezzati-y-lideres-de-otras-iglesias-en-contra-de-la-ley-antidis>

²¹ During the time the bill was discussed and modified by the pertinent legislative bodies, it underwent two name changes, which took place in the last stages of the discussions of the bill. Initially, it was called Acuerdo de Vida en Pareja (AVP or Life as a Couple Agreement), a name that was later changed to Pacto de Union Civil (PUC or Civil-partnership Pact), finally being called Acuerdo de Union Civil (AUC or Civil-partnership Agreement).

order to change this but, at the time of writing, it has not moved past its first reading in congress at the time of writing.

2.7. Daniel Zamudio's murder

Daniel Zamudio's murder is an example of homophobic discrimination that was highly publicised during the period I am examining, to the extent that it contributed to the passing of the anti-discrimination law, despite strong opposition from religious institutions. Consequently, some of the extracts analysed in this thesis refer to this case.

Daniel Zamudio was a 24-year-old man who was found unconscious and severely hurt on 3rd March 2012. He had been beaten and tortured for several hours in San Borja Park by four attackers who were linked to a neo-Nazi gang and had learned he was gay. In hospital, he was diagnosed with a serious traumatic brain injury, an open fracture of the left tibia and fibula, having cuts and bruises on his face, torso, back and limbs, cigarette burns, and swastika shaped cuts on his chest and back. Due to the severity of his wounds, he was induced into a coma. He died after 24 days.

The men who attacked Daniel had previous records of attacks on immigrants. They were known as the 'morenazis' (*brown-nazis*), due to the colour of their skin.

According to their confession, they threw a stone on his stomach and legs, broke a glass bottle on his head, kicked him, and broke his leg after using it as a lever.

Due to the extreme violence Daniel endured, his attack shocked the whole country, resulting in several manifestations of support during his time in hospital. The concern about his health and the events that had taken place led president Piñera to fast-track the anti-discrimination bill, which had been shelved in congress due to the pressures of local churches. This resulted in the passing of the law, informally known as the Zamudio law.

However, not everyone was supportive during the time Daniel was hospitalised. Movilh (2013) criticised the Catholic Church for not visiting Daniel in hospital, which they described as discriminatory. Movilh (2013) condemned the highest authorities of the Chilean Catholic Church for not hesitating to visit ex-army officers in the past, accused of human rights violations during the military regime, or former priests accused of sexually abusing children. Furthermore, the Church was accused of keeping silent about the attack, taking action only after Movilh had pointed out their absence to the media, when the Church claimed they had visited Daniel and his family, giving him his last rites.

Another controversy concerning Daniel's death involved two congressmen from left-leaning parties who publicised test results that suggested Daniel died due to a hospital-acquired infection, putting in question the cause of his death at a time when the legal cause against the perpetrators of the attack was still open (Movilh 2013: 127).

Similarly, a book about Daniel²² written by a journalist suggested that his death was not caused by a hate crime²³. Questioning the cause of Daniel's death was a strategy used at the time by religious groups opposing the anti-discrimination law²⁴. The next section provides an overview of some relevant findings of public opinion surveys considering attitudes about homosexuality in the country.

2.8. Attitudes about homosexuality in Chile

To better understand the way homosexuality is perceived in Chile it is useful to consider the findings of opinion polls and surveys conducted in the country since the

²² Fluxá, R. (2014). *Solos en la noche. Zamudio y sus asesinos*. Santiago, Chile: Editorial Catalonia.

²³ ““Solos en la noche”: dichos de autor de libro sobre Daniel Zamudio generan polémica” (“Alone at night”: claims of the author of book about Daniel Zamudio cause controversy), available at <http://www.theclinic.cl/2014/05/06/solos-en-la-noche-dichos-de-autor-de-libro-sobre-daniel-zamudio-generan-polemica/>

²⁴ “Ataque a joven homosexual: ¿Es necesaria la ley antidiscriminación?” (Attack to a gay man: Is the anti-discrimination law necessary?) available at <http://www.chilecristiano.cl/index.php/noticias/186-ataque-a-joven-homosexual-es-necesaria-la-ley-antidiscriminacion>

1990s, which provide a snapshot of the ways these attitudes have changed over time. There are several surveys that have considered the population's opinions about LGBTQ+ matters, which report the same tendencies. Barrientos (2016) summarised the findings of surveys conducted by private and state organisations from the 1990s to 2013. In them, he found that attitudes towards homosexuality have become more tolerant.

Barrientos (2016) compares the results of the surveys conducted by Fundación Ideas in Chile in 1997, 2001 and 2003. The first survey showed that more than 50% of respondents considered that homosexuality was unnatural and had to be stopped (Barrientos 2016: 139). This figure decreased to 45.2% and 43% in the 2001 and 2003 applications of the survey (ibid.). Similarly, the 2011 Latinobarómetro and World Values²⁵ surveys indicate that acceptance of homosexuality in the country increased during the period of 1990-2011 (Barrientos 2016). These surveys showed that 76.9% of respondents rejected homosexuality in 1990 as opposed to 13.2% in 2011 (Barrientos 2016: 140). As of 2017, the results of the Encuesta Cadem²⁶ survey conducted in January, July and August 2017 showed that, on average²⁷, 44% percent of the sample agreed with same-sex couples adopting. Regarding equal marriage, the support reached an average of 63% (Movilh 2018: 20).

Considering religion as a social variable, the Movilh (2018: 24) refers to an application of the 2017 Latinobarómetro²⁸ survey which assessed trust in Catholicism in the region. Here, religious affiliation is correlated to the acceptance of

²⁵ Latinobarómetro (2011) <http://www.latinobarometro.org/latino/LATANalyze.jsp> and World Values Survey (2011) <http://www.wvsevsdb.com/wvs/WVSanalyzeQuestion.jsp> (as referenced in Barrientos 2016).

²⁶ Encuesta Cadem (2017) can be found at <https://www.cadem.cl>

²⁷ The results were 45%, 43% and 43% for each of its applications respectively.

²⁸ Latinobarómetro (2017) is available at http://www.latinobarometro.org/LATDocs/F00006494-RELIGION_CHILE-AMERICA_LATINA_2017.pdf

homosexuality. This survey found that in Latin America, Chile is one of the countries that trusts the Catholic Church the least, with only 36% of the people interviewed saying they did, as opposed to 65% on average for Latin America (ibid.). The other two countries that showed less trust were Argentina and Uruguay. As these two countries are the most advanced in relation to LGBTQ+ rights in the area, Movilh (2018) concluded that there is likely to be a relationship between religious adherence and support of sexual identity and gender matters. Furthermore, the fact that LGBTQ+ laws are not as advanced in Chile as in these countries is considered a reflection of Chilean society being more advanced in terms of laity than the Chilean State, which is due to the influence that the Catholic Church still exerts on politics.

In the next section, I refer to the few available academic studies that have investigated representations of gay people in Chile.

2.9. Representations of gay people in Chile

Research focusing on representations of gay people in Chile has been scarce, which points at a gap this study can fill. Among the research that has identified LGBTQ+ representations in the Chilean context is Andrade and Reiter's (2016) investigation on the portrayal of gay people in stand-up comedy sketches in one of the most commented media events in Chile, *Festival de Viña del Mar*.²⁹ As researchers have found in other contexts (e.g. Baker 2002), homosexuality is often addressed in comedic contexts. Considering events such as Daniel Zamudio's murder (section 2.7), Andrade and Reiter aimed to determine the extent of discrimination towards gay people in humorous discourse and carried out analysis of the stand-up presentations of five comedians on the 2014 version of the show. In their analysis they identified that

²⁹ This event is a yearly week-long music festival that is broadcast live on public TV, which is free in Chile. The event includes presentations from international musicians and comedians.

homosexuality was humorously represented, not as an actual identity but as an occasional form of sexual behaviour carried out on and by heterosexual men. This is characterised as resulting from excessive alcohol intake, absence of women, or lack of awareness, as it can occur inadvertently as a form of ‘humorous’ rape. Additionally, they identified same-sex sexual interactions as resulting in a homosexual identity, suggesting homosexuality can be acquired. Furthermore, gay men were represented as having features of both genders, that is male genitalia and female behavioural and psychological traits.

In another study focusing on representations, Ramírez Vallejos (2017) analysed newspaper articles about the civil-partnership law to identify the ways in which gay people were constructed. Carrying out thematic analysis, Ramírez Vallejos found that gay people are assimilated to heterosexual individuals. Additionally, Ramírez Vallejos (2017) found that those given voice in the newspaper reports were predominantly politicians and government representatives, and to a lesser degree the leaders of the two more visible LGBTQ⁺ groups. This portrays the LGBTQ⁺ movement as homogenised and having a unified goal, while more radical or queer opinions are ignored, thus constructing the LGBTQ⁺ agenda as coherent with the interests of the status quo. Moreover, through the analysis of the characterisations of the civil-partnership law, Ramírez Vallejos found that the gay subject’s identity was also constructed in ways that comply with the status quo and suggest there is a good (and hence a bad) way of being gay. He found that the good gay identity is built on concepts such as ‘stability’, ‘family formation’, ‘distribution of goods’ and ‘recognition from the State’.

Despite the limited research on representations of gay people in Chile, the studies presented in this section suggest that the Chilean media portray gay people in

stereotypical ways, primarily from an out-group perspective and in relation to their compliance to the hegemonic societal structure. I expect this study to contribute to this context by considering discourses that have not been studied before, namely church and parliamentary discourse. In this way, this study aims to shed some light regarding the ways in which politicians and religious organisations talk about gay people and LGBTQ+ matters. The inclusion of these social actors, members of a symbolic elite (van Dijk 2010) of great relevance considering the socio-historical context described in the previous sections, intends to reveal representations that play a more direct role in the maintenance of the status quo, complementing the set of representations already identified in the existing work into out-group hegemonic representations of homosexuality in Chile. Additionally, in adopting a corpus-based perspective, this study will take into consideration the cumulative effect of language, while a critical discourse approach will help to foreground the constitutive role of discourse, two aspects on which the aforementioned studies have not focused.

2.10. An overview of the political context in Chile

Before I describe the political context in which this study is embedded, it is important to consider some essential aspects of politics, more specifically what pertains to political rhetoric. Following Aristotle, Fairclough and Fairclough (2012: 19) point out that political rhetoric is deliberative, as it involves reflecting about “public affairs, about what to do - what we should choose or avoid”. These authors assert that what we deliberate about is what we think is the right thing to do (2012: 20). Therefore, the political process of making decisions and choices tends to involve an adversary. Because of this, political rhetoric is also argumentative or persuasive, since it entails defending and opposing stances in order to reach an agreement. As Fairclough and Fairclough (2012: 31) note, an important aspect of deliberation is that it “produces

politically legitimate decisions". This legitimating effect is the result of the process of deliberation being perceived as a fair procedure, since it (allegedly) allows all parts to participate in the discussions. As a result, politics has the potential of legitimating decisions and actions, since these are understood as reached through a consensus, thus being justified rather than arbitrary. This should be kept in mind when considering the role of politics in the present study. In what follows, the Chilean political context is characterised both in terms of the political system and the most represented parties in the Chilean Congress.

2.10.1. A political characterisation of Chile

The Republic of Chile originated as a colony of Spain. This extended from the mid-16th century until the country's independence in 1818, after which Chile underwent a period of adjustment and organisation that involved war and political instability. This included a conservative presidential phase (1831-1861), followed by a liberal period (1861-1891), and then a brief parliamentary period (1891-1925) after which the presidential system was reinstated, operating until 1973, when the democratically elected government of Marxist president Salvador Allende (1970-1973) was overthrown by a military coup. This resulted in seventeen years of a military dictatorship led by general Augusto Pinochet (1973-1990), during which, many people were arrested, tortured, executed or disappeared, while others were forced to live in exile.

In 1989, a plebiscite resulted in 55.99% of voters supporting the end of the military dictatorship (vs. 44.01%), thus marking the beginning of the transition to democracy. At the time of writing, six democratic presidential periods have completed, and the country is on its seventh.

Chilean political parties can be classified along the main left-to-right axis (Aleman and Saiegh 2007). The left includes the socialists and moderate leftists, which comprises parties and coalitions such as *Partido Socialista* (PS) and *Partido por la Democracia* (PPD). The centre is occupied by parties such as *Democracia Cristiana* (DC), and the right by those who supported Pinochet's regime or are in favour of the free market policies instated by it. This group includes parties such as *Unión Demócrata Independiente* (UDI) and *Renovación Nacional* (RN). However, as Alemán and Tsebelis (2011) note, multiparty coalitions are a standard in Chile, considered to have some of the most stable and unified coalitions in Latin America (Alemán and Saiegh 2007), although they regularly change their names and reform to include new parties.

The first four presidential periods after the dictatorship were led by centre-left presidents from the PPD coalition (later called *Concertación* and *Nueva Mayoría* (NM)). In the fifth term, the first right-of-centre president since democracy was reinstated was elected. At the time, he adhered to centre-right party RN, member of *Coalición por el Cambio* (CPC), but was later re-elected in the seventh presidential term as an independent (IND) candidate in centre-right coalition *Chile Vamos* (CV). This information is summarised in Table 2.1.

	PRESIDENTIAL TERM	PRESIDENT	COALITION (PARTY)	P. SPECTRUM
1	1990-1994	Patricio Aylwin	PPD (DC)	centre-left
2	1994-2000	Eduardo Frei	PPD (DC)	centre-left
3	2000-2006	Ricardo Lagos	PPD (PS)	centre-left
4	2006-2010	Michelle Bachelet	PPD (PS)	centre-left
5	2010-2014	Sebastián Piñera	CPC (RN)	centre-right
6	2014-2018	Michelle Bachelet	NM (PS)	centre-left
7	2018-2022	Sebastián Piñera	CV (IND)	centre-right

Table 2.1. Presidential terms in Chile since the end of the military regime in 1990 up to 2018.

As this study considers laws that were discussed and passed in the period starting in 2005 and ending in 2015, it includes the last year of a centre-left presidential term, the full terms of a centre-left and a centre-right president and the first two years of a re-elected centre-left presidential term (numbers 3 to 6 in Table 2.1). The anti-discrimination law this study considers was introduced during the term of a centre-left president in 2005, being passed during a centre-right government in 2012, while the civil-partnership law was introduced during a centre-right government in 2011 and passed during a centre-left one in 2015. In the next section I refer to party distribution in congress during the period considered in this study and briefly characterise the two main political parties in Chile.

2.10.2. Political distribution within the Chilean Congress

The congress is the bicameral legislature where laws are made in Chile. It consists of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies, which are the upper and lower houses, respectively. During the military regime, the Chilean congress stopped operating, resuming its activities after it ended in 1990.

During the period considered in this study (2005-2015), four different congressional terms have taken place in Chile comprising years 2002-2006, 2006-2010, 2010-2014 and 2014-2018. During these terms, the distribution of political parties in congress has varied slightly with the inclusion of representatives of new political parties each term. However, the most traditional parties have remained as the five most represented ones throughout. These parties are the UDI, DC, RN, PPD, and PS. The distribution of politicians from these parties in the terms relevant to this study can be seen in Table 2.2.

PARTY	CONGRESSIONAL TERM								TOTAL	
	2002-2006		2006-2010		2010-2014		2014-2018			
	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%
UDI	45	27%	43	27%	46	29%	36	23%	170	26%
DC	38	22%	21	13%	28	17%	28	18%	115	17%
RN	30	18%	28	18%	25	16%	21	13%	104	16%
PPD	24	14%	22	14%	22	14%	21	13%	89	14%
PS	17	10%	22	14%	16	10%	22	14%	77	12%
	N:169		N:158		N:158		N:158		N:643	

Table 2.2. Distribution of seats taken by politicians (senators and deputies) in the most voted parties in the congressional terms held during 2005-2015.

According to Alemán and Saiegh (2007), the DC and UDI have obtained the majority of congressional seats since the 1990s. As Table 2.2. shows, UDI has remained the most represented party in congress since 2002, while DC is the second most voted party overall.

Founded in 1957, the progressive religious DC originated due to the transformation of the Catholic Church resulting from the development of its social doctrine (Luna et al. 2013), a process that started after the encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*³⁰ was issued in 1931. The political stance of the party fluctuates between a progressive and a conservative one (Luna et al. 2013), presenting a bridge between socialism and capitalism. This has allowed it to create political alliances and obtain support from historically divided social classes. On the other hand, UDI was created in 1983 with the purpose of protecting the reforms introduced by the military dictatorship in case democracy was reinstated. This party emerged at a time when the Catholic Church had taken a conservative turn as a response to liberation theology, a Latin American religious movement in the 1970s, which aimed at liberating the poor and oppressed through political involvement. UDI's leadership is strongly influenced by and connected with the Opus Dei and Legion of Christ religious movements, having close

³⁰ Issued by Pope Pius XI, the encyclical discusses the ethical implications of the social and economic order.

ties with business interests. However, it presents itself as an apolitical organisation whose main purpose is to assist the most neglected people in society. In spite of being closely related to the Catholic Church and the conservative turn started by Pope John Paul II, UDI has always downplayed the role religion has in it and presents its conservative values as ecumenical. Consequently, it also includes Protestants among its leaders and voters (Luna et al. 2013).

As Luna et al. (2013) note, DC and UDI originated in youth movements formed in the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile, Chile's Catholic university, a place where the local elite has been traditionally educated. Also, both parties have had successful expansion strategies. The DC mobilised peasants at a time when land-reform initiatives were taking place in the 1960s, and UDI focused on urban shantytowns. According to Luna et al. (2013), this explains why their electorate grew so rapidly and why they are the most voted parties in the country. As Luna et al. (2013) assert, it is not clear why both parties are as successful in a society that has become more secularised, especially considering that UDI, which is the most popular one of the two, is also the most conservative one. A reason for this may be that secularisation is a phenomenon which characterises younger generations, but it is the older generations that vote more. Another factor that may contribute to UDI's congressional success is its alleged apolitical and ecumenical stance, which may serve it well at a time when trust in Catholic Church has decreased and the Evangelical population is growing. In any case, their congressional success supports Lagos' (2005) hypothesis of the myth of the lay Chilean State (section 2.3.1.1).

2.11. Conclusion

In this section, I provided an overview of the context within which this study is embedded. First, I referred to religion. As this section showed, religion and politics

are closely connected. This is a consequence of the important role the Catholic Church played in the colonisation of America, but also of the ties religion has with the most represented parties in congress, which originated under the auspices of the Catholic Church. As a consequence, religious arguments are often used to oppose laws or State programmes such as those pertaining to AIDS prevention and sexual education even when Chile has been a secular State for almost a century. As it has been suggested, the Chilean society seems to be more advanced in terms of laity than the State, showing an increasing acceptance of sexual diversity that is not often reflected in the resolutions taken in congress. Even when the number of people who identify as Catholics is currently decreasing in the country, the number of Evangelicals is increasing, which means that conservative religions are still a significant presence in the country. However, the increase of secularism in the younger generations opens the possibility for change, and so does the increasing acceptance of sexual diversity. This is also reflected in the fact media representations of gay people are no longer going unquestioned, as the appearance of studies focusing on them suggests.

Chapter 3. Theoretical framework and literature review: Representation and discourse

3.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I describe the theoretical framework and literature that supports my research. In section 3.2, I introduce and characterise the notion of representation. Then, I summarise the field of Critical Discourse Studies (henceforth CDS) in 3.3, referring to the most important concepts underpinning any CDS approach. After this, section 3.3.1 provides an overview of the Discourse Historical Approach (henceforth DHA), which is followed by a characterisation of the concepts of legitimation in section 3.3.2, and context in 3.3.3, as these are relevant to the analysis conducted in this thesis. After this, section 3.4 describes Corpus Linguistics, while section 3.4.1 refers to its application to CDS such as this one. Here, I refer to the advantages of incorporating corpus tools to CDS and outline some concepts and theories that are useful for the identification of representations, such as semantic and discourse prosody, and lexical priming theory. Then, section 3.5 describes the types of discourse and genres analysed, while section 3.6 provides an overview of relevant studies within CDS and other fields that have considered parliamentary and church discourse in relation to sexuality. Finally, I provide some concluding remarks in section 3.7.

3.2. Representations

The theoretical concept that sets the basis for this study is representation, which has its origin in Moscovici's (1961/1976) study of the social representations of psychoanalysis in French media. The concept has been broadly researched in cultural studies, where the work of Stuart Hall stands out. According to Hall (2013b), representations are the link between concepts in our minds and language, thus he defines them as 'the production of meaning through language' (Hall 2013b: 2), which

makes them suitable for linguistic analysis. As Hall asserts, representations are one of the means by which culture is produced. In this sense, culture pertains to meanings that are shared, exchanged, produced and made sense of with language.

Within cultural studies, Hall (2013b) identifies a constructionist approach to representation. This approach considers events and people to be shaped by culture, hence representations also play a role in the construction of identity. In the constructionist approach, culture is understood as a constitutive process within which representations play a constitutive role. The process of representation is carried out by the participants or social actors that are members of a culture, and involves what is said about people, objects, and events, the emotions related to them, the values ascribed to them, and how they are classified and conceptualised.

According to Barker (2004), representations tend to be based on stereotypes and are related to power, coming to existence as a way of making sense of the unfamiliar, which is considered threatening and frightening. Due to this, representations are relevant when considering social minority groups or phenomena that are seen as deviating from what is regarded as the norm. Representations can be understood as common-sense theories about the social world, and the meaning conveyed in them is grasped from what is already known, what is conventional and traditional rather than what is reasonable. Moscovici (1984) identified two processes that generate representations. These are called anchoring and objectification. Within the former, unfamiliar objects are classified and named based on comparisons with existing familiar or prototypical ones. Through comparison it is possible to decide if an object is similar or different to the prototype and generalise or particularise the relevant features of the unfamiliar object or entity. Objectification, on the other hand, involves transforming the unfamiliar object or entity into 'concrete and objective common-

sense realities' (Augoustinos and Walker 1995: 139) through a process of accommodation and simplification.

As Augoustinos and Walker (1995) assert, social representations are shared ideas, thoughts, images, and knowledge. They are created and communicated socially, in personal and social interactions, forming part of a common consciousness, and determining what types of knowledge are acceptable or valid and which ones are not, thus also having a legitimating function. According to Hall (2013a: xx) the meanings conveyed in representations 'help to set rules, norms and conventions by which social life is ordered and governed'. In this way, they are not only representative, but also responsible for the organisation of reality (Moscovici 1973), constructing social reality and how the social world is understood.

Hall (2013b: 2) identifies two approaches to representation within the social constructionist approach: the semiotic, and discursive approaches. The semiotic approach was influenced by de Saussure's work, while the discursive approach was influenced by Foucault's. In the semiotic approach, the focus is on language and its role in the production of meaning, thus conceiving representations as a rather closed and static system, while the discursive approach focuses on language and practice. This includes the effects and consequences of the representations and how they produce the knowledge that is intended to regulate social conduct. Due to this, the discursive approach is more open, going beyond language by considering the relation of knowledge and power. According to Hall (2013a: xxii), the main focus of the discursive approach is on the historical specificity of the representations. This involves how they operate at a given time and place, since at different moments in history, different people have had more power to talk about, namely to represent, people, objects, and events. Additionally, research on social representations has

focused on their implications on psychological behaviour, as they have the potential to influence human conduct. Here, representations are treated as a stimulus that provokes a certain social attitude or response. This response or attitude is determined by how the representation is understood in a particular context and by the particular individuals in that context (Sammut et al. 2015: 5). Due to this, the study of representations becomes relevant when matters such as xenophobia, racism, homophobia or sexism, among others, are studied. Similarly, because of their relation to identity and stereotypes, representations offer a useful framework from which to focus on 'minority' or other disadvantaged social groups that are conceptualised by means of comparison to an alleged norm or prototype to which they are accommodated. Additionally, their normalising and legitimating potential, as well as their capacity to influence human behaviour and social attitudes make them well-suited for critical consideration. As Hall (2013b: 9) asserts, things/entities/phenomena do not mean, but their meaning is constructed through representational systems. Since meaning results from social, cultural and linguistic conventions that can change over time, representations are not finally fixed. Considering this dynamic quality, representations can be challenged (Augoustinos and Walker 1995). Since this study adopts a critical approach, the notion of representation becomes relevant, as it entails potentially modifiable relations of power.

My decision to focus on representations rather than discourses, as similar studies have done, is grounded on the aforementioned features of representations that foreground aspects that the concept of discourse does not, particularly in what pertains to their relation to culture, identity, stereotypes and the role they fulfil in relation to what is considered unfamiliar. Also, the processes of anchoring and objectification described above bring to the fore the relationship of representations with the prototypes to which

entities or phenomena are accommodated so as to validate them, while their potential influence on attitudes help to better illustrate the effect representations may have on those who consume them, something which the concept of discourse does not capture so clearly. Furthermore, their relationship with language and their role in the production of culture, knowledge, norms and conventions make the concept relevant in studies such as this one, which adopts a critical discourse analytical perspective. In the next section I refer to some of these features in more detail as they relate to the field in which this study is embedded, namely Critical Discourse Studies.

3.3. Critical Discourse Studies

Critical Discourse Studies or CDS, is the most recent name given for what was formerly known as Critical Discourse Analysis or CDA. The use of the new acronym was suggested by van Dijk (2013) to emphasise that CDA is not a method of critical discourse analysis, which is a common misconception. Due to this, van Dijk (2013: para. 6) recommends the use of the acronym CDS to refer to ‘the theories, methods, analyses, applications and other practices of critical discourse analysts’, and stop using CDA in these cases, so as to avoid confusion. Although using the new acronym to refer to the field and studies that were published before it was adopted may feel like retro-fitting, I follow van Dijk’s recommendation in accordance to Wodak and Meyer (2016), who have since adopted CDS to refer to the field on its past and present stages.

There are various events that mark the beginning of the field of CDS, the most important being a symposium held in Amsterdam in 1991, which allowed scholars conducting critical discourse studies at the time to discuss their different approaches, comparing and contrasting their methodologies and their underlying theories. The scholars involved in this effort included Teun van Dijk, Norman Fairclough, Gunther

Kress, Theo van Leeuwen, and Ruth Wodak, most of whom had already published books on the subject of critical discourse analysis, such as Fairclough's *Language and Power* (1989), Wodak's *Language, Power and Ideology* (1989), and van Dijk's *Prejudice in Discourse* (1984). Another event marking the beginning of CDS is the launch of van Dijk's *Discourse and Society* journal in 1990, whose 1993 special issue presented the approaches of these different scholars. Although these approaches have considerably changed since the 1990s, they are still important due to their foundational nature. Nevertheless, new CDS approaches have been developed over time, following different schools of thought, and incorporating new forms of analysis and sources of data, such as corpus linguistics and social media. Additionally, new theories and journals have emerged, and different scholars have become involved in or distanced from CDS.

According to Wodak and Meyer (2016), CDS is a school, programme or set of principles that is characterised by research that adopts problem-oriented interdisciplinary approaches that focus on the relations between discourse and society (van Dijk 1995). CDS aims to investigate any social phenomena, especially when they can be regarded as a manifestation of social inequality, such as sexism, homophobia, or racism, but not exclusively. As Wodak and Meyer (2016) assert, the focus of CDS analyses is not on linguistic units per se but on the understanding and explanation of the complex social phenomena under investigation. However, it acknowledges the important role that language plays in the 'production, maintenance, and change of social relations of power' (Fairclough 1989: 1) since, as Wodak and Meyer (2009: 8) emphasise, CDS aims at 'revealing power structures and unmasking ideologies.' Under CDS, dominant ideologies are conceptualised as a set of everyday beliefs that tend to appear and be perceived by society as neutral, rather than the product of power

imbalances. Consequently, CDS sees discourse as one of the main means through which social domination and inequality are (re)produced by those in power, including the media, politicians, and teachers – i.e. members of a symbolic elite that controls communication, information, and knowledge (van Dijk 2010).

Due to the variety of researchers and academic cultures that exist within CDS, there are several understandings and definitions of terms that are at the core of any CDS approach, such as the notions of critique, discourse, ideology and power. In what follows, I define these concepts as they are commonly understood in CDS.

As Hart and Cap (2014) note, some CDS scholars follow the neo-Marxist notion of critique (e.g. Fairclough 1995), while others use the term in the sense suggested by the School of Frankfurt and Critical Theory (e.g. Reisigl and Wodak 2001). In this last sense it suggests that the aim of social theory should be critiquing and changing society (Wodak and Meyer 2016: 6), while in both senses it entails that researchers have a political stance that aims to generate this change (Hart and Cap 2014: 2). Due to this, the concept foregrounds the role of the researcher, which entails considering the fact that she is also a member of society thus being subject to its hierarchies and occupying a relatively high position in them. Similarly, being critical requires researchers to be aware of the motivations of their work, whether these are social, economic or political. Critical theories, Wodak and Meyer (2016) assert, want to contribute to the emancipation of human beings by means of the production of knowledge. In CDS, this pertains to the ways in which language contributes to perpetuating power dynamics within society. As Fairclough (1989) notes, raising awareness about these dynamics is ‘the first step towards emancipation’ (1989: 1), and facilitating this is an important aim of CDS researchers. However, in reality this is not always reflected. Most of the time, it would seem that findings of studies adopting a

CDS approach are known only within academia, since the majority of the research conducted rarely refers to the practical applications of their findings or how they effectively contribute to the emancipatory goal. As Gouveia (2003: 58) points out CDS 'seems to have failed to promote emancipatory-knowledge.' Although some work carried out has had practical applications resulting in guidelines or handbooks for people and specialists in various fields (e.g. work by Ruth Wodak in text-comprehension, gender studies, and institutional communication for the Austrian government, among others), the majority of the work does not seem to have reached the groups of society who would directly benefit from the knowledge produced in them, in ways that help them to become aware of inequalities. As Gouveia (2003: 59) suggests '[a]ctivist CDA (...) must aim at transforming its emancipatory-knowledge into common sense (...) that is, a prudent knowledge for a decent life (...) based in principles of solidarity and the end of monopolies of interpretation, and in non-discriminatory practices that favour integration.' The question is how this can be achieved. Fairclough (1989) identifies two conditions that can contribute to emancipation through the raising of consciousness. One is the social conditions that will make emancipation possible, and the other that dominated groups are 'open to critique and raising of consciousness' (Fairclough 1989: 234). Considering this Fairclough (1989) suggests researchers need to be catalysts, which can be achieved when they have the theoretical background and shared experience that will make them accepted as such. Fairclough adds that '[v]ery often they will be educators in some formal or informal sense, but this is not necessarily so' (1989: 234). I consider that through education, work with governments, and privately or state funded research institutions it is possible to reach a larger audience and potentially 'those who need it most' (van Dijk 1993: 252), thus contributing to the fulfilment of CDS' goals.

However, these contexts are often constrained by their own objectives, which may differ from those of CDS analysts. This is something CDS researchers need to be cautious about.

Regarding discourse, it can be understood as ‘a set of meanings, metaphors, representations, images, stories, statements and so on that in some way together produce a particular version of events’ (Burr 2015: 74-75). This definition suggests a single object can be conceptualised by a range of different discourses. Hart and Cap (2014: 1) characterise discourse as having various dimensions, modes and functions. Among these dimensions, Hart and Cap identify linguistic, intertextual, historical, social and situational contexts, which have to be considered when identifying discourse. In terms of modality or practice, discourse has a linguistic, cognitive and semiotic dimension, hence it can be conveyed via language, images, sounds, or other semiotic modes. Regarding its function, discourse can simultaneously represent, evaluate, argue for/against, and (de)legitimate social actions.

As Fairclough (1995) asserts, we can distinguish between discourse as a mass noun, which refers to language use as a social practice (e.g. media discourse), and discourse as a countable noun, which pertains to ways of representing the world from a particular viewpoint (e.g. a homophobic discourse). Sunderland (2004) identifies the first kind as descriptive discourse, which pertains to interactions within a specific context, and the latter as interpretive discourse. Discourses in the latter sense are instantiated in texts, they are not explicit, and can be contradictory and shifting. Their identification is an interpretative task, which opens the possibility of contesting and challenging them. This is of great importance to CDS scholars who, drawing on Foucault’s definition of discourse as ‘practices which systematically form the objects of which they speak’ (1972: 49), see discourse as a social practice. This implies that

there is a dialectical relationship between any given discursive event and ‘the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s) which frame it’ and vice versa (Fairclough and Wodak 1997: 258). This means that discourse shapes and is shaped by these situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s), which also shape the identities and relationships of their members and participants (Hart and Cap 2014: 1), as well as their systems of knowledge and belief (Fairclough 1992). From this perspective, discourse is a social and potentially constitutive process whose function is to create, maintain and reproduce the social status quo, having also the potential to transform it. This explains its relationship with power and ideology, their connection to the concept of representation, and why it is significant in CDS.

As Sunderland (2004: 7) asserts, discourse manifests in oral and written texts in the form of linguistic traces. In order to identify discourses, the analyst needs to recognise what linguistic features suggest a particular discourse and be able to state why this is the case. However, the interpretation of these traces will depend on those carrying out the discourse identification task. The interpretation of discourse has drawn criticism about the researcher’s stance. As Widdowson (1995) points out, different people interpret discourse in different ways based on their own experiences. Due to this, he considers that ‘if you are ideologically committed you will be inclined to imply that your interpretation of a text is the only one which is valid’ (1995: 169). As Burr (2015: 172) argues, it is impossible to be objective, as interpretations are inevitably bound to our experiences. Widdowson (1995) also acknowledges this, calling it a ‘natural pragmatic process’ (1995: 168). Based on this, Baker (2006) emphasises that the interpretation of findings should consider the process of production and consumption and the historical context of the topic, as these provide support for the analyses and help reduce researcher bias. This can also be achieved by following a

triangulatory approach, as this will incorporate theories, the social context and other background information or data sets which are necessary to make better sense of findings. Additionally, research bias can be tackled when researchers make their stance explicit and revise their interpretations by questioning their position in relation to the findings resulting from their analyses.

As Sunderland (2004: 46) notes, there is no dictionary of discourses, and discourses generally pre-exist individual speakers, who are continuously reproducing and revising them with social actions or language (2004: 7), since they are open to contestation and challenge. Additionally, Sunderland (2004: 31) suggests that discourses exist in networks of related discourses. These relations can be inter- and intratextual, with discourses being similar, oppositional, supporting or contesting others. Moreover, as discourse is a form of social practice, namely being socially constitutive and constituted, the analyst should take into consideration its socio-political implications, that is whether it is a marginal or dominant discourse and the effect this may have (Sunderland 2004). However, as Breeze (2011) explains, even when there is a relationship between discourse and the ways people see the world, it is impossible to know which of all the discourses people are exposed to have been accepted, rejected or ignored by them, thus being impossible to determine which discourses have a bigger impact on society. This is not often acknowledged in critical discourse analyses. One way of dealing with this is to take into account any non-linguistic evidence that can provide some insights about people's beliefs, attitudes, or behaviours (Stubbs 1997), as it can give researchers an idea of what discourses may be more influential than others in a given context. This can be facilitated by consulting the results of attitude surveys and public opinion polls conducted in the context in which the discourse is embedded (I refer to context in more detail in section 3.3.3).

Concerning ideologies, Fairclough (2003: 218) defines them as ‘representations of aspects of the world which contribute to establishing and maintaining relations of power, domination and exploitation’. Wodak and Meyer (2016) note that dominant ideologies are naturalised belief systems, thus appearing to be neutral and usually going unchallenged. In hierarchical societies, ideologies pertain to class, gender, and ethnicity, among other variables. Within CDS relations of power, dominance and exploitation are considered to be expressed, constructed, and maintained through language, something which usually takes place beneath its surface. It is this hidden and latent form of ideology and how it functions in everyday life that are of interest to CDS (Wodak and Meyer 2016).

Due to their linguistic dimension, Fairclough (1992: 87) suggests that it is possible to think of the forms and meanings of discursive practices, namely processes of production, distribution, and consumption, as material forms of ideologies, since they play a role in the production, reproduction, and transformation of the relations of domination. According to Fairclough (1992: 91), only the discursive practices that fulfil this function can be regarded as ideological, since he considers not all discourse to be necessarily so. As Fairclough (1995) asserts, potentially ideological properties of texts can range from lexical items, grammar, structural, and stylistic features, as well as metaphors, politeness conventions and implicatures, among others.

The last concept at the core of CDS is power, which is one of the main interests of its proponents. There are many definitions of power. In very general terms, it can be understood as our ability to control our environment or what we or others do or think. Within CDS, van Dijk (1995:10) has defined it as ‘a social relation between groups or institutions, involving the control by a (more) powerful group or institution (and its members) of the actions and the minds of (the members of) a less powerful group’.

According to Fairclough (1989), power can be exercised through physical or psychological types of coercion. However, it is also manifested in the manufacturing of consent, which is carried out with ideologies.

As language is one of the ways in which ideologies are reproduced, it can therefore be regarded as an important means of exercising social control and power. Fairclough (1995) affirms that power pertains to the asymmetries that exist between those involved in the discursive events and also the different capacities to control the production, distribution, and consumption of texts in specific sociocultural contexts. However, just as degrees of power can vary within individuals across different contexts, texts can also be sites of struggle where different discourses and ideologies contend for dominance (Wodak and Meyer 2009).

As van Dijk (2013) points out, there are various methodological approaches that can be applied to carry out CDS. The most appropriate methodological approach will be determined by whether it is able to give a satisfactory answer to the analysts' research questions. There are several schools within CDS, each with its own theoretical background (Wodak and Meyer 2009). Consequently, CDS does not stipulate a normative approach to the analysis of discourse. The approach adopted by each school is determined by the data under study and often involves a combination of methodologies (Baker 2012). Studies can thus incorporate analytical strands pertaining to grammar, phonology, semantics, or non-linguistic semiotic dimensions, such as pictures, films, or gestures.

An important aspect that has raised criticism towards CDS pertains to the selection of data. As Stubbs (1997) points out, many studies applying critical discourse analysis have focused on the analysis of small samples of data, singling out individual texts for analysis and then drawing generalisations from them, while potentially overlooking

other texts or data sets that may reveal contradicting findings or help to broaden the picture these studies have drawn. Criticism by scholars such as Stubbs (1997) and Widdowson (2004) has suggested that these analyses tend to focus on a few specific linguistic features and do not provide quantitative evidence, which raises issues of representativeness. This criticism has been acknowledged in work carried out since the 1990s, which have incorporated corpus methods to CDS as a way of dealing with this matter (I refer to this in more detail in section 3.4). As Baker et al. (2008) suggest, combining corpus linguistics with critical discourse analysis can help to avoid problems of representativeness and claims of ‘cherry-picking’, since corpus linguistics offers the possibility to analyse large samples of data in a more systematic way, allowing for statistical representation of results and a more objective approach. Considering this, I incorporate some corpus linguistic tools to my analysis, which I discuss in more detail in section 3.4, where I also characterise corpus linguistics and its contribution to CDS. It should be noted that the methodological approach undertaken in this thesis does not follow one CDS approach but integrates some aspects of three CDS programmes. These are Reisigl and Wodak’s (2016) Discourse Historical Approach or DHA, van Leeuwen’s (2008) framework for the analysis of legitimation, and Fairclough’s (1989; 1992) three-dimensional model for discourse analysis. In the following sections I provide an overview of the DHA, I characterise the concept of legitimation and briefly outline van Leeuwen’s analytical framework, and I describe the aspects of context that are relevant for the analysis carried out in this thesis, and mention the approaches applied to their analysis.

3.3.1. The Discourse Historical Approach

The Discourse Historical Approach or DHA aims to study complex social phenomena following an interdisciplinary approach that applies the principle of triangulation. This

involves the consideration of different theories, background information and empirical observations in discourse analysis. The theories, information and empirical observations considered are determined by the specific problem under investigation. As with any CDS approach, there are some basic concepts that need to be addressed in the characterisation of this framework. These are the notions of ideology, power, discourse, and critique.

Within the DHA, ideologies are considered in the way language and semiotic practices mediate and reproduce them within the social institutions in which they are embedded. The objective of the DHA is to elucidate those that help to maintain or challenge relations of dominance, deconstructing the hegemonic practices of the discourses where they are instantiated (Reisigl and Wodak 2016).

Regarding power, the DHA identifies language as the means by which it is maintained and expressed. Power shapes discourses, and discourses can legitimise or delegitimise power, while texts are sites of social struggle. In the DHA, the focus is on the way language is used to express power and manipulate through it. According to Reisigl and Wodak (2016), the discursive realisation of power includes grammatical forms, but also the ways in which a social occasion is controlled by a person, for instance in the genre of a text. Due to this, the analysis of language is one of the foci of the DHA, but not its only one.

Concerning discourse, the DHA sees it as formed by contextualised semiotic practices of various kinds. Moreover, apart from being socially constituted and constitutive, it is related to a macro-topic, and linked to argumentation (Reisigl and Wodak 2016: 27). Also, a discourse is regarded as having fluid boundaries, making it difficult to determine where one starts and finishes. Regarding discourse interpretation, it is seen

as dependent on the point of view of the analysts, which opens discourses to (re)interpretation.

Regarding the critical stance, in this approach it materialises in the integration of three aspects which derive from Critical Theory. The first of these aspects, the ‘text or discourse immanent critique’, focuses on the text-internal or discourse-internal structures with the aim of discovering inconsistencies within it. The second aspect, the ‘socio-diagnostic critique’ aims at uncovering the persuasive features of the discourse drawing on contextual knowledge and a variety of disciplines, theories and models that may help to shed light about these matters. And, finally, the third aspect, a prospective critique, is future-related and aims at promoting awareness and social change through the application of the findings. The application of findings is an important goal of the DHA. As outlined in the previous section, this involves making results available for experts and the wider public, as this is expected to promote social change.

As Reisigl and Wodak (2016: 32) assert, the DHA follows three dimensions of analysis: the first one identifies the content or topic(s) of the discourse under investigation, the second one investigates discursive strategies, and the third one examines the linguistic means, as types, and context-dependent realisations, as tokens. The analysis of discursive strategies involves the identification of five types of strategies: nomination strategies, which are the ways in which entities, phenomena, processes, and actions are referred to; predication strategies, that correspond to the features ascribed to the entities, phenomena, processes, and actions; argumentation strategies, which involve the arguments used to justify and question claims in the discourses analysed; perspectivisation strategies, which pertain to the stance of the text producer and their expression of involvement or distance; and intensification or

mitigation strategies, which refer to modifications of the illocutionary force of utterances, that is whether they are articulated overtly, intensified, or mitigated (Reisigl and Wodak 2016: 32). Considering the researcher, she has to make her stance explicit, be self-reflective and able to theoretically justify her interpretations of findings.

Due to the variety of topics that are possible to investigate using the DHA (or other CDS approaches) and how each research project should influence the research design, studies that apply a DHA may show different orientations towards aspects of the approach, allowing analysts to be quite flexible. For instance, in this thesis I identify only two of the five discourse strategies elaborated in this approach, while other researchers may choose to identify one or all of them, depending on their interests and goals. In this thesis I focus on nomination, and predication strategies, as they are the ones that contribute to the formation of representations. I refer to these strategies and their identification in Chapter 4.

According to Reisigl (2017) the beginnings of the DHA can be traced back to the publication of a study that analysed antisemitism in the presidential campaign of Austrian politician Kurt Waldheim (Wodak et al. 1990). This study, which combined oral and written genres of data, helped to define the interdisciplinary and historical focus of the DHA, as well as some theories, methods, teamwork, the triangulatory principle, and the goal of practically applying research findings. In the second phase, the research programme was institutionalised. This period is characterised by the publication of one of the most influential books in DHA history, which is Wodak et al.'s (2009) study on Austrian national identity. Working with a variety of sources of data, the study provided a theoretical and methodological framework which can be applied to studies with a similar focus regardless of their context. From then on, many

studies have been carried out, focusing on topics such as racism, migration, identity politics, discrimination, right-wing populism and fascist discourses in Europe, among others. These studies have used various sources of data, sometimes taking multimodal approaches, as the DHA sees discourse analysis as a multidimensional project, not only a method of language analysis.

In relation to sexuality, there are studies such as Koller's (2008) who focused on lesbian discourses. In this study, she combined the DHA with socio-cognitive insights in the analysis of eight texts of a variety of genres produced by lesbian authors between 1970-2004. The aim was to investigate the linguistic means by which a lesbian group identity and community was constructed throughout time, taking into account the socio-political context in which the texts were embedded. Additionally, Koller provides information from ethnographic interviews that help to contextualise the study and the analyses, along with discussions of the production, distribution and reception of the texts considered. Among the elements used to construct a collective social identity Koller identified the representation and evaluation of social actors, the attribution of social actions, linguistic modality, intertextual and interdiscursive references, and the use of metaphors.

Another study that considers sexuality using the DHA analysed the narratives of four Malay gay men in semi-structured interviews. Here, Shamsudin and Ghazali (2011) identify the ways in which these men constructed their gay identity. This study applies the three dimensions of analysis identifying content, strategies, and linguistic realisations. Also, it considers the discourses identified within the socio-political context in which they are embedded. As a result, the analysis showed that the discursive construction of identities of the gay Malay men interviewed reproduced mainstream ideologies, being influenced by their culture, and religion. For example,

they considered homosexuality an abnormality, being a temporary manifestation of their sexuality, which would be eventually abandoned to comply with the heterosexual norm. Shamsudin and Ghazali hypothesise that this is due to the values and ideologies that these men acquired as they grew up, not being the result of direct coercion from an authority.

As opposed to this thesis, these studies have considered in-group identity constructions. In Koller's (2008) study, the focus is on the discursive means and strategies used to achieve this, while Shamsudin and Ghazali (2011) focus primarily on the resulting discourses and their relation to the hegemonic order. Considering this, this thesis is more similar to Shamsudin and Ghazali's (2011) study, as it centres on the representations produced in the corpora.

Since in this study I integrate aspects of the DHA (Reisigl and Wodak 2016) with van Leeuwen's (2008) framework for the analysis of legitimation, as outlined in his 'discourse as recontextualised social practice' approach (van Leeuwen 2007; 2008), the following section characterises the concept of legitimation. Additionally, I outline van Leeuwen's framework, and refer to some CDS that have analysed legitimation.

3.3.2. Legitimation

As van Dijk (1998) notes, the concept of legitimation has been extensively studied in fields such as philosophy, law, or the social and political sciences. Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999: 98) refer to legitimation as discursively constructed reasons or justifications for social practices. As Berger and Luckmann (1966: 111) assert, 'legitimation 'explains' the institutional order by ascribing cognitive validity to its objectivated meanings. (It) justifies the institutional order by giving a normative dignity to its practical imperatives.' Due to this, Berger and Luckmann (1966) propose that legitimation has both a cognitive and a normative dimension, being not only

about values but also about knowledge. As Berger and Luckmann (1966: 111) point out legitimation ‘not only tells the individual why he should perform one action and not another; it also tells him why things are what they are. In other words, ‘knowledge’ precedes ‘values’ in the legitimation of institutions.’ Considering this, van Leeuwen (2007) suggests that the study of legitimation should always consider context, as any given legitimation will be about the specific practices of a determined institution.

As Fairclough (2003) notes, legitimation is a requirement of any social order, as these need to explain and justify the way things are and the manner in which they are done. According to Weber (1964: 325) every system of authority ‘attempts to establish and to cultivate the belief in its legitimacy’. Within power relations, legitimacy is always at risk and participants need to maintain it and challenge and deny that of their rivals (Martín Rojo and van Dijk 1997).

According to van Dijk (1998: 255), ‘legitimation is one of the main social functions of ideologies.’ As such, he characterises it as bi-directional, that is involving a top-down and bottom-up process. As a top-down process, legitimation pertains to the elites or institution as they aim to legitimate themselves to the population or masses, while the bottom-up process involves the acceptance of or compliance to the elites and institutions by the dominated groups. Due to this, legitimation strategies allow power to be both maintained and challenged.

As a sociopolitical act, Martín Rojo and van Dijk (1997: 528) suggest legitimations involve normative approval sought by a powerful group or institution by means of strategies that portray their policies and actions as consistent with the moral order of the context within which they take place. This moral order has been determined by

laws, traditions, norms, agreements and objectives that have been accepted by the majority of the population.

As Reyes (2011) notes, legitimation is enacted in argumentation, where persuasion helps to achieve approval and acceptance. Because of this, Fairclough and Fairclough (2012: 242) identify legitimation as an argumentative process of justification ‘in which an action is justified in terms of reasons which can themselves, in turn, be justified as (worthy of being) collectively accepted or recognised’.

As van Dijk (1998) asserts, legitimation is an ongoing discursive practice, a means to discursively establish systems of authority (van Leeuwen 2007). Due to its discursive nature, textual analysis constitutes an important resource for its study. However, legitimation is also multimodal, as it can be enacted visually, or by means of events such as elections (Martín Rojo and van Dijk 1997; van Leeuwen 2008).

From a discourse analytical perspective, van Dijk (1998: 255) defines legitimation as ‘a prominent function of language use and discourse’, ‘a social (and political) act’ that is ‘typically accomplished by text or talk’. Pragmatically speaking, van Dijk asserts, legitimation is ‘related to the speech act of defending oneself, in that one of its appropriateness conditions is often that the speaker is providing good reasons, grounds or acceptable motivations for past or present action that has been or could be criticised by others’ (1998: 255). However, van Dijk (1998) points out that this does not necessarily entail real attacks or challenges, as they are often only a possibility. To fulfil its purpose, the process of legitimation is enacted by means of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation (van Dijk 1998). As Fonseca and Ferreira (2015) explain, the main strategies of the discursive legitimation process involve the positive evaluation of us/our actions and the negative evaluations of them/their actions, highlighting our positive attributes and their negative attributes, as well as de-

emphasising our negative features and their positive ones. Due to this, the way something/someone is represented plays an important role on whether it is being legitimated or de-legitimated. As van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999: 98) assert, 'representation always involves some measure of legitimation, or of de-legitimation, critique, opposition. It always serves to construct new social practices, to perpetuate, justify or transform existing practices, or to destruct practices which no longer serve their purposes.' Additionally, legitimations can be used to justify representations proper (Reyes 2011).

Research that has investigated legitimations has predominantly involved the textual identification and analysis of legitimation strategies. Within CDS, Theo van Leeuwen developed 'a grammar of legitimation' (van Leeuwen 2007), which provides a framework for the identification and categorisation of these strategies and can be integrated to other CDS approaches such as DHA. This framework identifies four key categories of legitimation. These categories, which I explain in more detail in Chapter 4, are authorisation, moral evaluation, rationalisation, and mythopoesis, and they classify legitimation in relation to sources of authority; norms and values; goals, uses and knowledge; and narratives, respectively.

According to Vaara et al. (2006), van Leeuwen's model is general and not suitable for all kinds of discourses, such as media discourse. With that in mind, they developed a model of discursive legitimation strategies that they propose can be applied to the study of contemporary organisational phenomena. Within this model they identified five categories of legitimation which expand van Leeuwen's categories. These are normalisation, authorisation, rationalisation, moralisation, and narrativisation, where normalisation can be correlated to naturalisations, which van Leeuwen's (2008) has classified as moral evaluation legitimations. The model proposed by Vaara et al. is not

considerably different from van Leeuwen's, but shows that van Leeuwen's framework can be modified to fit the researcher's needs, being a good starting point for this kind of analysis.

In another study that identified legitimation in political discourse, Reyes (2011) developed a set of five legitimation strategies as identified in speeches by American politicians during the Iraq and Afghanistan conflicts. Reyes notes that these strategies, which can be used individually or combined with others, aim to justify social practices through an appeal to emotions, reference to a hypothetical future, rationality, voices of expertise, and altruism. Reyes points out that the emotion that is usually evoked in the first type of these legitimation strategies is fear, which is a form of manipulation of the audience's opinions, since emotions can distort our understanding of what is real. Similarly, the hypothetical future legitimation strategy presents audiences with a future threat that requires immediate action in order to stop it. On the other hand, the rationality legitimation strategy aims at portraying the politician's proposal or actions as resulting from a decision-making process that involved thoughtful and careful evaluation, thus being the 'right' thing to do. Regarding the voices of expertise legitimation strategy, this is enacted when experts are mentioned. Finally, altruism legitimation strategies portray the proposal or action taken as intended for the common good, being beneficial to others, who tend to be characterised as vulnerable or innocent. The categories resulting from Reyes's study can be correlated to those in van Leeuwen's framework. For instance, appeals to emotions, rationality and altruism have elements that correspond to van Leeuwen's moral evaluation legitimations, while references to hypothetical future can be examples of instrumental rationalisations since they allude to purposes (e.g. to stop something from happening). Similarly, voices of expertise correlate to authorisation legitimations. However, the names

assigned to Reyes's categories are more descriptive and easier to make sense of than van Leeuwen's.

Finally, in a corpus-based critical discourse study that investigated discourse prosodies around gay men in a British newspaper, Baker (2014a) identified legitimisation strategies in the form of discourses, references to authorities, past events or people acting as examples, as well as the inclusion of quotes from gay people which validated a negative representation of themselves. These legitimations correlate with what van Leeuwen (2008) identifies as moral evaluation and authorisation (personal and impersonal) legitimations. In his analysis, Baker (2014a) concluded that a corpus-based methodological approach that examined collocates or concordance tables was not well-suited to identify legitimisation strategies, since in order to identify legitimations it is necessary to consider the wider co-text. This can be achieved by expanding concordance lines, reading full texts, and taking into account any relevant contextual information in the data, which can include the titles of the articles, their authors, the kind of articles they are, etc. Another important contribution of Baker's (2014a) study in relation to legitimations is that he foregrounded the legitimating function of discourses.

As this section has shown, legitimations normalise, having a connection with power and knowledge that is related to the context in which they occur, being closely tied to representations. Since the period considered in this study covers the time when two laws were discussed and passed in the Chilean parliament, the corpora often contain legitimisation strategies that intend to justify a particular course of action. Because of this, identifying legitimisation strategies and the legitimating function of representations seemed a suitable way of making sense of the findings. With that in mind, I follow Baker's (2014a) identification procedure which involves expanding concordances and

scrutinising whole texts. Also, I identify legitimation strategies using van Leeuwen's (2008) categories, since they seemed to consider the necessary features to carry out the identification task, having the potential to be expanded if needed. As the analysis carried out in this thesis pays special attention to the socio-historical context in which this study is embedded, the next section characterises the concept of context and outlines the relevant aspects of the CDS approaches on which its analysis is based.

3.3.3. Context

As van Dijk (2008) notes, the production and comprehension of text, talk, and discourse are determined by context. Flowerdew (2014) asserts that there are various models of context, none of which has been universally accepted. Due to this, the model used will depend on the analyst's goals and the context of the particular research undertaken.

According to Flowerdew (2014) when we consider language, context pertains to both the social environment in which language occurs and the linguistic environment of an utterance. As noted by Wodak (2014), the former can include institutional frames, as well as the socio-political and historical context within which a communicative event takes place, while the latter refers to the immediate text, the co-text, as well as intertextual and interdiscursive relations between the utterances. Considering this, Baker (2014b) argues that it is necessary to go beyond the text and consider the social, historical and political context within which a particular text is produced, as the context can help to interpret and explain findings.

According to Fairclough (1989, 1992) discourse can be analysed in three integrated levels, each of which is mediated by the following one. The first or micro level is descriptive and involves the analysis of text or linguistic realisations, while the second and third levels deal with the broader context. The second level, known as the meso

level, involves the analysis of the discursive practice, which considers the social processes of production, distribution, and consumption. On the other hand, the third or macro level, pertains to the analysis of the social practice or conditions as they relate to ideology and power. This involves consideration of social structures, power relations, and the economic, political and institutional settings in which discourse is embedded. Fairclough (1992) refers to these two levels as levels of interpretation, but also as the levels of interpretation, and explanation, respectively (Fairclough 1989). The first level of interpretation aims to make sense of the linguistic realisations identified in the first level of analysis, that of description, by relating these findings to the discourse practice, while the second level of interpretation (or explanation) intends to make sense of the linguistic realisations and the interpretations ascribed to them by considering them in relation to the wider social practice (Fairclough 1992: 198). A contribution of Fairclough's three-dimensional model is that it foregrounds the role of context in discourse analysis, while showing the interconnected nature of the three dimensions. Due to this, I decided to consider the two interpretative dimensions in the contextual analysis conducted in this study. However, I also considered another dimension of context - the fourth dimension of the DHA.

The DHA characterises context as having four dimensions that should be recursively considered in the analysis of data. These four dimensions are 'the immediate, language or text-internal co-text and co-discourse; the intertextual and interdiscursive relationships between utterances, texts, genres and discourses; the social variables and institutional frames of a specific 'context of situation'; (and) the broader sociopolitical and historical context, which discursive practices are embedded in and related to'. (Reisigl and Wodak 2016: 30-31). As its name indicates, the historical aspect of context is an important part of the DHA, being one of its strongest research interests.

The reason for this is that it allows analysts to trace intertextual and interdiscursive patterns, allowing them to better appreciate the relationships between findings. In CDS, intertextuality refers to the connections of texts to other texts and interdiscursivity to the connections between discourses. Considering this, integrating the fourth dimension to the contextual analysis is expected to allow for a better interpretation and explanation of any similarities and/or differences identified in the three corpora included in this study. In the following section I characterise corpus linguistics and refer to its application in CDS.

3.4. Corpus Linguistics

As McEnery and Wilson (1996) assert, Corpus Linguistics is a methodology that helps researchers to study language using examples of 'real life' language use. A corpus can range from hundreds to even billions of electronically encoded texts making up large quantities of language data that computers and specialised software are able to process in a quick and accurate manner. This data is intended to be representative of the specific language sample or variety it covers, allowing researchers to obtain significant results from its analysis in the form of frequency counts, or through the application of statistical tests which enable researchers to identify relationships between words and texts through collocational profiles and keyword lists.

Reflecting on the limitations of Corpus Linguistics, Mautner (2016) notes that it is better-suited for research that focuses on specific lexical items or word clusters rather than realisations that take larger stretches of text, are unpredictable and varying or are absent. As Stubbs (1994: 212) asserts, analysts need to combine the study of "large-scale patterns across long texts with the detailed study of concordance lines", which often need to be extended, even to whole texts, in order to determine features such as pragmatic devices, stance, or argumentative strategies, for example. Additionally,

Mautner (2016) considers the identification of contextual factors that play a role in the production and reception of texts as another limitation of Corpus Linguistics. As Baker et al. (2008: 293) suggest, “[a] traditional corpus-based analysis is not sufficient to explain or interpret the reasons why certain linguistic patterns were found (or not found)”. The reason for this is that “[c]orpus analysis does not normally take into account the social, political, historical and cultural context of the data” (2008: 293), an area where a CDS approach can contribute significantly.

Although the application of corpus tools is usually recognised as a quantitative method, this is not entirely the case. As Baker et al. (2008) indicate, corpus-based analyses also involve decision-making on the part of the researcher. These decisions involve what texts to include in the corpus, which corpus tools to use in the analysis, cut-off points for statistical significance, frequency of occurrence of particular tokens of interest, or the size of collocational patterns, among others. As Baker and McEnery (2015) assert, even when the initial stages of corpus analysis rely on quantitative analyses and the identification of quantifiable patterns, once these patterns have been obtained their interpretation should follow. This interpretative stage is usually carried out through the exploration of concordances using corpus software and involves the manual analysis of collocates in their specific co-text. Additionally, after the interpretation of findings, Baker and McEnery (2015) argue for the application of a further qualitative stage of analysis, that of explanation, which pertains to the social contextualisation of the descriptive and interpretative results obtained. This allows researchers to counteract some of the limitations of Corpus Linguistics mentioned above.

In this thesis, corpus tools are used as a way of accessing the corpora in a quicker and easier manner. As I describe in more detail in Chapter 4, I use a variety of search

terms related to same-sex attraction in order to obtain concordances from the corpora using the concordance tool of AntConc 3.5.7 (Anthony 2018), a corpus analysis tool. Then, these concordances are scrutinised in search of representations about homosexuality, which I later interpret and explain as suggested by Baker and McEnery (2015).

3.4.1. Corpus-based (critical) discourse analysis

Discourse analysis studies using corpus linguistics tools have been carried out since the 1990s, with work by scholars such as Caldas-Coulthard (1995), Hardt-Mautner (1995), Stubbs (1996), or Krishnamurthy (1996). Hardt-Mautner (1995) was the first to describe the potential of using corpus linguistics to conduct CDS in an approach she applied in a study of EC/EU discourse in British press. Through the use of corpus tools, Hardt-Mautner was able to manage a relatively large quantity of data (approximately 168,000 words) while conducting CDS. Similarly, Baker et al. (2008) developed a methodological synergy, an approach that combines corpus linguistics methodologies with Reisigl and Wodak's (2016) DHA. Additionally, without taking an explicitly critical stance, Partington (2008) developed an approach that differentiates from CDS approaches in not having an 'overarching political agenda' (Partington et al. 2013: 10). This approach, known as Corpus Assisted Discourse Studies or CADS, incorporates corpus linguistics tools and techniques with the purpose of uncovering 'non-obvious meaning' in the discourse types under study (Partington 2008:3).

There are various contributions of corpus approaches to (critical) discourse studies. Baker (2006) suggests a corpus approach can help reduce researcher bias by providing quantifiable and statistically significant findings. Also, representativeness, sampling and balance in corpus building help to avoid criticisms of 'cherry-picking' (see

Widdowson 2004), while a corpus-driven approach (Tognini-Bonelli 2001) can allow salient or frequent occurrences in the data to lead the research, showing the analyst where to look at based on what there actually is rather than what she thinks she may find. Another contribution that Baker (2006) identifies is that by working with large quantities of language data and focusing on repetition of significant lexical items or patterns, it is possible for researchers to see the cumulative effect of language and discourse.

As Baker (2006) asserts, when doing discourse analysis, corpus linguistics can be a useful way of identifying patterns of representation or the way language is used to construct discourses. Due to this, a reference corpus can be a useful source of evidence, allowing researchers to illustrate how certain collocations convey a negative or positive semantic prosody. The theoretical concept of semantic prosody was developed from the work of Sinclair (1991) and Louw (1993) who coined the term to refer to the ‘consistent aura of meaning with which a form is imbued by its collocates’ (Louw 1993: 157). A semantic prosody is ‘an aspect of evaluative meaning’ (Partington 2004: 131). It is attitudinal (Sinclair 1996), as it often expresses the speaker’s/writer’s stance (Hunston and Thompson 2000). This concept was further elaborated by Stubbs (1996, 2001) into what he describes as discourse prosody, which considers longer stretches of text, going beyond collocational patterns and into the relationships of a word and its broader context. Although I do not identify discourse prosodies per se, I sometimes use a reference corpus in my analysis to test whether a certain collocation has a specific evaluative meaning in Spanish (see Chapter 4). This allows me to explain why I identify a certain representation or word as negatively or positively characterising that to which it refers.

Additionally, in the identification of representations I consider the number of concordances that instantiate them, which follows from Hoey's (2005) lexical priming theory. As this theory hypothesises, we learn words cumulatively, in collocational patterns that we frequently encounter in speech or writing. Consequently, the lexical items a particular word collocates with become part of our knowledge of that word. As Hoey (2005: 8) asserts, a word or word sequence 'becomes cumulatively loaded with the contexts and co-texts in which it is encountered, and our knowledge of it includes the fact that it co-occurs with certain other words in certain kinds of context'. Although this knowledge is unconscious, it becomes part of our communicative competence. Therefore, recurrent associations of lexical items can make word patterns become reified and unquestioned, giving a word, phrase, or pattern the power to trigger a particular cultural stereotype, which indexes an underlying hegemonic discourse within a discourse community (Stubbs 1996, 2001). Corpus research has shown that words tend to be used in routine phrases that become conventionalised in their semantics and are sometimes even lexically predictable (Stubbs 2001). Because of this, corpus linguistics has become a useful means of conducting CDS.

An example of a corpus-based discourse study that has identified discourse prosodies considering the topic of sexuality can be found in Baker (2014a). Following Stubbs (2001), Baker (2014a) identified discourse prosodies around gay men through collocation and (extended) concordance analyses of newspaper articles that included the words *gay(s)* and *homosexual(s)*. This study acts as a follow up of an earlier study included in Baker (2005), which used a similar corpus of tabloid newspaper articles published over the period 2001-2. In Baker (2014a), a corpus from 2008-9 was examined with the aim of determining whether the representations identified in the previous study had changed. Additionally, Baker (2014a) revisited the 2001-2 study

by creating a similar corpus, where he identified both positive and negative representations, as opposed to his 2005 study where he had focused only on negative ones. In Baker (2014a), discourse prosodies were identified, and their frequency of occurrence considered by counting the number of times the collocates that suggested them appeared in the concordances analysed. Also, the comparison of the corpora from two time periods allowed for the identification of the prosodies that seemed to be dying out, maintained and growing in frequency in the newspaper data. Among the discourses identified by Baker (2014a) gay people were represented as promiscuous and sleazy, politically militant or effeminate while homosexuality was represented as a practice rather than an identity, and a source of shame. In the later corpus, discourses such as gay people are oppressed, gay relationships exist, and gay people have positive attributes were found to be more common.

Although this thesis considers church and parliamentary discourse rather than media discourse, my methodological approach is similar to Baker's (2014a), since I carry out concordance analysis and consider recurrent lexical items that collocate with my search terms in order to name the representations they instantiate. Although I do not obtain collocates using the corpus analysis tool, I do consider frequency of occurrence when deciding which representations to include in the final analysis, just as Baker does. Additionally, one of my corpora includes both supporting and opposing stances, allowing for the identification of some positive representations as well. I explain my methodological approach in more detail in Chapter 4. In the following section, I characterise the types of discourse and genres analysed in this thesis.

3.5. Discourse and genres

In this study I analyse parliamentary discourse in debates held at the Chilean congress, as well as church discourse obtained from the websites of two Christian

denominations in Chile, namely the Catholic and Evangelical churches. In the following sections I provide an overview of some theoretical concepts that pertain to these two types of discourse and the genres considered in this thesis.

3.5.1. Parliamentary discourse and parliamentary debates

As Chilton and Schäffner (2002: 5) point out, politics is ‘a struggle for power, between those who seek to assert and maintain their power and those who seek to resist it’. From a functional standpoint, political discourse can be understood in two ways. Firstly, as a type of discourse of a political nature, whose main role is to constitute a political community or group (Schäffner 2004), such as a manifesto, a speech by a politician or a parliamentary debate. And secondly, as a type of discourse that is politically motivated, namely, that discusses or is about political issues (Wilson 2015). Although any topic has the potential of becoming politicised (Muntigl 2002), these two types of discourse are traditionally understood as prototypically political within CDS (Schäffner 2004).

For Fairclough and Fairclough (2012), political discourse is primarily argumentative discourse, since the question of ‘what to do’ plays a major role in politics. Chilton (2008: 226) defines political discourse as ‘the use of language to do the business of politics’ and characterises it as including ‘persuasive rhetoric, the use of implied meanings, the use of euphemisms, the exclusion of references to undesirable realities, the use of language to rouse political emotions, and the like’. Because of its relationship with power, political discourse has been widely studied in CDS. This has been done from a variety of methodological approaches and research programmes, such as corpus linguistics (e.g. Baker 2004), and the DHA (e.g. Unger 2013).

Parliamentary discourse is a type of political discourse that takes place in the political institution of parliament. This kind of discourse involves the interactions between

Members of Parliament who are carrying out the activity of legislating. Parliamentary debates are the genre where parliamentary discourse is instantiated. These debates have real-world impacts since laws are made and changed through them.

According to van Dijk (2004), parliamentary debates have some textual properties that identify and separate them from other types of political texts, such as politeness formulas to address other participants involved, some dialogical features and forms of adversarial impoliteness. These kinds of features are not relevant in studies such as this one, which considers the content of the debates rather than their form. Because of this, some contextual features of the genre become more significant, particularly those that pertain to production, distribution, and consumption. In parliamentary debates these include the possibility of public scrutiny, if there is an audience in the room when the debates take place or if they occur behind closed doors, the degree of media exposure, and whether the debates are broadcast live or reported on the news. Overall, these consider any features that may determine the degree of overtness, political correctness, the kinds of arguments being used to support or oppose stances, or the ways in which social actors are referred to and characterised. I refer to the particular context of the Chilean parliament in Chapter 4.

3.5.2. Church discourse and church website articles

Church discourse can be understood as a form of institutional or organisational discourse which presents the opinions and position of a given church regarding topics that are considered central to its institutional identity. Dillon (1996) notes that these stances tend to incorporate doctrinal and secular arguments that are relevant to the particular cultural context in which the churches operate. Church discourse is different from religious discourse, as the latter involves the linguistic and discursive

manifestations of religious practices or activities, such as prayers, rituals, liturgies, 'divine' topics, objects and phenomena.

As a form of organisational discourse, church discourse becomes relevant to CDS when we understand churches or, more accurately, their representatives, as political actors. This role is usually played through official pronouncements, interviews given by church leaders, their participation in debates, etc., whose ultimate aim is to influence the processing and outcomes of laws. Another function of church discourse is to shape public opinion, particularly that of church followers. This can be paralleled, to a certain degree, to the role that news media play within society through their audience.

In this study, church website articles are the genre where church discourse takes place. According to Mautner (2005), the web is an important place where social life and issues articulate, and it has become the primary information source for both public and private spheres. As Wellman et al. (2003) suggest, it can also play a role in decreasing, transforming, and supplementing communities. For organisations, the web allows for their self-presentation to the rest of the world, contributing to the active promotion of agendas within relevant publics. Considering this, church websites become an important site for religious organisations to present their identities and values to different types of audience.

As one important goal of churches is to gain followers, their websites and their content are designed and written not only with their current members in mind, but also with non-believers (Baab 2008). The articles published on these websites cover a variety of genres, such as commentary, public statements, interviews and news reporting. All of them present, in varying degrees, the corresponding church's stance on the different topics being addressed, but these have been processed, re-

contextualised and often paraphrased so they are more accessible to lay people. Moreover, the articles published on these websites may have been written by a variety of text producers allowing for some variation within the official stances of the corresponding churches (this can be also be said about parliamentary debates). Because of the possibilities that this presents, considering church websites rather than religious discourse, which is more standardised, becomes appealing from a CDS perspective. This is one of the reasons why church websites were selected in this particular study. Another reason is that church websites facilitate the job of the researcher, as texts are already in written digitalised form, being virtually ready to be analysed using corpus tools. In the following section, I mention some relevant studies that have analysed parliamentary and church discourse.

3.6. Key studies

This section outlines the findings of studies similar to mine that have considered sexuality in parliamentary and church discourse. These studies incorporate various genres and methodological approaches.

3.6.1. Sexuality in parliamentary discourse

Within linguistics, there are a variety of studies that have analysed parliamentary discourse in relation to sexuality from an out-group perspective. Most of these studies have identified arguments, representations and discourses about gay men and, although less frequently, lesbian women. One of these studies is by Baker (2004), who conducted a corpus-based discourse analysis of the keywords of debates about the lowering of the age of consent for gay men in the House of Lords between 1998-2000. Baker compared texts representing for and against standpoints and looked at the collocations of the keywords identified. This allowed him to ascertain that the word

homosexual(s) occurred more often than *gay(s)* in the language of those who opposed the reform. Additionally, Baker found that *homosexual(s)* tended to be associated with sexual acts, while *gay(s)* was more frequently related to identity. In this piece of research, Baker identified discourses of equality and tolerance in the interventions of those in favour of law reform. However, those opposing the reform tended to link homosexuality to crime and danger, portraying gay men as sexual predators who constitute a menace to boys, ‘transmitting’ homosexuality to them. Additionally, homosexuality was represented as unnatural, immoral and temporary, being an optional rather than a permanent feature of a person’s identity. Also, the debates contain links between homosexuality, promiscuity and sexually transmitted diseases, as well as what Baker calls ‘the thin edge of the wedge’ discourse, where opponents of change suggested that changing this law would result in more demands for change from gay individuals in the future.³¹

Following on from Baker’s (2004) study, Love and Baker (2015) used corpus methods to identify how arguments against LGBTQ+ equality had changed in the British Parliament. Their study compared the language used by those opposing the equalisation of the age of consent for anal sex (1998-2000) to the oppositional language used in debates about same-sex marriage (2013). The purpose of this study was to determine if and how those against equality had changed their opposing arguments and representations of gay people over time. Using corpus linguistics methods such as keyword, collocation and concordance analyses, Love and Baker found that opposing arguments have changed, being replaced by more indirect strategies that subtly indicate homophobic discourse. In the speeches that opposed the

³¹ This proved to be the case. After the Age of Consent was equalised in the UK, activist groups called for other changes including the right to adopt children, to serve in the military and to get married, to bring gay people in line with heterosexual people. At the time of writing these changes have also been implemented.

same-sex marriage law, the authors found that the words *gay* and *homosexual* were more frequently used to describe identities rather than behaviours, while there was an overall decrease in the use of the word *homosexual* and controversial terms such as *homosexuality*. Regarding argumentation, rejection in the same-sex marriage corpus was often based on criticism of legal procedures rather than gay people or their sexuality, gay people were positively characterised, which helps to mitigate opposition, and there was a change of focus from the benefits the law would bring to a focus on who it would supposedly discriminate against, that is heterosexual and religious people. In other words, in the same-sex marriage corpus, those against equality represented themselves as the victims of intolerance, appropriating the discourse of gay liberation. Finally, even gay people were portrayed as not wanting the law, which helps to delegitimise it.

Also looking at the British context, Bachmann (2011) analysed debates in the Houses of Parliament that allowed for the passing of the Civil Partnership Act 2004. Through the analysis of keywords, he was able to identify the different discourses that framed speakers' arguments. Since the speeches of those in favour and against the law were part of the corpus, the findings include opposing and supporting stances. Among these findings, same-sex relationships are characterised as both the same as and different from opposite-sex ones, and as one of many disadvantaged relationships in British society. Also, some arguments portrayed the Civil Partnership Act as threatening marriage, being harmful to society, while others portrayed it as beneficial due to its similarity to marriage, thus promoting stability. Just like Baker (2004), Bachmann identified a 'thin end of the wedge' discourse among those opposing the passing of the Civil Partnership Act.

With a focus on disclaimers of homophobia, Burrige (2004) conducted discourse analysis on parliamentary debates about Section 28, which banned ‘the promotion of homosexuality in schools’, in the British Parliament in 2000. Burrige (2004: 333) defines disclaiming as ‘the process of discursively disavowing a possible unacceptable or disadvantageous interpretation of actions, with an agnostic stance regarding the truth status of specific instances of such disavowal’. The purpose of this study was to identify how disclaimers work and their role in the legitimisation of the arguments of those who opposed the repeal of the law. Apart from identifying a variety of disclaiming strategies, Burrige reflects on their effectiveness and provides some insights regarding any attempts at challenging them in the debates. Also, Burrige found that the speeches of those who wanted to maintain Section 28 were influenced by a discourse of tolerance, which revealed they saw homophobia as problematic. Burrige also found that differential treatment tended to be carefully justified in the debates with reference to special reasons. Among these are references to the avoidance of the misappropriation of tax-payers money or the harming of children. These types of justifications, Burrige notes, make it difficult for those against discrimination to identify stances as homophobic. However, the use of disclaimers of homophobia tend to be an indication that such behaviour is present. Burrige suggests that it is necessary to develop strategies that can successfully resist the effects of the subtle advocacy of discrimination. These studies collectively suggest that as a country starts to pass equality laws for LGBTQ+ people the opponents of change will initially be more openly negative in their representations, although as more laws are changed, their language will appear less negative on the surface, making their position appear somewhat inconsistent with their representations of LGBTQ+ people.

My study relates to those described in this section in that all of them consider debates about laws related to gay people that have taken place since the 2000s. However, my study broadens the context by including a country from South America, an area which has not been studied as extensively as Europe or North America (or in this case Britain). Similarly, I consider debates about a type of law that has not been dealt with in previous studies, namely the anti-discrimination law. Concerning similarities, my study more closely resembles the one by Bachmann (2011), as my parliamentary debates corpus contains debates about a civil-partnership law. Also, like Bachmann's (2011) study, I include the opposing and supporting stances of the debates (I refer to this in more detail in Chapter 4), which is likely to reveal contradictions in the representations I identify. Now let us move on to the revision of the literature concerning church discourse.

3.6.2. Sexuality in church discourse

To date, there appears to be a lack of linguistic studies focusing on church discourse and its relation to sexuality. From an in-group perspective, there are a number of studies that have considered religion as an identity marker in its intersection with gender (see Jule 2005, 2007), and a few that have done the same in terms of sexuality (e.g. Yip 1999, 2002; Levon 2016). Although not within churches proper, Peterson (2010) considered religion and sexuality from an out-group perspective. In his study, he analysed antigay texts produced by the Family Research Council (or FRC), a conservative Christian non-profit organisation in the United States. Following Fairclough (2003: 220), he investigated orders of discourse and found that there was a shift from a logic of sin to a logic of deviancy in the representations of gay and lesbian subjects.

However, the majority of research focusing on discourse produced by churches comes from the field of sociology. For example, Dillon (1995) studied the Catholic Church's institutional legitimation in relation to abortion, as well as cultural differences in this church's stance about this matter (Dillon 1996).

Due to the lack of linguistic research on church discourse, I here refer to some relevant sociological studies that have considered sexuality. One of these studies is Kowalewski (1990), who analysed a variety of data produced by American Jewish and Christian organisations at a time when religious discussions about AIDS focused primarily on its relation to homosexuality. Due to this, Kowalewski aimed to investigate this relation as reported in church periodicals and official statements related to AIDS. Kowalewski identified three types of responses to the syndrome, which show different stances among and within these religious traditions. The first response, categorised as 'blaming the victim', defines AIDS as a divine punishment or the logical consequence of violating 'natural law'. In these responses, abstinence and heterosexual marital fidelity are suggested as ways to avoid AIDS. The second response, categorised as 'embracing the exile', considers AIDS as a condition that can be avoided, separating it from morality. This response is characterised by calls for government funding for research and medical care, as well as a demand for public education. Finally, a third response labelled 'helping the victim' validates the churches' moral teachings with medical references, thus reconciling the two previous poles. Here, AIDS is regarded as a public health crisis and as a deterrent to extramarital sexual behaviour, which is characterised as sinful. Consequently, heterosexual marital monogamy is identified as the best way to prevent AIDS. As Kowalewski identified, this response is not based on the belief that AIDS is God's punishment on homosexuality or any kind of sin, but it is only related to sin. Also,

texts including this response are often ambivalent, with arguments of the ‘love the sinner, hate the sin’ type, where compassion is differentiated from acquiescence.

Preventive education is not discussed by representatives of this response, but the government is urged to allocate resources for AIDS research and patient care.

Kowalewski suggests that the groups believe that giving information to prevent AIDS will portray them as condoning sexual activity outside marriage, thus refraining from supporting preventive education.

In another study considering sexuality and religion, Kowalewski (1993) analysed extracts from official Catholic Church documents in the United States that referred to contraception and homosexuality. In this study, Kowalewski refers to how the Catholic Church aims to maintain organisational stability while surviving and remaining relevant. Due to this, the Church frames its moral pronouncements in language that portrays it as open to the modern world and what is suggested by the natural and social sciences, while also in accordance to the Church’s official values. As Kowalewski notes, the Catholic Church is always responding to changes, being constantly pressured to accommodate to its surroundings, while also seeking to maintain social distance by resisting change. Due to this, Kowalewski argues that the Church compromises with a limited type of accommodation, which he calls *firmness and accommodation*, and exemplifies this phenomenon with reference to the Church’s stance about contraception and homosexuality. For instance, moral evaluations regarding contraception correspond to what Foucault (1973) calls episteme, where moral teachings are based on what is considered to be ‘natural law’. As a consequence, the role of marriage is considered to be procreation and the education of children, which rules out the use of contraceptives and any sexual encounters outside marriage. However, an official church document addressed to pastoral carers allowed

concessions to them in the application of pastoral care that dealt with contraception. Concerning homosexuality, Kowalewski found that homosexual individuals were portrayed as worthy of care and counselling, but issues of gay sexual relationships were not addressed. This, he asserts, presents the immorality of gay sexual acts as assumed a priori. At the time the study was conducted, the stance of the Church regarding homosexuality was legitimated with reference to Church tradition and the Bible. Additionally, the Church did not allow much room for pastoral compromise in this matter since it recommended that pastoral care for gay people should be developed with the help of social and medical sciences, provided their beliefs were the same as those of the Church. In other words, advice would inevitably come from those who saw homosexuality as wrong.

Finally, in a study that considers the topic of sexuality within Protestantism, Olson and Cadge (2002) investigated the views of mainline Protestant clergy about homosexuality in the United States. These researchers conducted interviews with 62 mainline clergy who represented Baptist, Episcopal, Evangelical Lutheran, Presbyterian and Methodist churches. Although the interviews did not explicitly ask the clergy about homosexuality, 40 of them spontaneously brought up the topic. The analysis of the interviews allowed Olson and Cadge to identify how the clergy made sense of homosexuality and related topics and allowed them to describe a variety of frames they used to address the topic of same-sex attraction. This revealed that homosexuality was primarily framed in relation to its impact on the churches themselves, as opposed to its relevance for the social context. For example, homosexuality was frequently framed as a denominational struggle, in relation to the loss of church members, church openness to gay people, gay marriage, gay ordination, and as something difficult to deal with. However, it was also framed in relation to

justice, rights and equality, in terms of its importance, as an overblown phenomenon, in relation to specific events or policies, and compared to other matters. Olson and Cadge consider that the frames identified reveal a pragmatic approach to the topic, where matters such as love, and justice are not central to the churches' concern about the topic. Also, they explored the language used by the clergy in their discussions about homosexuality. Here, Olson and Cadge found that homosexuality was more frequently discussed in terms of homosexuality proper rather than as a sexuality matter, and equally in the abstract as in relation to people.

As in the previous section, these studies have all focused on the same context, that is the United States. Additionally, since they have analysed how the churches position themselves in front of homosexuality related topics, the studies provide more insights about the churches rather than the topics they discuss. Apart from incorporating a linguistics approach, my study will hopefully contribute by broadening these studies' perspective as I identify the representations two religious organisations instantiate around a topic, as opposed to their stances. Additionally, I incorporate a context different from the United States, which allows for a better understanding of the reach these organisations have in other places of the world.

3.7. Conclusion

As discussed in this chapter, representations play a role in the production of meaning and culture through language. As such, they are influential in the construction of identity, knowledge, and the social world, organising reality and helping to set norms and conventions. Due to this, representations can influence social attitudes and behaviour. However, their meaning is not fixed, opening the possibility for change. Considering this, the identification of representations is relevant in CDS, which is an interdisciplinary problem-oriented school or research programme that is interested in

investigating the relationship between discourse and society, particularly in contexts in which discourse helps to reproduce domination and inequality. Within CDS, discourse is regarded as both socially constitutive and constituted, playing a similar role to that of representations in the maintenance and reproduction of the social status quo. As this study aims to identify representations around homosexuality, which involves an often-discriminated social group, a critical discourse analysis seems perfectly suited to carry out this task, since CDS provides theoretical insights that allow for an investigation of this topic while considering the relations of power that constrain it. Moreover, CDS has an emancipatory aim, which is an important goal towards which this study aims to contribute. With that in mind, this study analyses the way politicians and the most important religions in Chile talk about LGBTQ+ matters. I chose to analyse parliamentary and church discourse because they represent two powerful groups in society: one that is in charge of deciding which laws are passed and one which is known for outspokenly opposing the passing of those that pertain to gay people.

To the best of my knowledge, there are not many studies that have considered the role of parliamentary and church discourse in the (re)production of LGBTQ+ inequalities in the Chilean context. This study aims to fill that gap and hopefully promote the production of more work in the area, particularly within linguistics. This can be extended to other contexts such as Europe and America in what pertains to church discourse, since there are not many studies that have considered it from a linguistics or CDS perspective.

As I mentioned in the previous pages, I do not follow a specific CDS approach but integrate aspects of three CDS programmes that seemed well-suited to make sense of my findings. These are Reisigl and Wodak's (2016) DHA, van Leeuwen's (2008)

framework for the analysis of legitimation, and Fairclough's (1989; 1992) three-dimensional model for discourse analysis. Through these approaches I am also able to pay special attention to the context in which the types of discourse analysed are embedded and apply these insights to the interpretation and explanation of the findings.

Influenced by corpus-based critical discourse studies such as Baker's (2004) study of discourses of homosexuality in the British Parliament, as well as the studies mentioned in section 3.6.1, I decided to incorporate a corpus-based approach to my study and look at keywords and collocates. However, this methodological approach changed along the way. Although I do not obtain collocates and keywords using corpus tools in the end, I do consider frequency of occurrence of concordance lines in the identification of the representations that are included in the analysis, and look at collocates when I name these representations, making sure they are recurrent and form patterns, rather than focusing on examples that occur only once or twice. Additionally, I test some of my findings in a reference corpus, something which is typically done in corpus-based discourse studies. These features of this study, as well as the setting of cut-off points, the rationale behind the selection of data, the fact that I analyse a corpus of data rather than only a few texts, are included as a way to reduce researcher bias, thus addressing important criticisms CDS has received. In the following chapter, I characterise the corpus collection method, the corpora that resulted from this, and the steps that led to the selection of the most appropriate methodological approach to carry out this study.

Chapter 4. Data and Methods

4.1. Introduction

This thesis focuses on the analysis of three purpose-built corpora. In this chapter, I outline my research questions in section 4.2. Then, section 4.3 describes the data collection process and 4.4 the corpora that resulted from this. In section 4.5, I characterise my methodological framework, the process that led me to identify it, and the methods used to analyse the corpora. Finally, I summarise this chapter in section 4.6.

4.2. Research Questions

The research questions introduced in this section were identified and refined as a result of carrying out the analysis of the corpora I collected. Hence, they were formed in a bottom-up as opposed to a top-down way. As such, they reflect the ‘research journey’ that I have undertaken, one which involved false starts and dead-ends (see section 4.5.3.1). Considering this, a set of questions which reflect how I developed a methodology (RQ3) had to be created.

I started off my research with the intention of identifying representations following a corpus-based discourse analysis approach in the same way carried out by Baker (2014a) and Bachmann (2011) (see section 3.6.1). However, this changed as the study progressed. In the end, I took a prospective approach to the data, allowing findings to emerge rather than having a clear-cut framework where I knew which features I would examine from the outset. This resulted in some questions (like RQ1c) being formulated around the findings at a late point in the analysis.

Building upon the research tradition of corpus-based discourse studies, this research turns to the analysis of concordance lines of search terms³² *homosexual**, *lesbian**, *gay**, *fleto**, *cola**, *maric**, *lela**, *camion**, *lésbic** and the phrase *mismo sexo* (*same sex*) so as to identify representations around homosexuality in Chilean church and parliamentary discourse (these terms are explained in more detail in 4.5.3.4). To this end, the Overarching Research Question this thesis aims to answer is as follows:

ORQ: What are the representations around homosexuality in Chilean church and parliamentary discourse between 2005-2015?

In order to answer ORQ, a series of research questions needed to be devised. These research questions are:

RQ1: What does a concordance analysis reveal about the representations around homosexuality in parliamentary and Catholic and Evangelical church discourse in Chile?

- 1.a) How are nomination and predication strategies used to instantiate the representations around homosexuality identified in each corpus?
- 1.b) How are legitimation strategies used to justify the representations around homosexuality identified in each corpus?
- 1.c) What is the legitimating function of the representations around homosexuality identified in each corpus?

RQ1 focuses on what the methodological approach adopted in this study elucidated in terms of the various ways in which homosexuality and related topics/entities are talked about in Chilean parliamentary and church discourse. RQ1 is answered by

³² The asterisk in the query term acts as a wildcard that indicates that zero or more characters can follow the search term.

means of three research sub-questions. Sub-question *1.a* focuses on the nomination and predication strategies identified through the analysis of the corpora and how these contribute to the formation of the representations identified. On the other hand, sub-question *1.b* considers legitimation strategies as they interact with the representations identified in the data sets, while sub-question *1.c* focuses on the legitimating function of the representations proper. In this thesis, I provide the answers to the above research questions in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, where I present the findings of the Evangelical Churches, Catholic Church and Parliamentary Debates corpora, respectively.

RQ2: How are the representations around homosexuality influenced by the social context in which they are instantiated?

- 2.a) How are the representations around homosexuality similar and/or different in the three corpora?
- 2.b) Why are the representations in the three data sets similar and/or different?
- 2.c) What are the implications of the representations identified in the wider social context where they take place?

In contrast to RQ1, RQ2 has a critical and explanatory aim. To achieve this, it focuses on the interaction between the representations identified through linguistic analysis and the specific contextual constraints of the corpora in which they occur. RQ2 is answered by means of three research sub-questions. Sub-question *2.a* aims to identify any similarities and/or differences in the corpora, while sub-question *2.b* intends to identify the reason why these similarities and/or differences take place considering the contextual constraints. Finally, sub-question *2.c* focuses on the potential effect of the findings on the social context in which they occur. RQ2 and its corresponding sub-questions are answered in Chapter 8.

RQ3: What is the most appropriate method of analysis to answer RQ1 and RQ2?

3.a) How can working with small specialised corpora (i.e. less than 250,000 words) influence the methodological approach undertaken?

3.b) What forms of contextual analysis are more relevant in explaining the research findings?

Finally, RQ3 considers the features of the corpora designed for this study and aims to identify the methodological approach that is best suited to answering RQ1 and RQ2. RQ3 is answered by means of two research sub-questions. Sub-question 3.a focuses on the role that the corpora analysed played in the selection of the method of analysis, acknowledging a methodological contribution of this study, while sub-question 3.b aims at identifying the best way in which contextual analysis can help to explain the findings. Sub-question 3.a is answered in the present chapter, while sub-question 3.b is answered in Chapter 8.

4.3. Data collection and cleaning

4.3.1. Church website articles

For this study, a corpus of articles ranging from opinion pieces, news reports and interviews published on the websites of the most important Christian churches in Chile, i.e. the Catholic and the Evangelical denominations (Valenzuela et al. 2013) was collected. Data collection was carried out using the search boxes on the websites of the churches for which it was possible to retrieve online articles. These websites represented the Catholic Church, in the form of the website of the Episcopal Conference of Chile³³, and different Evangelical Christian churches. Within this last group, it was possible to access three websites, that of the Pentecost Methodist

³³ <http://noticias.iglesia.cl/>

church³⁴; another one that claims to represent all Chilean Evangelical Churches called ‘Iglesias Evangélicas’³⁵; and the website of Mesa Ampliada³⁶, an official organisation that represents several Evangelical groups in Chile.

The articles retrieved on these websites had to have been published during 2005 and 2015, which is the time frame considered in this study. This time frame was chosen because two laws that considered gay people were introduced, discussed and passed in the Chilean congress in this period, which was expected to increase the number of references to gay people in the public sphere. These are the anti-discrimination and civil-partnership laws. In 2005, the anti-discrimination law started to be debated in the Chilean congress, a law that criminalises discriminatory behaviour against gay people, among others. This law was passed in 2012, being widely discussed by the media during the months leading to its passing, when it became known as Ley Zamudio (Zamudio law), named after a Chilean man who was beaten and tortured due to his sexual identity, dying because of this attack. Additionally, the civil-partnership law, started to be debated in the Chilean congress in 2011, being finally passed in 2015, the last year that was considered in this study. More details about the laws and Zamudio case are provided in sections 2.6 and 2.7.

To retrieve the data, several search terms were used on each of the websites included in this study. These search terms, shown in Table 4.1, refer to three main topics: the anti-discrimination law, the civil-partnership law, and the most common sexual identity labels for same-sex attraction. These search terms were selected because they represent gay people and the matters around which they have been more broadly discussed in the Chilean context. Since this thesis aimed to identify the ways in which

³⁴ <http://www.imp.cl>

³⁵ <http://www.iglesiasevangelicass.cl>

³⁶ <http://unemaschile.cl/>

gay people were talked about, it was expected that whenever gay people were mentioned they would be characterised or evaluated in ways that could point towards a specific representation of them. Due to this, sexual identity labels were used to retrieve the corpora for the analysis. Additionally, since gay people tend to be mentioned when potential laws pertaining to them are discussed, the names of the Chilean bills for these laws were included, as they were also expected to reveal representations of gay people. With that in mind, the search terms pertaining to these laws cover the different names they were given during the time they were being discussed in congress.

TOPICS	SEARCH TERMS	
	SPANISH ORIGINAL	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
Anti-discrimination Law	ley Zamudio; ley antidiscriminación; ley contra la discriminación	Zamudio law; Antidiscrimination law; law against discrimination
Civil-partnership Law	acuerdo de vida en pareja; acuerdo de unión civil; acuerdo de vida en común; pacto de unión civil	life as a couple agreement; civil-partnership agreement; life in common agreement; civil-partnership pact
Sexual Identity Labels	homosexual(es); lesbiana(s); gay(s)	homosexual(s); lesbian(s); gay(s)

Table 4.1. Search terms used in the church websites data collection process.

As the search engines on the church websites did not allow for advanced searches, the retrieved articles had to be individually checked to ensure they had been published during the years the study considers. Also, to avoid duplicate files, it was necessary to compare each article to the ones already retrieved before saving them. The articles retrieved by the searches were saved as PDF files, which were then converted to plain text using AntFileConverter 1.2.0 (Anthony 2015). This was done to be able to use

them in AntConc 3.4.3m³⁷ (Anthony 2014), a corpus analysis tool. Once the articles were in plain text format, the files that contained them underwent a manual cleaning process where information unrelated to their content was removed. This included the heading of the website (but not the titles of the articles), the headings of links on the upper and side frames of the page layout, the dates when the articles were published, and the names of the author(s) of the articles, if present. This was done because, initially, I intended to obtain keywords and collocates from these data sets and keeping that type of content could skew results when using these corpus tools. Regarding discursive practices (Fairclough 1989), the churches corpora were produced by anonymous writers. Although it is expected that the texts have been approved by someone before they were published, this cannot be confirmed. Notwithstanding, the data is considered to be representative of the range of topics discussed in relation to LGBTQ⁺ matters by the corresponding churches to which the websites belong in the time period covered in this study, as they include all the articles that mention gay people, homosexuality and the relevant bills published during the time span that this thesis considers. In the case of the Catholic Church Corpus, the data retrieved is representative of the Catholic Church's approach to LGBTQ⁺ matters, since the website accessed is the only official one for the Chilean branch of this denomination, thus constituting an authoritative source. However, since the Chilean Evangelical churches are many, with 3,200 recognised congregations in 2017³⁸, it was impossible to find only one source of authoritative data, or an assorted enough sample

³⁷ At this stage of my research, this was the latest version of AntConc available. However, when I carried out the final analysis, the 2018 version had been released, which is the one I used in the analysis described in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

³⁸ Source: "El cuantioso patrimonio de las iglesias evangélicas en Chile" (*The sizeable patrimony of the Evangelical churches in Chile*) published on 24th September 2017, at available at <https://www.cooperativa.cl/noticias/pais/religiones/iglesias-evangelicas/el-cuantioso-patrimonio-de-las-iglesias-evangelicas-en-chile/2017-09-24/125106.html>

to encompass the various potentially co-existing approaches to LGBTQ⁺ matters that there may be within these churches. Nevertheless, this data set includes all the online sources of data that could be found at the time this study was designed, being thus representative of what is available online in relation to LGBTQ⁺ matters from the Evangelical churches' perspective, including their opinions and an assortment of topics discussed when these matters are considered.

Regarding distribution, the data are/were available on open access websites. Due to this, their consumption involves people who are computer-literate, have internet access and obtain their news from the internet. Nevertheless, the main audience of these websites are the followers of the different churches involved, who want to keep up with events related to these churches, matters that are important for their institutional identity, as well as their stance about them.

4.3.2. Parliamentary Debates

The third corpus included in this study consists of the transcripts of the parliamentary debates about the two laws mentioned in the previous section. These debates were held at the lower and upper chambers of the Chilean congress. This corpus covers the period throughout which the anti-discrimination and civil-partnership bills became laws, starting when they were first introduced until they were passed. Since the anti-discrimination bill was discussed from 2005 to 2012, and the civil-partnership bill from 2011 to 2015, the complete data set covers the period 2005-2015, both years inclusive.

Regarding data collection, this was carried out using a search engine that retrieves the bulletins of bills that have been or are currently being discussed in the Chilean congress. At the time the data was collected, this search engine could be accessed

through the website of the Chilean senate³⁹, following the ‘trámite de proyectos’ (*bills processing*) link found under the search box on the top right side of the home page.

Once the bulletins search engine was accessed, it was possible to search for the bulletins by name clicking on the ‘Palabra o Frase’ (*Word or Phrase*) link, which displayed a search box where the name or a word in the name of the bill could be entered. Table 4.2 shows the two laws with their corresponding bulletin numbers, the titles given to them on the bulletins website, and the dates when they started being discussed and were finally passed.

LAW	DATE OF INTRODUCTION	DATE OF PASSING
Anti-discrimination law: 3815-07 - Establece medidas contra la discriminación	22 nd March 2005	10 th July 2012
Civil-Partnership law: 7873-07 - Proyecto de ley que crea el Acuerdo de Vida en Pareja	17 th August 2011	09 th April 2015

Table 4.2. Names of the laws and bulletin numbers as they appear on the bulletins webpage, as well as their corresponding dates of introduction and passing.

Once the right law is identified by the search engine, it is necessary to click on the bulletin number, which results in the detailed bulletin being displayed on a new page. This bulletin shows the different stages that a bill has gone through in the process to become a law. Next to the stages shown, there are sometimes links to different documents connected to the specific stage next to which they appear, such as official notifications, reports with the transcripts of the meetings of the different commissions in charge of modifying the bills, comparative tables of the bills at the different stages of their processing, or the transcripts of the parliamentary debates. As this thesis focuses on these debates, the transcripts were accessed by clicking on the word *Diario* (*diary*), which appears under the *Ver Documentos* (*see documents*) column of the

³⁹ <http://www.senado.cl/appsenado/templates/tramitacion/index.php>

bulletin, as shown in Figure 4.1. This opened a new browser window, where the transcripts of the corresponding discussions appeared. Each one of these transcripts was saved in PDF format. Although parliamentary debates are broadcast live on the Senate TV channel in Chile, a public television channel that can be seen throughout the country for free, it was not possible to have access to the original recordings of the debates, as these are not available online. Due to this, I had to rely on the official transcripts of the debates, which may not be completely accurate. As Mollin (2007) asserts, official transcripts of parliamentary debates are not intended for linguistic research, so transcribers tend to omit features of spoken language, modify lexical and grammatical choices in favour of more formal variants, and leave out aspects of extra-factual or contextual talk. Discourse analysts should acknowledge the potential limitations of this kind of data for some types of linguistic analysis, and exercise caution when using transcriptions such as these. I thus view the transcripts as a reasonably accurate account of the debates, but not a perfect account, and the data would not be in appropriate form to carry out, for example, a detailed Conversational Analysis.

Boletín 7873-07 Volver

Título: Proyecto de ley que crea el Acuerdo de Vida en Pareja.

Fecha de Ingreso: Miércoles 17 de Agosto, 2011 **Urgencia Actual:** Sin urgencia

Cámara de Origen: Senado **Iniciativa:** Mensaje

Tipo de Proyecto: Proyecto de ley **Refundido:** (Refundido con: 7011-07)

Etapas: Tramitación terminada

[Ley N° 20.830 \(Diario Oficial del 21/04/2015\)](#)

Tramitación

Sesión/Leg.	Fecha	Subetapa	Etapas	Ver Documentos
45 / 359	17/08/2011	Ingreso de proyecto .	Primer trámite constitucional / Senado	Mensaje/Moción
	17/08/2011	Cuenta de proyecto . Pasa a Comisión de Constitución, Legislación, Justicia y Reglamento y a Comisión de Hacienda. Se remite el proyecto a la Corte Suprema.	Primer trámite constitucional / Senado	
54 / 359	17/08/2011	Oficio N°1094/SEC/1 a la Corte Suprema	Primer trámite constitucional / Senado	Oficio
	14/09/2011	Cuenta oficio N° 140 de la Corte Suprema	Primer trámite constitucional / Senado	
91 / 360	02/01/2013	La Sala acuerda refundir este proyecto con el Boletín N° 7011-07 y autorizar que se discuta en general y en particular en el primer informe.	Primer trámite constitucional / Senado	Oficio
40 / 361	10/07/2013	Cuenta del Mensaje 189-361 que hace presente la urgencia Simple	Primer trámite constitucional / Senado	
46 / 361	07/08/2013	Cuenta del Mensaje 218-361 que retira y hace presente la urgencia Simple	Primer trámite constitucional / Senado	
51 / 361	03/09/2013	Cuenta del Mensaje 257-361 que retira y hace presente la urgencia Simple	Primer trámite constitucional / Senado	
58 / 361	01/10/2013	Cuenta del Mensaje 280-361 que retira y hace presente la urgencia Simple	Primer trámite constitucional / Senado	
66 / 361	30/10/2013	Cuenta del Mensaje 326-361 que retira y hace presente la urgencia Simple	Primer trámite constitucional / Senado	
72 / 361	26/11/2013	Cuenta del Mensaje 353-361 que retira y hace presente la urgencia Simple	Primer trámite constitucional / Senado	
	11/12/2013	Primer informe de comisión de Constitución, Legislación, Justicia y Reglamento.	Primer trámite constitucional / Senado	Informe Comparado
	11/12/2013	Oficio N°CL/488/201 a la Corte Suprema	Primer trámite constitucional / Senado	Oficio
80 / 361	17/12/2013	Cuenta de primer informe de comisión .	Primer trámite constitucional / Senado	
81 / 361	18/12/2013	Discusión general . Queda pendiente	Primer trámite constitucional / Senado	Diario
83 / 361	07/01/2014	Cuenta del Mensaje 406-361 que retira y hace presente la urgencia Suma	Primer trámite constitucional / Senado	
83 / 361	07/01/2014	Discusión general . Aprobado en general Se fija como plazo para presentar indicaciones el 20/01/2014	Primer trámite constitucional / Senado	Diario Votación
	13/01/2014	Oficio respuesta de la Corte Suprema	Primer trámite constitucional / Senado	Oficio
	21/01/2014	Boletín de indicaciones .	Primer trámite constitucional / Senado	Indicación
	21/01/2014	Nuevo plazo para indicaciones. Se amplía plazo para presentar indicaciones hasta el 21/01/2014 a las 18:00 en la Secretaría de la Comisión de Constitución, Legislación, Justicia y Reqlamento	Primer trámite constitucional / Senado	
92 / 361	05/03/2014	Cuenta del Mensaje 472-361 que retira y hace presente la urgencia Discusión inmediata	Primer trámite constitucional / Senado	
2 / 362	18/03/2014	Cuenta del Mensaje 4-362 que hace presente la urgencia Suma	Primer trámite constitucional / Senado	

Figure 4.1. Example of a law bulletin as displayed on the Senado.cl website.

As with the previous data set, the PDF files of the transcripts of the debates were later converted to plain text documents using AntFileConverter 1.2.0 (Anthony 2015). Similarly, the files were verified, making sure there were no spelling mistakes resulting from the text conversion, such as split words due to the formatting of the original texts, which divided words using a hyphen at the end of the lines when they did not fit completely in them. These kinds of spelling alterations were corrected in all the files. In the same way, information unrelated to the content of the discussions was deleted to avoid obtaining skewed results when looking for collocates and keywords. This kind of information included the description of applause, noise, manifestations in the hall, or the list of names of the politicians voting each article in sessions when that was done. As with the churches data sets, this was done when the intention was to

obtain collocates and keywords in the analyses, something which was not finally carried out in this thesis. I refer to this in more detail later in this chapter.

In terms of production, distribution and consumption, the parliamentary corpus is made up of speeches that are intended to defend a stance. As such, they are often addressed to people who disagree with the speakers, following the politeness rules of interactions in congress. Additionally, the speeches are given in a manner that resembles face-to-face interaction, involving named or identified individuals and often in front of an audience, as people are allowed to attend unless the session is labelled 'secret'. This means that the audiences know who each speaker/politician is.

Regarding distribution, the speeches are shown on TV, transcribed and published online, and reported in news outlets and other forms of mass and social media. Due to this, their consumption involves people who actively access these sources or are kept informed through media such as newspapers, radio, television and/or the Internet.

4.4. Description of the corpora

4.4.1. Evangelical Churches Corpus

The total size of the Evangelical Churches Corpus is 51,188 words, distributed in 76 individual articles. The most highly represented website in this corpus is 'Iglesias Evangélicas'⁴⁰ with 57 files, making up 75% of all files in this data set. In terms of words, these articles are made up of 32,560 lexical items⁴¹, which make up 63.6% of the words in the Evangelical Churches Corpus. The 'Iglesias Evangélicas' website is an unofficial website, since it was not possible to determine who or which Evangelical congregation in particular was in charge of it. However, it was possible to find some

⁴⁰ This website was no longer available online at the time the thesis was being written. However, it is possible to see some of its snapshots through the Wayback Machine internet archive, which can be accessed at <https://web.archive.org>

⁴¹ When talking about lexical items, I refer to both content and function words and not to parts of words, such as *n't*, or punctuation marks.

references to the Pentecost Methodist church in a section where the origin of this church in Chile was described. This suggests that those who ran the website were members of that Evangelical denomination. Table 4.3. shows the different websites that provided data for the Evangelical Churches Corpus and the distribution of articles and words within them.

WEBSITE NAME	Nº OF ARTICLES	Nº OF WORDS
Iglesias Evangélicas	57	32,560
Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal de Chile	18	15,681
Mesa Ampliada	1	2,947
TOTAL	76	51,188

Table 4.3. Breakdown of the Evangelical Churches Corpus (ECC).

4.4.2. Catholic Church Corpus

The total size of the Catholic Church Corpus is 86,271 words, distributed in 109 individual articles. Since the Chilean Catholic Church is a unified entity consisting of different dioceses organised under a common leadership, the Episcopal Conference, the website of this Conference represents the different regional divisions in the country. This Conference operates under the leadership of the Holy See, which is headed by the Pope in Vatican City. Considering this, the Catholic Church Corpus was entirely obtained from the website of the Chilean Episcopal Conference. Table 4.4. shows the number of articles and words that were obtained from this website.

WEBSITE NAME	Nº OF ARTICLES	Nº OF WORDS
Conferencia Episcopal de Chile	109	86,271

Table 4.4. Breakdown of the Catholic Church Corpus (CCC) corpus.

4.4.3. Parliamentary Debates Corpus

The Parliamentary Debates Corpus consists of a total of 231,467 words, distributed across 18 files. Each of these files represents a debate about the anti-discrimination or

civil-partnership law either in the Senate or the Chamber of Deputies. As Table 4.5. shows, four debates of the anti-discrimination law took place in the Senate, and six in the Chamber of Deputies, while in the case of the civil-partnership law there were six and two respectively.

LAW, HOUSE, AND DEBATE	DATE	N° OF WORDS
ANTI-DISCRIMINATION LAW		
SENATE		
1. Discussion General	2 nd May 2006	6,258
2. Discussion Particular	21 st June 2011	1,149
3. Discussion Particular	8 th November 2011	20,598
4. Discussion Informe Comision Mixta	9 th May 2012	18,594
TOTAL		46,599
CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES		
5. Discussion General	7 th June 2005	4,876
6. Discussion General	21 st June 2005	11,130
7. Discussion Particular	20 th July 2005	3,052
8. Discussion Particular	4 th October 2005	7,909
9. Discussion Única	4 th April 2012	24,290
10. Discussion Informe Comision Mixta	8 th May 2012	6,296
TOTAL		57,553
CIVIL-PARTNERSHIP LAW		
SENATE		
11. Discussion General	18 th December 2013	8,847
12. Discussion General	7 th January 2014	25,683
13. Discussion Particular	30 th September 2014	14,655
14. Discussion Particular	7 th October 2014	36,811
15. Discussion Única	27 th January 2015	832
16. Discussion Informe Comision Mixta	28 th January 2015	8,928
TOTAL		95,756
CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES		
17. Discussion Única	20 th January 2015	30,719
18. Discussion Informe Comision Mixta	28 th January 2015	840
TOTAL		31,559
TOTAL SIZE OF PDC		231,467

Table 4.5. Breakdown of the Parliamentary Debates Corpus (PDC) distributed by law, house, debate, and date.

4.4.4. Corpus del Español Actual: CEA

At points during the analysis of the corpora, I compare the linguistic behaviour of some lexical items in the data sets to their occurrence in a Spanish corpus. In this thesis, I use the open-access Corpus del Español Actual or CEA⁴² (Corpus of Contemporary Spanish), created by Carlos Subirats and Marc Ortega (2012). This is a 540-million-word corpus, which is made up of standard Spanish texts. These texts were obtained from the Spanish part of the Europarl corpus⁴³ of Parliament proceedings, which covers years 1996 to 2010, the Spanish section of the Wikicorpus, v.1.0⁴⁴ which includes texts from 2006, and the Spanish section of the MultiUN corpus⁴⁵ that consists of resolutions of the United Nations from 2000 to 2009. The texts that make up this corpus are accessible through an online interface where standard and restricted queries, as well as word look-ups, can be made. Also, it retrieves frequency lists and keywords, while the concordance view page can sort lines in corpus or random order, showing keywords in their context or as lines. For the purpose of this study, I needed a reference corpus which would allow me to obtain a sample of concordance lines of different search terms, so I could inspect their co-text and determine if those words had a particular evaluative meaning. The CEA allows for this kind of task and, as my corpora, it contains data in the standard Spanish variety. Due to this, the CEA seemed a suitable reference corpus to use.

⁴² *Corpus del Español Actual* or CEA can be accessed at <http://spanishfn.org/tools/cea/english>

⁴³ More information about the *Europarl: European Parliament Proceedings Parallel Corpus, v. 6 (1996-2010)* can be found at <http://www.statmt.org/europarl/>

⁴⁴ More information about the *Wikicorpus, v.1.0* can be found at <http://www.lsi.upc.edu/%7Enlp/wikicorpus/>

⁴⁵ More information about the MultiUN: Multilingual UN Parallel Text 2000-2009 can be found at <http://www.euromatrixplus.net/multi-un/>

4.5. Methods

The method of analysis used throughout this thesis is qualitative and can be situated within Critical Discourse Studies (CDS). As the main objective of this piece of research is to identify representations around homosexuality, the methods that are used in the analyses are those considered appropriate for the elucidation of these representations. These involve the identification of nomination and predication strategies, as described by Reisigl and Wodak's (2016) Discourse Historical Approach (DHA). Additionally, any legitimation strategies that are intended to justify (implicitly or explicitly) the representations related to homosexuality were identified. These strategies were categorised according to van Leeuwen's (2008) framework for analysing legitimation. Also, I consider the legitimating function of the representations around homosexuality that were revealed by the analysis. In what follows, I characterise the main methodological approaches used in this study as well as the discourse strategies considered in the analysis of the corpora.

4.5.1. The Discourse Historical Approach or DHA

As explained in 3.3.1, the DHA is a problem-oriented interdisciplinary approach that is interested in the study of language in its socio-historical context, paying special attention to the historical context within which discourse is embedded. This approach considers different analytical perspectives when analysing, understanding and explaining the phenomena under investigation, combining various theories and methods in order to better understand and explain the research object. In this way, DHA analyses follow the principle of triangulation, where different forms of background information, theories, methods and empirical observations are considered in the analyses carried out, which are determined by the object of study or problem under investigation. Reisigl and Wodak's (2016) triangulatory approach is based on

four levels or dimensions of context. These include the immediate co-text and co-discourse, intertextual and interdiscursive relationships, extralinguistic social variables and institutional frames of the context of situation, and the broader socio-political and historical context of the discursive practices.

4.5.1.1. Nomination and predication strategies

The DHA focuses on three aspects or dimensions that guide the analysis. In the first dimension, the contents or topics of a discourse are identified, then the discourse strategies within them, and, finally, the linguistic means and realisations involved. Concerning the discursive strategies, five questions are considered in a DHA analysis. These focus on a) how entities, phenomena, processes and actions are referred to, b) the features ascribed to them, c) the arguments used to justify and question claims in the discourses analysed, d) the stance from which *a)*, *b)* and *c)* are framed, as well as the involvement or distance of the text producer, and e) whether utterances are articulated overtly, or in an intensified or mitigated manner. From these questions, five types of discursive strategies have been elaborated. These are a) nomination, b) predication, c) argumentation, d) perspectivisation, and e) intensification/mitigation strategies.

Since the main focus of this study is on representations, nomination and predication strategies are considered in the analysis, because they play a fundamental role in the construction and characterisation of social actors and other phenomena. Strategies such as perspectivisation, or intensification/mitigation are excluded from this analysis, as they pertain to text producers' stance and illocutionary force, being not as relevant to the purpose of this study. Similarly, argumentation strategies, which are used to question and justify claims of truth and normative rightness (Reisigl and Wodak 2016: 33), are not a focus of this study, as I look at justifications in the form of legitimation

strategies. However, arguments are sometimes mentioned, provided they relate to a representation identified.

Nomination or referential strategies refer to or identify entities, while predication strategies positively or negatively characterise or describe them. The former discursively construct, while the latter discursively qualify. As Reisigl and Wodak (2001) assert, once constructed or identified, social actors are provided with predications or evaluative attributions. There are different linguistic devices that can help to construct and qualify social actors or phenomena, thus representing them. In the DHA, Reisigl and Wodak (2001; 2016) have identified a series of linguistic devices that can carry out these processes, although the list is by no means conclusive. Within nomination strategies, Reisigl and Wodak (2016: 33) have included devices that indicate membership categorisation, deictics, anthroponyms, collectives; tropes such as *pars pro toto* or *totum pro parte* synecdoches, or biological, naturalising, and depersonalising metaphors and metonymies; verbs and nouns that denote processes and actions, etc. Regarding predication strategies, linguistic devices include stereotypical, evaluative attributions of negative or positive traits such as adjectives, appositions, prepositional phrases, relative clauses, infinitive clauses, etc.; explicit predicates or predicative nouns/adjectives/pronouns; collocations; comparisons, including similes, metaphors, metonymies, hyperboles, and euphemisms; allusions, evocations, presuppositions and implicatures, among others (Reisigl and Wodak 2016: 33). The extract in Table 4.6 shows examples of referential or nomination strategies in the form of proper names, action and professional anthroponyms.

Los *coautores* del documento son la *profesora María Alejandra Carrasco*, la *psicóloga María Marcela Ferrer*, la *enfermera universitaria Paulina Johnson* y el *médico Christian Schnake*.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: The *co-authors* of the document are *professor María Alejandra Carrasco*, *psychologist María Marcela Ferrer*, *university nurse Paulina Johnson* and the *physician Christian Schnake*.

Table 4.6. Example of nomination strategies (in italics) taken from the ECC corpus.

In table 4.6 there is also an example of a predication strategy, realised with the adjective *universitaria (university)* which characterises the nurse mentioned in the extract and differentiates her from other nurses. Other examples of predication strategies can be seen in Table 4.7, where predications take the form of adjectives and an infinitive clause.

También expresó que es *necesario* regular un marco legal que regule en materia patrimonial las relaciones estables entre parejas homosexuales. “Pero llamar a estas uniones matrimonio y equipararlas a la unión entre un hombre y una mujer es *cambiar el orden natural de las cosas*”, aclaró el Obispo.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: He also stated that it is *necessary* to regulate a legal framework that regulates the stable relationships of homosexual couples in terms of inheritance. “But calling these partnerships marriage and equating them to the partnership between a man and a woman is *to change the natural order of things*”, the Bishop clarified.

Table 4.7. Example of predication strategies (in italics) taken from the ECC corpus.

In the extract in Table 4.7, predication strategies positively characterise the creation of a law for stable gay couples, while the infinitive clause negatively evaluates same-sex marriage by characterising it as unnatural.

Although the identification of strategies in tables 4.6 and 4.7 is unproblematic, Reisigl and Wodak (2001) note that separating nomination from predication strategies is not always a straightforward process, as a referential identification often carries in itself a

certain connotation. An example of this can be seen in Table 4.8, where the noun *pecadores* (*sinner*s) nominates gay people (also nominated with the noun *homosexuales* (*homosexuals*)) while negatively evaluating them from a religious point of view.

<p>Notemos cuidadosamente que en la lista de <i>pecadores</i> de los versículos 9 y 1 el apóstol incluye a los homosexuales y a los afeminados, pero en el versículo 2 dice claramente “esto eran algunos de Ustedes”.</p>
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<p>ENGLISH TRANSLATION: Let us carefully note that in the list of <i>sinner</i>s in verses 9 and 1, the apostle includes homosexuals and effeminate men, but in verse 2 he clearly says that “some of you used to be like this”.</p>
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Table 4.8. Example of a nomination strategy (in italics) with a predicational function taken from the ECC corpus.

In the analysis carried out in this thesis, I identify nomination and predication strategies by looking for any linguistic devices that identify and characterise in concordances of the search terms *homosexual**, *lesbian**, *gay**, *fleto**, *cola**, *maric**, *lela**, *camion**, *lésbic** and the phrase *mismo sexo* (*same sex*) (discussed in more detail in 4.5.3.4). However, the main focus of my analysis is on the representations that these strategies produce, so I do not spend much time discussing them in the analytical chapters. In fact, I usually refer to them as ‘characterising’ or ‘nominating/referring to’ a particular entity, rather than mentioning them by name. In what follows, I explain the theoretical framework I use to categorise the legitimisation strategies identified in the analysis.

4.5.2. Legitimation strategies

In this study, legitimisation plays a role in the justification of the representations identified in the analyses. As Baker and Ellece (2010) explain, legitimisation is the process through which something becomes reasonable or accepted in agreement with

the norms and values of a given society. According to van Leeuwen (2008), legitimation pertains to the answers to questions such as ‘Why should we do this?’ or ‘Why should we do this in this way?’, and he suggests a framework for the analysis of these answers. In this framework, van Leeuwen identifies four legitimation strategies, which can be used to legitimise or delegitimise, and can occur in combination or on their own. These strategies are: authorisation, moral evaluation, rationalisation, and mythopoesis.

Authorisation is legitimation that refers to the authority of tradition, law, rules, custom, or people who have some kind of institutional authority, due to their role or status in that institution or their expertise. On the other hand, moral evaluation is legitimation based on value systems. This type of legitimation can involve evaluation through adjectives, abstraction through references to practices or actions in ways that moralise them, and analogies or comparisons, where legitimation is carried out through references to other activities or entities associated with positive values (or negative ones when delegitimising). Regarding rationalisation, this type of legitimation is carried out when the purpose and function of institutionalised social action is mentioned, or the social knowledge that has made them cognitively valid. The first kind is identified as instrumental rationalisation, where purposes are morally justified, relating to goals, means, or effects. While in the second kind, known as theoretical rationalisation, legitimation is based on some kind of truth. This truth can take the form of a definition, an explanation, or a prediction, or be based on experience or scientific knowledge. Finally, mythopoesis pertains to legitimation carried out through storytelling where the outcomes reward legitimate actions or punish non-legitimate ones.

In my analysis, I look for textual strategies such as figures, quotes, references to experts, or lexical items that are used to justify a representation around homosexuality. Then, I decide on which of the aforementioned legitimation strategies these justifications are grounded. For instance, if a course of action or understanding is justified based on information given by an alleged specialist or high authority figure, I identify that information as an authority legitimation strategy. Similarly, if justification is based on an alleged effect of certain events or phenomena taking place, I identify that legitimation strategy as instrumental rationalisation. And if the justification is conveyed with an evaluative lexical item, I identify that legitimation as a moral evaluation legitimation. Additionally, following Leeuwen and Wodak (1999), I reflect on the legitimating role of the different representations identified in my analysis.

4.5.3. Identifying Appropriate Methods of Analysis

In this section, I refer to some methodological challenges I came across at the beginning of this research project. Additionally, I describe how I responded to these challenges and where this led in relation to the methodological approach I undertook in this project. Due to this, this section provides an answer to RQ3a, thus contributing to the identification of the most appropriate method of analysis to answer RQ1 and RQ2, by focusing on the role that the particularities of the corpora used in this thesis played in the final research design.

4.5.3.1. Collocation analysis of the church discourse corpora

At the beginning of my research project, the data I intended to analyse consisted of two different types of corpora, namely church website articles, and the parliamentary debates about the civil-partnership and anti-discrimination laws in Chile. However,

the parliamentary debates were excluded from the research project when I first started working on my thesis, when I decided to focus primarily on church discourse. The reasons why this decision was made related to the lack of studies concentrating on this type of discourse from an out-group LGBTQ⁺ perspective, as well as the assumption that the church corpora would provide sufficient information for adequate in-depth analysis. With this in mind, I started working on the analysis of the church data, namely the corpus of Evangelical churches and Catholic church website articles that I described in sections 4.4.1 and 4.4.2. As illustrated in Tables 4.3. and 4.4. in those sections, these corpora consist of 51,188 and 86,271 words, respectively⁴⁶.

Initially, I intended to conduct a corpus-based critical discourse analysis following studies like Baker (2004; 2014a) and Bachmann (2011). Consequently, the research design considered collocational and keyword analyses of the data, which are two corpus tools that are frequently used in corpus-based critical discourse studies. With this in mind, the first analytical stage consisted of obtaining the collocates of *homosexual** from each of the church corpora separately, with the purpose of comparing and contrasting the findings from these data sets. The query *homosexual** was selected because the lemma HOMOSEXUAL was the most frequent term used in my church corpora to refer to the ‘marked’ sexual identity, retrieving a total of four-hundred and sixty-six hits. Due to this, at this point of the analysis, I decided to focus only on the concordances that included this search term.

Using AntConc 3.4.3m (Anthony 2014), the collocates of *homosexual** were retrieved using the MI algorithm. This algorithm was chosen because it places more emphasis on content words, even when it tends to give high scores to low-frequency words. Another alternative could be using log-log, since, as Baker (2006: 102) suggests, it

⁴⁶ For data collection techniques refer back to section 4.3.

focuses on lexical words without giving much emphasis to very low-frequency words. However, this collocate measure was not available in AntConc 3.4.3m, which only allowed me to use MI or T-score tests to obtain collocates. Considering this and the fact that the corpora analysed were relatively small, I resolved to use MI to focus on content words regardless of their potentially lower frequency. It should be noted that I did not experiment with the other measure available in the concordancer, as I considered Mutual Information to be well-suited for my purpose.

After testing different collocation spans that included from 3 to 6 lexical items on both sides, I decided that the results retrieved with a -5/+5 span incorporated a good range of lexical items that would be pertinent to consider, such as the nouns *aborto* (*abortion*) or *euthanasia* (*euthanasia*), which referred to topics associated with LGBTQ⁺ matters in the corpora. Consequently, I resolved to use this span in the analysis. Regarding the MI score cut-off point, this was set at 5, a value that was chosen as a way of limiting the analysis of collocates to no more than fifty types per data set. Additionally, 5 seemed a reasonable value considering Hunston's (2002) suggestion that any MI score that is higher than 3 can be considered significant. Regarding the minimum frequency of occurrence, this was also set at 5 so as to obtain a manageable number of collocates for analysis.

Using these parameters, I obtained 42 collocates of *homosexual** from the Catholic Church Corpus and 48 from the Evangelical Churches one. Through concordance analysis, I verified the meaning the collocates conveyed in the extracts where they occurred and grouped these collocates into categories, assigning a name to these categories according to the meaning the collocates in their particular co-texts. However, when the collocates occurred too frequently and in co-texts that conveyed many different meanings, I grouped those collocates in what can be described as a

functional or descriptive category, as illustrated, for example, with coordinators *y* (*and*) and *o* (*or*) in category 9 Table 4.9.

As a result of this first stage of analysis, I was able to identify twenty-one categories instantiated in the collocates of *homosexual** in the Catholic Church Corpus and twenty in the Evangelical Churches one. From these categories, nine were the same in the two corpora. Considering this, I decided to analyse the collocates in two ways.

First, I would analyse the lines of those in the shared categories, which would consist of one chapter, and I would do the same for those in the differing categories, which would be another chapter. With that in mind, I first examined the concordances of the collocates in the nine shared categories, identified with numbers 1 to 9 in Table 4.9.

This Table shows the categories identified through the analysis of the collocates of *homosexual** in the Catholic Church Corpus only (for categorised collocates of the Evangelical Churches Corpus, see Appendix I).

	CATEGORY	COLLOCATES	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
1	Gender & Sexual Identity (45)	homosexualidad (7), homosexuales (8), los (30)	homosexuality, homosexuals, the
2	Relationships (54)	uniones (21), parejas (12), matrimonios (5), matrimonio (16)	unions, couples, marriages, marriage
3	Killing (18)	eutanasia (7), aborto (11)	euthanasia, abortion
4	Similarity (19)	como (13), también (6)	like/such as, also
5	State (13)	condición (7), son (6)	being, are (3 rd p. pl.)
6	Age (5)	juvenil (5)	young
7	Sex (12)	actos (7), relaciones (5)	acts, relations(hips)
8	Stance (31)	tema (7), sobre (18), frente (6)	matter/topic, about, in relation to
9	Coordination (84)	y (69), o (15)	and, or
10	People (33)	personas (33)	people
11	Propensity (40)	tendencias (16), con (19), tienen (5)	tendencies, with, have (3 rd p. pl.)
12	Permanence (16)	arraigadas (7), profundamente (9)	rooted, deeply
13	Written info (5)	documento (5)	document
14	Connected with (10)	entre (10)	between
15	Care (8)	pastoral (8), orientaciones (5)	pastorate/pastoral, orientations
16	Purpose (14)	para (14)	for/in order to
17	Passivity (18)	se (18)	be
18	Possession (122)	de (108), su (14)	of, his/her/its/your/their
19	Determiner (193)	la (90), las (49), el (54)	the (singular masculine and feminine, plural feminine)
20	Preposition (58)	a (39), al (8), por (11)	to/for, to (the), for/by
21	Relative Pronoun (47)	que (47)	that/which/who

Table 4.9 Collocates of *homosexual** in the Catholic Church Corpus data set.

Using AntConc 3.4.3m, the concordances of the collocates of *homosexual** from both corpora were downloaded using the ‘Save Output to Text File’ option in the ‘File’ menu of AntConc 3.4.3m, taking a search window size of 250 characters. The individual collocate files were then exported to an Excel workbook for each corpus, saved on separate sheets for each collocate within the corpus workbook. This resulted in a total of 850 concordance lines for all the collocates of *homosexual** in the Catholic Church Corpus, and 655 in the Evangelical Churches one, many of which overlapped, as the same line could appear as the concordance of more than one

collocate⁴⁷. Notwithstanding, since I first wanted to analyse the collocates in the nine shared semantic and functional categories, the first part of the analysis involved looking at a total of 281 concordances from the Catholic Church Corpus (those in categories 1 to 9), and 527 lines from the Evangelical Churches one (to which the same applies).

I therefore undertook a concordance analysis of the collocates of *homosexual** whose purpose was to determine what the lines referred to and what they said in relation to the search term or other relevant actors, events or phenomena discussed in them. With that in mind I scrutinised the lines and identified the main meaning or message conveyed in each concordance, which I summarised in a column next to the line using a lexical item or phrase that was representative of the content of the concordance.

After this, those lines which conveyed similar meanings or messages were grouped together and further scrutinised in order to determine nuances in meaning within these lines, which, in some cases, resulted in the identification of new groups of lines. Once the main meaning conveyed in all lines had been identified and the lines grouped accordingly, I decided that for a group of lines to be considered in the study there had to be at least five lines where that message or meaning was conveyed. This number was chosen because that was the frequency that I had considered for a collocate to be identified as such in the corpus analysis, so it seemed reasonable to consider the same frequency for the inclusion of a group of concordance lines that conveyed similar meanings. After the groups of concordances that occurred at least five times had been identified, I looked at these lines again and decided whether they instantiated a representation or were only descriptive of a state of affairs. When they constituted

⁴⁷ For instance, the collocates *tendencias* (*tendencies*), *profundamente* (*deeply*), *arraigadas* (*rooted*), and *personas* (*people*) frequently co-occurred, which means that I encountered each line where these combinations occurred at least four times - as the same lines had been saved under each of these collocates - and even more if they occurred in combination with other collocates.

representations, I named the representation considering linguistic traces for those representations in the lines, that is, lexical items that were recurrent in them or lexical items which conveyed similar meanings. From this analytical approach I was able to identify four representations of *homosexual** in the Catholic Church Corpus, and nine in the Evangelical Churches one. Since some of these representations were interrelated, I decided to group them together and give each representation or group of representations a label or name which considers the overarching representation instantiated by the lines that make them. By ‘overarching representation’ I refer to those representations that encompass a set of representations that convey very similar meanings, which I grouped together under overarching ones to facilitate the presentation and explanation of findings. These overarching representations are indicated with Roman numerals in Table 4.10.

CATHOLIC CHURCH CORPUS	EVANGELICAL CHURCHES CORPUS
<p>I. Same-sex relationships are wrong</p> <p>1. Legalising gay relationships is a mistake (12 lines or 4.3%)</p> <p>II. Homosexuality is not an identity</p> <p>2. Homosexuality consists of tendencies and acts (11 lines or 4%)</p> <p>3. Gay people need guidance (11 lines or 4%)⁴⁸</p> <p>III. Homosexuality needs to be studied</p> <p>4. Homosexuality is a complex matter (11 lines or 4%)</p>	<p>I. Gay people are mentally ill</p> <p>1. Homosexuality is a consequence of childhood sexual abuse (8 lines or 1.5%)</p> <p>2. Gay people are prone to psychological disorders (6 lines or 1.1%)</p> <p>II. Homosexuality is a deviation</p> <p>3. Homosexuality is unnatural (14 lines or 2.7%)</p> <p>III. Homosexuality is not an identity</p> <p>4. Homosexuality is transitory (7 lines or 1.3%)</p> <p>IV. Gay people are immoral</p> <p>5. Homosexuality is a sin (8 lines or 1.5%)</p> <p>6. Gay people are promiscuous (10 lines or 1.9%)</p> <p>V. Gay people have power</p> <p>7. Gay people are engaged in political and religious lobbying (14 lines or 2.7%)</p> <p>8. Gay people’s rights are being granted (9 lines or 1.7%)</p> <p>VI. Gay people are dangerous</p> <p>9. Gay people/homosexuality influence(s) children (9 lines or 1.7%)</p>

Table 4.10. Representations and overarching representations around *homosexual** in the Catholic Church and Evangelical Churches corpora. The figures in brackets indicate the number of concordances instantiating each representation, which are also presented as percentages of the total number of lines scrutinised at this stage (CCC=281; ECC=527).

Then I proceeded to analyse the concordances of those collocates in the differing semantic categories, that is categories ten to seventeen in Table 4.9. First, I skimmed the concordances so as to get a general idea of their content, which I found to be very

⁴⁸ The decision to include this representation of gay people under the overarching representation that portrays homosexuality as not being an identity was taken based on the assumption that by suggesting gay people need guidance, there is an implication that they have lost their ‘path’, thus needing to be conducted towards it. When I first classified these lines, I considered that this suggested that gay people were not regarded as ‘normal’, having deviated, which portrays homosexuality as an altered state of being rather than as a part of a person’s identity.

similar to that of the lines already analysed and their resulting representations. As it also was also the case in the first stage of the analysis, the same concordances appeared more than once but as the line of another collocate. This meant that a considerable number of the concordances of the collocates in categories ten to seventeen had already been analysed when considering the collocates of categories one to nine. As a consequence, my initial plan to write a chapter with the analysis of the concordances of the collocates in the nine shared categories and another with the analysis in those that were different did not seem a good idea, as the concordances of the collocates in the differing categories did not show much potential to add anything new to the picture already drawn from the analysis of the first set of collocates. Due to this, I made the decision to analyse all the collocates as a whole instead. However, before I undertook this task, I wanted to see what the keyword analysis would add to my study, so I would not have to change plans again later. With that in mind, I moved on to the next analytical step I had planned to carry out on the church data.

4.5.3.2. Keyword analysis of the churches corpora

A potential concern with the analysis of the collocates was that it reduced the amount of data from the corpus that I was able to use in order to identify representations around homosexuality. For example, in Table 4.10, for the Catholic Church Corpus, I only identified 45 concordances of *homosexual**, that is 16% of the lines, which contributed towards three main representations. I was concerned that when working with collocates in a relatively small corpus (under 100,000 words), only a small number are produced, unless the cut-off points are made very low. Additionally, quite a lot of the collocates I had found were grammatical ones (for example, Table 4.6 contains collocates like *de* (108), *la* (90), *a* (39), *al* (8), *que* (47), *por* (11), *las* (49), *el* (54) and *su* (14)) and an analysis of them revealed very little about representations of

homosexuality. I therefore decided to engage in methodological triangulation (see Baker and Egbert 2016) by using a different form of corpus analysis – keywords. My plan at this stage was to determine whether keyword analysis would contribute anything new to my findings.

Keywords, in the sense that I refer to them here, are words whose relative frequency of occurrence is statistically higher in one corpus when compared to another, which is referred to as a reference corpus. Using log-likelihood tests, which indicate how confident we can be that a word is key due to chance alone (Baker 2006: 125), and no minimum frequency threshold, I obtained the keywords of the Catholic Church Corpus in AntConc 3.4.3m (Anthony 2014), using the Evangelical Churches Corpus as reference, and vice versa. From the list of keywords obtained from each data set, I decided to select the top 150 so as to be able to explore the corpora in more detail. Then, I grouped these keywords into categories according to the meaning they conveyed, as I had also done previously with the collocates (for the lists of keywords and their categories see Appendices II to V). Once again, this resulted in the identification of shared categories, such as geographical names, the names of Christian churches, their leaders, biblical references, references to (the absence of) sex, age, time, written sources of information, and people. As in the previous stage of analysis, there were also different categories within the two data sets. For example, the Catholic Church keywords referred to topics such as trouble, helping, respect, the family, marriage, church activities, education, wealth, and positive attributes, whilst the keywords in the Evangelical Churches Corpus indexed topics such as sexuality, gender, politics, laws, support and opposition, and the LGBTQ⁺ movement. At first sight, it seemed to me that these keywords could help to complement the findings in the previous analytical stage. However, when I skimmed the concordances of these

lexical items, I could see that most of the findings within them had already been identified in the analysis of the concordances of the representations that resulted from my first attempt at collocational analysis. For instance, the analysis of the concordances of the representations of the Evangelical churches, as shown in Table 4.10, showed that politics, elections and the leaders of the gay movement in relation to future laws were often mentioned in this data set, something that the keywords also illustrated.

At this stage, it was clear that the reason why I was not finding anything new with these keywords had to do with the reference corpora used. By comparing one corpus to the other, I was in other words comparing one church to the other, identifying what was different between them as related to each other, rather than finding out the peculiarities of each church on its own in regard to their approach to LGBTQ+ matters. It seemed to me that by focusing on the particular topics raised by each church in relation to sexual identity, as compared to other topics that they usually discuss on their websites would allow me to obtain more insights about the topic researched. The most appropriate way to deal with this situation was to use a different reference corpus. Therefore, I needed to create one that was representative of the topics discussed by these churches on their websites, excluding my topic of interest, that is sexual diversity. However, the website of the Evangelical churches where most of the data in its corpus was obtained was no longer available, which made the creation of a suitable reference corpus impossible to carry out. As I was invested in identifying the specific ways in which these churches and websites discussed LGBTQ+ topics as compared to other topics in which these same organisations were interested, I did not consider appropriate to use other general reference corpora, as they would not highlight the particularities of the churches in relation to themselves.

Because of this, I made the decision to include another data set in the study and rule out the keyword analysis of the corpora altogether. Therefore, I would create a collocational profile of *homosexual** from three different data sets, and see how these compared, contrasted, and interrelated. After some reflection, the corpora that seemed most suitable to include was one that was initially part of the study, namely the corpus of the parliamentary debates about the civil-partnership and anti-discrimination laws. If this data set produced an interesting contrast with the church corpora, my plan was to have three analytical chapters where I would do collocation analysis on three different data sets. In order to make a final decision about this, I proceeded to do some test analysis on the Parliamentary Debates Corpus.

4.5.3.3. Collocation analysis of the parliamentary debates

When I first started working with the parliamentary debates, I intended to separate the speeches into those that were in favour of the law and those against it, regardless of the law being discussed. With that in mind, I read all the debates and decided which speeches corresponded to each category. However, this proved to be problematic. First, because from the reading of the debates I could see that voting ‘in favour’ did not necessarily mean supporting LGBTQ⁺ rights, especially because voting often involved specific articles at particular stages of the bills. Because of this, in order to better identify the stance of the politicians involved in the debates I would have needed to consider the broader context of the situation, checking the bills at their different stages. This was extremely time consuming and, even then, not straightforward. For example, often politicians voted in favour of the bills even when in their speeches they did not express full support of LGBTQ⁺ equality. The reason why this happens is difficult to ascertain, although it may have something to do with the idiosyncrasy of Chilean politics, or with pressure or specific agreements within

political parties. Additionally, by reading the debates and recalling my own knowledge of the politicians involved in them, it was clear that those who mentioned gay people or sexual identity more often were those who were in favour of LGBTQ+ rights, while those opposing them did not tend to refer to LGBTQ+ matters as the cause of their opposition. Many times, reasons to oppose the law were based on technicalities that had little to do with the main topic discussed. However, I could see that there was opposition based on what have been traditionally used as opposing arguments, such as the ‘thin edge of the wedge’ argument or a rejection of homosexuality based on an alleged threat to children, as these were usually addressed by those in favour of the law, who referred to this opposition as unfounded. Considering this, it was clear that there was an absence in the parliamentary debates, something which was not being said, but was being contested nonetheless. Because of this, I decided that it was more useful to include all sides in the analysis, so as to get a better picture of the representations being drawn on. As a consequence, the corpus of parliamentary debates was to be included in its entirety, that is to say, I would carry out a corpus analysis on all 231,467 words. Although I did not separate stances, I do mention them in the final analysis of this corpus, as it is sometimes difficult to understand the extracts I discuss without them. I determined these stances by reading extended concordances or the entire speeches where the concordances analysed occurred.

Since at this stage I was still trying to determine whether the Parliamentary Debates Corpus would be useful for my study at all, I proceeded to obtain the collocates of *homosexual** with the intention of exploring the data set. As I started this exploratory stage, I made some modifications in the parameters that I had applied in the collocation analysis of the church corpora, which I intended to incorporate in the

analysis of these data sets later. The change in the parameters consisted of a new MI cut-off point. Following Gablasova et al. (2017), I decided to modify the cut-off point from an MI score equal or higher than 5 to one equal or higher than 6. This resulted in the retrieval of thirteen collocates of *homosexual**, which can be seen in Table 4.11.

RANK	FREQ	FREQ(L)	FREQ(R)	STAT	COLLOCATE	TRANSLATION
1	8	5	3	8.77	heterosexual	heterosexual (s.)
2	54	33	21	8.58	heterosexuales	heterosexual (pl.)
3	74	68	6	8.17	parejas	couples
4	15	15	0	7.72	u	or
5	10	9	1	7.70	uniones	partnerships
6	10	9	1	7.37	sean	be (3 rd p. pl.)
7	59	45	14	6.90	matrimonio	marriage
8	6	2	4	6.71	conviven	live together (3 rd p. pl.)
9	5	2	3	6.51	niño	child
10	5	2	3	6.39	familias	families
11	5	3	2	6.32	homosexual	homosexual (s.)
12	5	4	1	6.17	condición	condition/state
13	6	5	1	6.03	paso	Step

Table 4.11. Collocates of *homosexual** in the Parliamentary Debates Corpus (PDC).

As Table 4.11 shows, the collocates retrieved from the parliamentary debates were not very diverse, mostly relating to marriage, families and sexuality. Despite that, I proceeded to analyse the 262 concordance lines where these collocates appeared in the same way described in section 4.5.3.1. This resulted in the identification of nine representations, which are shown in Table 4.12. Since this was an exploratory analysis, the representations were not yet grouped into overarching ones, but were only divided into representations of people and representations of the laws.

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES CORPUS
REPRESENTATIONS OF GAY PEOPLE
1. Gay people are discriminated against (12 lines or 4.6%) 2. Gay people have rights (9 lines or 3.4%) 3. Gay people are like other people (6 lines or 2.3%) 4. Gay couples are unprotected (30 lines or 11%)
REPRESENTATIONS OF THE LAWS
5. The civil-partnership law is too similar to marriage (19 lines or 7.3%) 6. The civil-partnership/anti-discrimination law is a step towards gay marriage (24 lines or 9.2%) 7. The civil-partnership law is a step towards adoption by gay couples (6 lines or 2.3%) 8. The civil-partnership law was created to benefit gay people only (5 lines or 1.9%) 9. The civil-partnership law is not necessary for heterosexual people (9 lines or 3.4%)

Table 4.12. Representations in the concordances of the collocates of *homosexual** in the Parliamentary Debates Corpus (PDC). The figures in brackets indicate the number of concordances instantiating each representation, which are also presented as percentages of the total number of lines scrutinised (i.e. 262 concordances).

Since the representations identified in the parliamentary debates at this point of the analysis involved some positive portrayals of gay people, as well as both positive and negative representations of the bills under discussion, which were also likely to provide insights about how gay people are represented, I decided to include the parliamentary debates in my study. However, at this point I decided to test another methodological approach and look at all the concordance lines produced by a search of the query *homosexual**, as a way of exploring the data. My intention was to determine whether the analysis of all concordances added anything different to the representations identified through collocational analysis.

4.5.3.4. Concordance analysis of all the occurrences of *homosexual**

Before attempting to analyse all the concordances of the query *homosexual**, it was necessary to determine whether it would be possible to scrutinise the total number of these concordances. With that in mind, using AntConc 3.4.3m (Anthony 2014), I ran a

search for all the occurrences of *homosexual** in the Parliamentary Debates Corpus, which resulted in the retrieval of 272 concordance lines. As this number seemed manageable for in-depth concordance analysis, I saved the lines using the ‘Save Output to Text File’ option in the ‘File’ menu of the corpus analysis tool, taking the search window size of 250 characters, and then exported these lines to Excel files and started scrutinising them in the same way described in section 4.5.3.1, where a group of lines is considered a representation as long as there are at least five lines where that representation is instantiated. This resulted in the identification of a total of twelve representations. In other words, the analysis of the concordances of all occurrences of *homosexual**, rather than only of those that had its collocates, allowed for the identification of three new representations in the parliamentary debates, while the number of concordance lines of some of the previously identified representations increased. Table 4.13 shows these new representations.

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES CORPUS
NEW REPRESENTATIONS
10. Gay people have dignity (6 lines or 2.2%) 11. Both gay and straight people can be paedophiles (7 lines or 2.6%) 12. The Church accepts gay people (10 lines or 3.7%)

Table 4.13. New representations identified when analysing all the concordances of *homosexual** in the Parliamentary Debates Corpus. The figures in brackets indicate the number of concordances instantiating each representation, which are also presented as percentages of the total number of lines scrutinised (i.e. 272 concordances).

As Table 4.13 shows, the new representations bear some resemblance to topics that had also been identified in the analysis of the concordances of the collocates of the church data, more specifically in the representations in the Evangelical Churches Corpus (see Table 4.10), where there are references to sex and childhood which are also suggested by the reference to paedophilia in new representation 11 of the

parliamentary debates. In this way, through the detection of new representations, analysing all the occurrences of *homosexual**, rather than only those with its collocates, seemed a methodological approach that was worth keeping in mind. However, before making a final decision about a new approach, I needed to see whether analysing all the concordances of *homosexual** in the Catholic Church and Evangelical Churches corpora would also produce a wider range of findings. With that in mind, I retrieved the concordances of *homosexual** from each of these data sets. This resulted in the identification of a total of 162 concordances in the Catholic Church Corpus and 304 in the Evangelical Churches one. As with the parliamentary debates, I scrutinised the concordances of *homosexual** from each of these data sets, identifying and categorising the representations they instantiated and grouping those instantiating similar ones together. Although the results obtained from this analysis are not comparable to the ones identified through collocational analysis shown in table 4.10, since that preliminary analysis considered only the collocates in the semantic categories shared by both church data sets, the new representations identified in the analysis of all the concordances of *homosexual** help to paint a clearer picture of some aspects of the data that in the preliminary analysis appeared less frequently within a few concordances. Also, as it occurred in the parliamentary debates as well, the number of concordances increased considerably in some of the representations previously identified. Table 4.14 shows a comparison of the representations and overarching ones identified in the Catholic Church data set. It is worth noting that through the analysis of all the concordances of *homosexual** in the Catholic Church Corpus it was possible to identify three new representations where the Catholic Church is positively represented (see overarching representation IV in Table 4.14), something that had not been identified through collocation analysis and which

coincides with new representation 12 in Table 4.13 of the parliamentary debates. This suggests that analysing the corpus in this way can also contribute to a better appreciation of the relations between the corpora included in this study.

REPRESENTATIONS IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH CORPUS	
COLLOCATION ANALYSIS	ANALYSIS OF ALL CONCORDANCES
<p>I. Same-sex relationships are wrong 1. Legalising gay relationships is a mistake (12 lines or 4.3%)</p> <p>II. Homosexuality is not an identity 2. Homosexuality consists of tendencies and acts (11 lines or 4%) 3. Gay people need guidance (11 lines or 4%)⁴⁹</p> <p>III. Homosexuality needs to be studied 4. Homosexuality is a complex matter (11 lines or 4%)</p>	<p>I. Same-sex relationships are wrong 1. Legalising same-sex relationships is wrong (21 lines or 13%)</p> <p>II. Homosexuality is not part of a person's identity 2. Homosexuality is an inclination (14 lines or 8.6%) 3. Homosexuality is a behaviour (8 lines or 4.9%) 4. Homosexuality is not normal (13 lines or 8%)</p> <p>III. Homosexuality needs to be studied 5. Homosexuality is a complex matter (11 lines or 6.8%)</p> <p>IV. The Church cares about gay people 6. The Church respects gay people (17 lines or 10.5%) 7. The Church accepts gay people (11 lines or 6.8%) 8. The Church accompanies gay people (15 lines or 9.3%)</p>

Table 4.14. Comparison of the representations identified in the Catholic Church Corpus when analysing the 281 concordances of the collocates of *homosexual** (left column) in shared categories 1-9 in Table 4.9, and when analysing all the 162 concordances of *homosexual** (right column). The figures in brackets indicate the number of concordances instantiating each representation, and their corresponding percentage value when considering the total number of lines scrutinised at each stage.

Regarding the Evangelical Churches Corpus, Table 4.15 shows that there is also an increase in concordance lines, while four new representations were identified following this new approach (representations 3, 10, 12, and 13 in the right column).

⁴⁹ This representation was reconsidered, becoming representation 8 in Table 4.14, which portrays the Church as accompanying gay people.

Note that others have been rearranged, namely 7 and 8 in the left column, which are now distributed between 8 and 9 in the right one. It is also worth noting how representation 12 in Table 4.15 coincides with representation 11 identified in the parliamentary debates, shown in Table 4.13, thus indicating a relationship between these two corpora.

REPRESENTATIONS IN THE EVANGELICAL CHURCHES CORPUS	
COLLOCATION ANALYSIS	ANALYSIS OF ALL CONCORDANCES
<p>I. Gay people are mentally ill 1. Homosexuality is a consequence of childhood sexual abuse (8 lines or 1.5%) 2. Gay people are prone to psychological disorders (6 lines or 1.1%)</p> <p>II. Homosexuality is a deviation 3. Homosexuality is unnatural (14 lines or 2.7%)</p> <p>III. Homosexuality is not an identity 4. Homosexuality is transitory (7 lines or 1.3%)</p> <p>IV. Gay people are immoral 5. Homosexuality is a sin (8 lines or 1.5%) 6. Gay people are promiscuous (10 lines or 1.9%)</p> <p>V. Gay people have power 7. Gay people are engaged in political and religious lobbying (14 lines or 2.7%) 8. Gay people's rights are being granted (9 lines or 1.7%)</p> <p>VI. Gay people are dangerous 9. Gay people/homosexuality influence(s) children (9 lines or 1.7%)</p>	<p>I. Gay people are mentally ill 1. Homosexuality is a consequence of childhood sexual abuse (17 lines or 5.6%) 2. Gay people are prone to psychological disorders (6 lines or 2%) 3. Gay people live unhealthy lives (10 lines or 3.3%)</p> <p>II. Homosexuality is not normal 4. Homosexuality is unnatural (31 lines or 10.2%)</p> <p>III. Homosexuality is not part of a person's identity 5. Homosexuality is transitory (13 lines or 4.3%)</p> <p>IV. Gay people are immoral 6. Homosexuality is a sin (26 lines or 8.6%) 7. Gay people are promiscuous (20 lines or 6.6%)</p> <p>V. Gay people have power 8. Gay people are being legally recognised (6 lines or 2%) 9. Gay people are modifying religion (21 lines or 6.9%) 10. Gay people are a powerful minority (9 lines or 3%)</p> <p>VI. Gay people are dangerous 11. Gay people influence children (16 lines or 5.3%) 12. Gay people are paedophiles (11 lines or 3.6%)</p> <p>VII. Gay marriage is wrong 13. Gay marriage laws are being rejected (10 lines or 3.3%)</p>

Table 4.15. Comparison of the representations identified in an exploratory analysis of the Evangelical Churches Corpus when analysing the 527 concordances of the collocates of *homosexual** (left column) in shared categories 1-9 (see Appendix I), and when analysing all the 304 concordances of *homosexual** (right column). The figures in brackets indicate the number of concordances instantiating each representation, and their corresponding percentage value when considering the total number of lines scrutinised at each stage.

Based on these findings, I made the decision to analyse all the concordances of my search term, as this contributed to broaden the spectrum of findings not only through the features that could be identified within them, but also by shedding a new light regarding what representations and overarching ones occur more frequently in the corpora. Additionally, analysing all the concordances of the search term is expected to facilitate the identification of the relationships between the three corpora, since less frequently occurring patterns that did not make it into representations in the preliminary analysis are now part of the primary picture. Consequently, I moved from my initial intention to look only at the collocates of *homosexual**, which had a quantitative quality, to a mainly qualitative approach, where corpus tools are used as a way of accessing the corpora in a quicker and easier manner. As previously mentioned, in the final analysis I included the concordances retrieved by other search terms as well, namely *lesbian**, *gay**, *fleto**, *cola**, *maric**, *lela**, *camion**, *lésbic** and the phrase *mismo sexo* (*same sex*). The search terms *fleto**, *cola**, and *maric** are intended to retrieve concordances where the words *fleto(s)*, *cola(s)* and *maricón(es)* are used. These words are derogatory terms used to characterise or refer to gay men who are considered to behave in a feminine manner. The exact meaning of *fleto* or from where it originated is not known, while *cola* is believed to be an anagram of the word *loca* (f. *crazy*), a word that is used to characterise or refer to females. On the other hand, in Chilean Spanish the word *maricón* is not only derogatory but also a curse word that derives from the word *marica*. According to the RAE dictionary⁵⁰, *marica* originates from the female proper name *María*. However, the word *maricón* has extended its use in Chilean Spanish, where it also refers to (or insults) people who behave in a mean and harmful manner. On the other hand, search terms *lela**,

⁵⁰ <http://dle.rae.es/?id=OPMBIVV>

*camion** and *lésbic** refer to gay women and are intended to retrieve concordances where the words *lela(s)*, *camiona(s)* or *lésbica/o* are used. The origin of the word *lela* is not known, but it appears to be a colloquial shorter variant of the word *lesbiana* (*lesbian*) thus not being necessarily derogatory. On the other hand, the word *camiona* (f. *truck*) derives from the noun *camión* (*truck*), where the suffix *-a* transforms it into a feminine word that refers to women who are considered to behave in a manly manner or have a masculine appearance, thus having a derogatory purpose. Finally, the adjective *lésbica/o* is a variant of the adjective *lesbiana*. As opposed to the rest of the words described, *lésbica/o* is equivalent to adjectives *gay* and *homosexual*, thus not being derogatory.

I decided to include these search terms because they constitute different ways of referring to gay people and, although some of them are rather informal, I did not want to be predisposed as to what nomination or predication strategies could have been used in the data. Terms such as *homosexual**, *lesbian**, *lésbic**, and *mismo sexo* can be used in formal or rather neutral contexts, as they are not necessarily evaluative; while others, such as *gay**, are more informal. On the other hands, search terms *fleto**, *cola**, *maric**, *lela**, and *camion** can be regarded as offensive, although they are sometimes used to self-identify as well, in an attempt to reclaim and reappropriate their meaning. Because of this, the search terms considered in the study were expected to retrieve concordances with slightly different meanings, suggesting different attitudes, and ensuring different stances were considered, if present. Additionally, including as many references to gay people as possible would allow for the identification of a variety of representations around them, thus resulting in more comprehensive and representative findings.

4.5.4. Stages of Analysis

4.5.4.1. Concordance Analysis

As described in the previous section, in the final research design I use search terms *homosexual**, *lesbian**, *gay**, *fleto**, *cola**, *maric**, *lela**, *camion**, *lésbic** and the phrase *mismo sexo* (*same sex*) to obtain concordances from the corpora. The search terms *lesbian**, *lésbic**, *lela**, and *camion** are used to refer to gay women, *cola**, *fleto**, and *maric** to refer to gay men, and *mismo sexo* and *homosexual** can refer to both men and women, although the last one is also used to refer only to men. In this part of the analysis, concordances were obtained using the concordance tool of AntConc 3.5.7 (Anthony 2018) in a search window size of 250 characters and downloaded as TXT files. These files were then opened in Excel and the contents of each individual file cut and pasted onto a new Excel workbook. The concordances of the search terms from each corpus were then individually scrutinised to identify representations instantiated in them, which related to the search terms or any social actors, events or phenomena discussed. Representations were identified in the same way carried out in the preliminary collocation analysis described in 4.5.3.1, where a representation was included in the analysis provided there were at least five concordances instantiating it. The decision to use this cut-off point aims to place the focus of the analysis on a smaller and more manageable set of frequently cited representations. This allows for the identification of the most salient and dominant representations in the data, helping to present a picture that is easier to make sense of. However, the drawback of choosing a cut-off point is that it restricts the identification and analysis of minority representations or other potentially interesting patterns, which have to be overlooked by the analyst as a result. In the concordances retrieved, forms of the search terms sometimes collocated with each other. When this happened,

the lines that had more than one lexical item resulting from a search term were counted towards the same representation only once, provided the co-occurring search terms appeared in the same sentence and in the same text file.

Once the representations and their corresponding concordances had been identified and grouped accordingly, I carried out an in-depth analysis of the lines. The purpose of this in-depth analysis was to closely scrutinise the lines in search of linguistic traces that added more information about the representations identified. This type of analysis aimed to answer RQ1 and its corresponding sub-questions, focusing on the identification of linguistic devices that instantiated nomination, predication and legitimation strategies. As a consequence, it was possible to ascertain that some lines contained one or more discourse strategies and see how these findings interacted in different ways. As an example, let us consider legitimation strategies. As the analysis showed, some legitimation strategies occurred with more than one representation, but not all representations. Sometimes a representation occurred with a legitimation strategy, but sometimes it did not. Often, these legitimation strategies were used to justify representations around homosexuality, but these representations could also be used to argue for a directive about how gay people should be treated, having a legitimating function themselves.

4.5.4.2. Contextual Analysis

Fairclough (1989) considers intertextuality, social structures, practices and processes as essential for the analysis of context. As Fairclough (1992) asserts, texts should not be analysed in isolation and discourse analysis should not only be descriptive but also interpretative. This can be achieved by considering context, as it can help to interpret and explain findings.

In his three-dimensional framework for discourse analysis (see section 3.3.3), Fairclough (1989; 1992) suggests that discourse can be analysed at three different integrated levels, each of which is mediated by the following one. The first, or micro level, pertains to the analysis of text or the linguistic forms, which Fairclough identifies as the level of 'description'. This is followed by the meso level, which involves the analysis of the discursive practice as constituted by the processes of production, distribution and consumption. Fairclough (1989) refers to this level as 'interpretation'. And finally, the third or macro level pertains to the analysis of social practice or social conditions. Here, the analyst considers the power relations in which the discourse is embedded and the economic, political and institutional settings that shape it. Fairclough (1989) calls this part of the analysis 'explanation', but it is also part of the interpretive task (Fairclough 1992).

In the DHA, Reisigl and Wodak (2016) consider four dimensions of context (see section 3.3.3). These dimensions include the immediate text; the intertextual and interdiscursive relations between utterances; extralinguistic aspects such as social variables and the institutional frames of a particular communicative event; and the socio-political and historical context within which it takes place. As Reisigl and Wodak (2016) assert, considering the historical context allows analysts to trace intertextual and interdiscursive patterns. This, in turn, allows them to better appreciate the relationships between findings.

In this study, I draw on Fairclough (1989; 1992) to provide an interpretation of the findings in the churches and parliamentary corpora taking into account the discursive practice of production, distribution, and consumption. Also, I the explain the findings considering the social practice, that is the power relations and institutional settings that have shaped them. Drawing on Reisigl and Wodak (2016), I take into account

relevant features of the Chilean historical context in order to interpret and explain any similarities and/or differences identified among the three corpora. Finally, I ascertain the implications of these similarities and/or differences in the broader socio-political and historical context. In this way, I consider context not only in its role as shaping discourse (or representations, in this case), but also through the potential effect these discourses (or representations) have on the context in which they are embedded. The aim of this part of the analysis is to answer RQ2 and its corresponding sub-questions. An aspect that makes Fairclough's model well-suited for a CDS study that analyses corpora is that it is concise, clearly delimiting the levels of analysis. On the other hand, the DHA considers discursive relations through the historical orientation of the contextual analysis, which seems appropriate for the analysis of a study which looks at institutions that have had a historical impact and changing development in the context under investigation. The contextual analysis of this thesis is carried out in Chapter 8.

4.5.4.3. Presentation of Findings

In the analysis chapters, I present the Spanish original concordances in the extracts where they occur followed by their English translations. In these extracts, the corresponding form(s) of the search terms that produced the concordances are written in bold italics. Under each extract in Chapters 5 and 6, the name of the corpus and file name is provided. The file name in these chapters includes the name of the website where the file was taken (i.e. Iglesias Evangélicas, Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal de Chile, Mesa Ampliada, or Conferencia Episcopal de Chile) and the number of the file. In Chapter 7, the extracts include the number of the debate, an acronym standing for the name of the law being discussed (i.e. AD for the anti-discrimination law and AUC for the civil-partnership law), the type of debate, and the house of parliament where it

took place. This is followed by the name of the politician and the name of their party, indicated between brackets. An example of an extract from Chapter 6 is provided in Table 4.16.

<p>1. Las conclusiones provisionales también se han referido a la resolución del Parlamento Europeo que trata de imponer la equiparación de las uniones <i>homosexuales</i> y los matrimonios [...]</p> <p>ENGLISH TRANSLATION: The provisional conclusions have also referred to the resolution of the European Parliament that tries to impose the equation of <i>homosexual</i> partnerships to marriages [...]</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>CCC - Conferencia Episcopal de Chile 93.txt</i></p>

Table 4.16. Example of a concordance extract as presented in the analysis chapters.

In the analysis, I often needed to extend the concordances beyond the 250-character span, so as to better illustrate what the lines described and avoid ambiguities when presenting and discussing the findings. Because of this, the concordances that appear in the analysis are of different lengths. This also meant that the extended extracts often contain more than one concordance, as there are instances when various lines are part of the same paragraph. In these cases, consecutive concordances are included as part of one extract and the findings within them are discussed accordingly. It must be borne in mind that, as there is not enough space to analyse all the concordances, the extracts included in the analysis are representative of the findings or patterns identified, thus illustrating representations that occurred more than once (unless stated otherwise).

It must also be noted that the analysis was conducted on the original Spanish concordances, and the English translations are included to allow English-speaking readers to understand the analysis. However, there are some issues that complicated the translation process. One of these problems pertains to sentence length. As Spanish

sentences tend to be much longer than English ones, there are times when extracts that take several lines consist of only one or two sentences. In some of these cases, I break down their clauses into new sentences, so as to facilitate reading, but there are instances when this is not possible (e.g. when the long sentences are questions).

Another problem concerns spelling mistakes and incomplete sentences that appeared in the Evangelical Churches Corpus, errors which may be attributed to carelessness of the text producers. In these cases, I kept the corpus text intact in the Spanish section of the extracts. With spelling mistakes, I translated the texts into the English language without reflecting them, and in the case of incomplete clauses or sentences, I inserted the word *sic* between square brackets in the translations to indicate the error or incomplete message was part of the original. Another difficulty encountered pertains to the challenge of finding the right word in the target language, considering nuances in meaning, degrees of formality, and bearing in mind that I am not a professional translator or a native English speaker. In these instances, I tried to carry out the translation task as effectively as I could, but there may still be cases when the translated words are not the most accurate ones.

Whenever the extended concordances analysed contained quotes from the Bible, I used the official translations of those passages as they appear on the Bible Hub website⁵¹, where different English versions of the Bible can be found. As I did not know which version of the Bible was used as a source on my data, I chose the English translations based on their similarity to the Spanish quotes provided. Following this criterion, I found that the versions which more closely resembled the texts in my corpora are King James Bible⁵² and the Holman Christian Standard Bible⁵³ (HCSB).

⁵¹ The Bible Hub website can be found at <http://biblehub.com>

⁵² https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/King_James_Version

⁵³ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Holman_Christian_Standard_Bible

Finally, it is important to clarify that I write the word God with an initial capital letter throughout this thesis, in the same way it is written by Christians. I do this to indicate that I am talking about the Christian god, as if this noun were a proper name.

Additionally, I refer to this god with masculine pronouns, as this is the way Christians nominate it/him. However, this does not reflect my stance or beliefs.

4.6. Conclusion

This chapter describes the methodological framework used to identify representations around homosexuality in Chilean church and parliamentary discourse during 2005-2015. First, I explain my research questions, followed by the data collection techniques and a description of the corpora resulting from this. Additionally, I provide a detailed account of the different analytical steps undertaken as a preliminary analysis and explain how the exploration of the corpora allowed me to decide on the most appropriate methodological approach for the purposes of this study. This part of the chapter answers RQ3a, explaining how working with small specialised corpora can influence the methodological approach undertaken. As discussed in this chapter, I moved from a corpus-based approach which aimed at identifying representations through the analysis of collocates and keywords to a predominantly qualitative approach, where corpus methods are used to access parts of the data more quickly. As this chapter illustrates, my final method of analysis consists of the scrutinising of the extended concordances retrieved by a series of search terms in order to identify linguistic traces that instantiate representations in them. Additionally, I identify nomination, predication and legitimation strategies, as well as the legitimating function of the representations proper. This chapter also describes the contextual analysis carried out with the purpose of interpreting and explaining the findings. As I mention above, I integrate levels two and three of Fairclough's (1989; 1992) three-

dimensional framework of discourse analysis with Reisigl and Wodak's (2016) fourth dimension of context. Finally, this chapter describes how findings are presented in the analytical chapters and mention some problems encountered in the translation of the data from Spanish to English. In the following chapters, I present the findings that resulted from the application of the methodological approach here described, thus answering RQ1 and its sub-questions. I start the presentation of the findings with the analysis of the Evangelical Churches Corpus in Chapter 5, which is followed by the analysis of the Catholic Church Corpus in Chapter 6, to finish with the analysis of the Parliamentary Debates Corpus in Chapter 7.

Chapter 5. Representations around homosexuality in the Evangelical Churches Corpus

5.1. Introduction

In this chapter, concordances from the Evangelical Churches Corpus (ECC) that instantiate representations around homosexuality are examined. With that aim, nomination and predication strategies that help to instantiate representations are identified, as well as any legitimation strategies used to justify them. In section 5.2, the search terms used to generate the concordances analysed and an overall list of the representations identified are provided. Then, sections 5.3 to 5.6 provide more detailed analyses of some concordance lines that instantiate representations about gay people, homosexuality, gay marriage, and the churches. Finally, section 5.7 concludes the chapter.

5.2. Concordance analysis of the Evangelical Churches Corpus

The ECC consists of 51,188 words distributed across 76 church website articles about homosexuality and LGBTQ⁺ laws published during 2005-2015, when debates about these laws took place in the Chilean congress. The data here analysed consists of 419 extended concordances or extracts retrieved using ten search terms on AntConc 3.5.7 (Anthony 2018) (see section 4.5.3.4 for more information about the search terms). As illustrated in Table 5.1, five of the ten search terms retrieved concordances in the ECC.

	SEARCH TERM	N° OF CONCORDANCES
1	<i>homosexual*</i>	304
2	<i>lesbian*</i>	45
3	<i>mismo sexo</i>	38
4	<i>gay*</i>	30
5	<i>lésbic*</i>	2
6	<i>fleto*</i>	0
7	<i>cola*</i>	0
8	<i>maric*</i>	0
9	<i>lela*</i>	0
10	<i>camion*</i>	0
	TOTAL	419

Table 5.1. Total number of ECC concordances separated by search term and ordered by frequency.

As Table 5.1 shows, search terms aimed at identifying colloquial or derogatory terms for gay people in Spanish such as *fleto**, *cola**, *maric**, *lela** and *camion** did not retrieve any results in the ECC. The lack of derogatory terms is an indication of the fact that these terms tend to be used in the informal register, usually in spoken language rather than formal written communication, such as the data that make up this corpus. Conversely, the more standard terms *homosexual**, *lesbian**, *mismo sexo*, *gay** and *lésbic** retrieved 72.5%, 11%, 9%, 7%, and 0.5% of the lines, respectively. Consequently, the majority of the lines analysed include a form of the word *homosexual*. Regarding distribution, out of the 76 files that make up the ECC, the occurrences of *homosexual** were found in 63 files, the occurrences of *lesbian** in 17, the occurrences of *mismo sexo* and *gay** in 19 files each, and the occurrences of *lésbic** in 2 website articles.

As described in 4.5.3.1, the concordance analysis started with the identification of the main message or representation conveyed in the lines, which were then grouped according to similarities. This resulted in the identification of four main entities or phenomena being represented in the ECC, namely gay people, gay marriage, homosexuality, and the Evangelical churches. There are fourteen different

representations of these entities or phenomena in the corpus. These were then grouped according to similarities, making up eight overarching representations of these entities/phenomena. In terms of frequency, gay people are the most recurrently represented entity in the ECC, with four overarching representations consisting of ten representations that characterise gay people in specific ways. This is followed by two representations of homosexuality, while gay marriage and the Evangelical churches have one representation each. The different phenomena, overarching representations, and representations identified in the data are illustrated below. The numbers in brackets indicate the number of (extended) concordance lines where the different representations are instantiated and their corresponding percentage value.

REPRESENTATIONS OF GAY PEOPLE

1. Gay people are immoral
 - i. Homosexuality is a sin (26 lines or 6.2%)
 - ii. Gay people are promiscuous (23 lines or 5.5%)
2. Gay people are powerful
 - iii. Gay people are modifying religion (22 lines or 5.3%)
 - iv. Gay people are a powerful minority (9 lines or 2.1%)
 - v. Gay people are being legally recognised (8 lines or 1.9%)
3. Gay people are dangerous to children
 - vi. Gay people are an influence on children (17 lines or 4.1%)
 - vii. Gay people are paedophiles (17 lines or 4.1%)
4. Gay people are mentally unstable
 - viii. Gay people are troubled (13 lines or 3.1%)
 - ix. Homosexuality is a consequence of childhood sexual abuse (12 lines or 2.9%)
 - x. Gay people are prone to psychological disorders (7 lines or 1.7%)

REPRESENTATIONS OF HOMOSEXUALITY

5. Homosexuality is not normal
 - i. Homosexuality is a deviation (40 lines or 9.6%)
6. Homosexuality is not part of a person's identity
 - ii. Homosexuality is transitory (13 lines or 3.1%)

REPRESENTATIONS OF GAY MARRIAGE

7. Gay marriage is wrong

- i. Gay marriage laws are being rejected (13 lines or 3.1%)

REPRESENTATIONS OF THE EVANGELICAL CHURCHES

8. The Evangelical churches are against equality

- i. The Evangelical churches are against LGBTQ+ rights (5 lines or 1.2%)

Each social actor, event or phenomenon represented in the ECC has been arranged in decreasing order according to the total number of concordances that contribute to their representation and the same has been done with the overarching representations. This means that in the ECC, gay people are most frequently represented as immoral (in 49 concordances or 11.7% of the lines), and least frequently as mentally unstable (in 32 concordances or 7.6% of the lines). The least frequent representation in the corpus pertains to the Evangelical churches, which are represented as opposing equality in 5 concordances (or 1.2% of the concordances). This organisation criterion is followed in the presentation of the findings in this chapter. In what follows, the different representations within the overarching representations identified are discussed in relation to patterns identified within the concordances that instantiate them and other relevant linguistic traces that convey a particular meaning, allude to or legitimate a particular representation. To save space and avoid repetition I limited my analysis to on average a detailed discussion of 2 expanded concordance lines for each representation type. However, these expanded concordances often contained more than one search term. In choosing these lines, I have tried to cover as wide a set of representations and linguistic strategies as possible, focusing on lines that are examples of a pattern identified in the representations but also reveal something distinct. And where a concordance line contains a use of language that has previously been discussed, I do not spend a long time discussing it. Finally, the expanded

concordances sometimes contain multiple representations so in order to keep a clear focus and narrative structure throughout the chapter my analysis sticks to one representation at a time, rather than listing every one that appears in each line.

5.3. Representations of gay people

The most recurrently represented entity in the concordances analysed from the ECC is gay people. The analysis allowed for the identification of four overarching representations of a gay identity, instantiated in ten representations or groups of concordances. These representations were identified in 142 lines, making up 33.9% of the concordances scrutinised from this corpus. In what follows, I describe the corresponding overarching representations, and then analyse some concordance lines within each representation.

5.3.1. Gay people are immoral

The most frequent overarching representation of gay people in the corpus portrays them as immoral. This meaning is conveyed in 49 concordances distributed across two representations that characterise gay people as promiscuous, and homosexuality as a sin. These concordances make up 11.7% of the lines scrutinised. The following two sections present these findings.

5.3.1.1. Homosexuality is a sin

In the ECC, 26 lines, occurring in four different website articles, represent homosexuality as a sin, this being the second most frequent representation in the corpus.⁵⁴ This means that one of the main ways in which the Evangelical churches discuss homosexuality is from a religious perspective. Consequently, within the lines

⁵⁴ I have separated sections on representations of gay people and homosexuality. However, while section 5.3 focusses on gay people, I have included the representation of homosexuality as a sin because it is used towards an overarching representation of gay people as immoral.

that refer to homosexuality as a sin, references to the Bible are frequent, as illustrated in extract 1.

1. La **homosexualidad** no solamente fue expuesta sino castigada en el Antiguo Testamento: "No te acostarás con varón como con mujer; es abominación" (Levítico 18:22). "Si alguien se acuesta con otro hombre como se hace con una mujer, abominación hicieron; ambos han de ser muertos: sobre ellos caerá su sangre" (Levítico 20:13).

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: In the Old Testament, **Homosexuality** was not only exposed, but also punished: "Thou shalt not lie with mankind, as with womankind: it is abomination." (Leviticus 18:22). "If a man also lie with mankind, as he lieth with a woman, both of them have committed an abomination: they shall surely be put to death; their blood shall be upon them." (Leviticus 20:13)

ECC – Iglesias_Evangélicas_39.txt

The article where extract 1 appears discusses ways in which gay people are allegedly modifying the Bible and reinterpreting extracts that refer to homosexuality. As such, the article contains quotes that intend to illustrate that the Bible is against same-sex desire. These references are scientific theoretical rationalisation legitimisation strategies, as they are grounded on a systematic body of knowledge that legitimises institutional practices (van Leeuwen 2008: 116). The Biblical quote in 1, mentions death as a punishment once proposed for gay people. As explained in 2.5.2, Evangelicalism has a literal interpretation of the scriptures, thus negative characterisations of homosexuality are often accepted by Evangelical people without question. However, Chilean Evangelicals do not punish homosexuality with death, a contradiction that is not addressed in the article where 1 appears. Considering this, the reference to death as a punishment helps to represent the churches as merciful, since this is not promoted nowadays, even when the Bible suggests it.

In 1, homosexuality is nominated and personalised with the past participle verb *castigada* (*punished*), a predication strategy. This allows the churches to avoid referring to gay people as those receiving the punishment, negatively evaluating

homosexuality rather than gay people, thus backgrounding their rejection of human beings. This type of strategy can be regarded as a way to mitigate the churches' rejection of gay people, although they are often negatively evaluated in much more direct ways in this corpus. Additionally, this type of personalisation strategy suggests representations of homosexuality can also be understood as representations of gay people. Furthermore, the noun *abominación* (*abomination*) characterises homosexuality as unnatural, a representation discussed in more detail in section 5.4.1. Among the concordances analysed it was possible to identify references to salvation, freedom, and redemption, which constitute metaphorical ways of referring to sin, thus portraying homosexuality as immoral. These references are illustrated in extract 2.

2. El **homosexual** y la **lesbiana** pueden experimentar el perdón de Dios. Pueden también cambiar sus vidas SI REALMENTE LO DESEAN. Escribiendo a los cristianos de la ciudad de Corinto, el apóstol Pablo indica que algunos de los creyentes se habían envuelto en la **homosexualidad**. Pero habían sido librados de ella. Después de mencionar algunos de los pecados de esa iglesia, incluida la **homosexualidad**, sigue diciendo: “Y esto eran algunos, mas ya han sido lavados, ya han sido santificados, ya han sido justificados en el nombre del Señor Jesús, y por el Espíritu de nuestro Dios” (1º Corintios 6:2). Notemos cuidadosamente que en la lista de pecadores de los versículos 9 y 1 el apóstol incluye a los **homosexuales** y a los afeminados, pero en el versículo 2 dice claramente “esto eran algunos de Ustedes”. Evidentemente, cuando Pablo escribió esta carta a los Corintios, estas personas ya no eran **homosexuales**. HABÍAN SIDO LIBRADOS.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: The **homosexual** and the **lesbian** can experience God's forgiveness. They can also change their lives IF THEY REALLY WANT TO. Writing to the Christians in the city of Corinth, Paul the apostle indicates that some of the believers had been involved in **homosexuality**. But had been freed from it. After mentioning some of the sins of that church, including **homosexuality**, he goes on to say: “And some of you used to be like this. But you were washed, you were sanctified, you were justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and by the Spirit of our God.” (I Cor. 6:2⁵⁵). Let us carefully note that in the list of sinners in verses 9 and 1, the apostle includes **homosexuals** and effeminate men, but in verse 2 he clearly says that “some of you used to be like this”. Evidently, when Paul wrote this letter to the Corinthians, these people were no longer **homosexual**. THEY HAD BEEN FREED.

ECC – Iglesias_Evangélicas_56.txt

⁵⁵ This reference is wrong. It should read *I Cor 6:11*.

In 2, the adjective *librados* (*freed*) conveys the metaphoric sense that homosexuality is an entity that keeps people trapped. Additionally, the adjective *lavados* (*washed*) metaphorically portrays ‘formerly gay’ people as being once dirty, that is sinful, as the ‘washing away your sins’ metaphor of Christianity entails. Furthermore, the extract suggests that gay people can chose to stop being gay, a meaning that is emphasised with the use of capital letters. This represents homosexuality as impermanent (discussed in more detail in section 5.4.2). Additionally, the extract portrays God as merciful and gay people as the recipients of his forgiveness, which negatively portrays them as having failed God. Finally, the quote attributed to Paul the apostle acts as a personal authority legitimation.

5.3.1.2. Gay people are promiscuous

In the ECC, 23 concordances represent gay people as promiscuous. This is the third most frequent representation identified in the analysis of the corpus. All but one of the lines that make up this representation appear in the same text or website article, called *Homosexualidad un mito con una triste realidad* (*Homosexuality, a myth with a sad reality*). The concordances in this text include several legitimation strategies, such as footnote reference numbers, names of international specialists, their quotes, names of European and American institutions, and statistical references. Some of these legitimation strategies are illustrated in extract 3, which alludes to promiscuity by referring to monogamy. This is characterised as impossible within same-sex relationships with the predicative noun *mito* (*myth*).

3. Si la **homosexualidad** quiere ser aceptada como normal, necesita parecerse con la heterosexualidad. Por esta razón, el Movimiento **Homosexual** crea el mito de la “monogamia” **homosexual** [1] en el cual las “parejas” estables guardan una “fidelidad” semejante a la del verdadero matrimonio. Sin embargo, una relación basada en un sentimiento y una tendencia desviados no puede crear las condiciones para la fidelidad que se encuentran en el verdadero matrimonio monogámico. Las pocas parejas **homosexuales** que mantienen vínculos estables son excepcionales.

Además, la estabilidad en el mundo *homosexual* no significa fidelidad. En realidad, el mito de la “monogamia” va en sentido contrario a la experiencia *homosexual*. En un estudio de jóvenes *homosexuales* holandeses, la Dra. Maria Xiridou, del Servicio Municipal de Salud de Amsterdam indicó que las relaciones duran una media de entre 1 y 1½ años. Ella también informó que cada *homosexual* tiene al mismo tiempo como promedio otras ocho parejas por año.[2] La activista *lesbiana* Brenda Schumacher afirma que “no todas las *lesbianas* están interesadas en la monogamia o en la monogamia sucesiva.” [3]

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: If *homosexuality* wants to be accepted as normal, it needs to be similar to heterosexuality. Due to this, the *Homosexual* Movement creates the myth of *homosexual* “monogamy” [1] where stable “couples” keep a “fidelity” that resembles that of true marriage. However, a relationship based on a deviant feeling and tendency cannot create the conditions for fidelity that are found in the true monogamous marriage. The few *homosexual* couples that keep stable bonds are exceptional. Also, stability in the *homosexual* world doesn’t stand for fidelity. In reality, the “monogamy” myth goes against the *homosexual* experience. In a study of Dutch *homosexual* teenagers, Dr Maria Xiridou, from the Amsterdam Municipal Health Service stated that relationships last in average between 1 and 1½ years. She also stated that each *homosexual* has at the same time an average of eight different partners per year.[2] *Lesbian* activist Brenda Schumacher affirms that “not all *lesbians* are interested in monogamy or serial monogamy.”[3]

ECC – Iglesias_Evangélicas_29.txt

At the start of 3, homosexuality is nominated and then personalised by means of the verbs *quiere* (*wants*) and *necesita* (*needs*). This allows the churches to negatively characterise homosexuality without directly referring to gay people. However, gay people are often mentioned in more direct ways in the Evangelical corpus. For instance, the phrase *el Movimiento Homosexual* (*the Homosexual Movement*) nominates activists who are portrayed as speaking (incorrectly) for all gay people. Also, stability in gay relationships is portrayed as a political strategy that aims to achieve equality with heterosexual couples, thus characterising gay couples as incapable of being monogamous and monogamy as only possible in heterosexual relationships. In spite of this, the existence of a few stable gay couples is acknowledged in the extract, which contradicts the previous claim. However, that contradiction is not recognised anywhere in the article where the extract appears. On the contrary, this stability is characterised as rare and different from fidelity - although

how it is different is not explained. This meaning is conveyed in adjectives *pocas* (few) and *excepcionales* (exceptional). Additionally, the use of scare quotes around the nouns *monogamia* (monogamy), *parejas* (couples) and *fidelidad* (fidelity) intends to challenge the meaning of these words, suggesting they do not refer to what they state. In this way, they also convey the meaning of dishonesty and falseness that the extract intends to communicate in relation to same-sex relationships. Finally, a study is mentioned, acting as a scientific theoretical rationalisation legitimisation, while a professional anthroponym and the name of an institution act as expert authority legitimations. Since the professional and institution mentioned belong to health sciences, these references contribute to a medicalisation discourse of homosexuality. Additionally, both the study and institution are European. In a postcolonial context such as the Chilean one, what happens in Europe is usually regarded as an example of progress and civilisation. As Tur Donatti and Taboada (2011) assert, in Latin America there is a Eurocentric perspective which consists of an almost exclusive focus on the European context and the acceptance of Europe as a standard that is favoured to an exaggerated degree. Bearing this in mind, references to Europe in the corpora act as legitimisation strategies that resemble the function of an expert authority legitimisation. Finally, the extract includes an in-group quote where some gay women are represented as promiscuous. Since this information is provided by a gay person, the quote functions as a personal authority legitimisation strategy, which validates this representation of gay people.

Other concordances referring to promiscuity in the corpus portray gay people as lacking control regarding their sexual drive, as illustrated in extract 4.

4. Kirk y Madsen dan una cierta visión de cómo las palabras de San Pablo se aplican al mundo *homosexual*: “El bar *homosexual* es la arena de competencia sexual que saca a la luz todo lo que es más repugnante en la naturaleza humana. Allí, despojados de la apariencia de sabiduría y euforia, los *homosexuales* se revelan

como obstinados y egoístas predadores sexuales... y representan papeles de desdén y crueldad que hacen que el Conde de Sade parezca una enfermera de la Cruz Roja.” [7]

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: Kirk and Madsen give a certain vision of how the words of Saint Peter apply to the *homosexual* world: “The *homosexual* bar is the arena of sexual competence that brings out to light everything that is most disgusting of the human nature. There, stripped from the appearance of wisdom and euphoria, *homosexuals* reveal themselves as stubborn and selfish sexual predators... and play characters of contempt and cruelty that make Count de Sade seem a Red Cross nurse.”[7]

ECC – Iglesias_Evangélicas_29.txt

As in 3, in extract 4 the nomination *al mundo homosexual (the homosexual world)* acts as a spatial metaphor, an othering strategy that separates gay from heterosexual people. The implication is that gay people live in their own world, while implying that gay people are all similar (i.e. they live in the same world). Baker et al. (2013) noted that a similar term *Muslim world* is often used negatively in the British press to indicate that it is in conflict with ‘the West’, while Carpenter and Cagapday (2009) refer to *Muslim world* as assigning adherents of Islam into a figurative ghetto. In this way, by separating *the gay* from *the heterosexual world*, the implication is that gay people are in conflict with heterosexual people, who are characterised, by contrast, as the acceptable norm. This meaning is indirectly conveyed when gay people are negatively evaluated with predication strategies such as the adjectives used in 4, which characterise them as stubborn and selfish. Similarly, the metaphoric expression *predadores sexuales (sexual predators)* nominates and characterises gay people as a sexual menace. Additionally, the clause *representan papeles de desdén y crueldad (play characters of contempt and cruelty)* characterises gay people as cruel and disdainful, setting the basis for a comparison between gay people and the Count de Sade, thus portraying them as hypersexualised and sadistic. Within Christianity, promiscuity is not accepted, since sex is only permitted with an exclusive partner

within marriage. This makes the comparison (in which gay people are ‘worse’ than those they are being compared to) an effective means of negatively evaluating gay people for the target audience of the extract. In terms of legitimation, the names of two people accompanied by a footnote number are included, which suggests their names are intended as a form of expert authority legitimation, although no professional titles are provided in the extract.

5.3.2. Gay people are powerful

The second most recurrent overarching representation of gay people in the ECC portrays them as powerful. This meaning is conveyed in 39 concordances distributed across three representations, which portray gay people in ways that suggest they are in control. These concordances make up 9.3% of the lines scrutinised. The following three sections present these findings.

5.3.2.1. Gay people are modifying religion

In the ECC, 22 concordances, which occur in three different website articles, represent gay people as modifying religion, which is the fourth most recurrent representation identified in the analysis of this corpus. Almost half of these lines refer to gay people as reinterpreting the Bible to make homosexuality acceptable. This is illustrated in extract 5.

5. Generalmente los *homosexuales* y *lesbianas* tuercen y alteran todos, pero absolutamente todos los pasajes bíblicos que hablan en contra de la perversión sexual. (*Homosexualismo–Lesbianismo*). Ellos se basan en el amor de David por Jonatan para respaldar la *homosexualidad*. Pero los textos indican que hubo un amor de una gran amistad y no lo que quieren dar a entender los *homosexuales*.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: Generally, *homosexuals* and *lesbians* twist and alter all, but absolutely all the passages of the Bible that talk against the sexual perversion. (*Homosexualism-Lesbianism*). They back up *homosexuality* based on David’s love for Jonathan. But the texts indicate that it was the love of a great friendship and not what the *homosexuals* want to insinuate.

ECC – Iglesias_Evangélicas_39.txt

In 5, gay people are presented as frequently and untruthfully reinterpreting the Bible with the verbs *tuercen* (*twist*) and *alteran* (*alter*). This is exemplified with a reference to the biblical figures of David and Jonathan, although it is not explained how gay people allegedly do this. In the extract, the nomination *perversión sexual* (*sexual perversion*) represents homosexuality as a deviation. Also, the nomination *homosexualismo* (*homosexualism*), a synonym of *homosexuality* according to the RAE⁵⁶ dictionary, stands out. As it is demonstrated after examining the word in the *Corpus de Español Actual* (henceforth CEA), where it occurs 15 times versus 2,289 occurrences of *homosexualidad*, *homosexualismo* is not a common way to refer to homosexuality. Although an exploration of the lines where this word occurs did not reveal any distinguishing patterns that could suggest a specific prosody of the term when compared to its synonym, according to the RAE dictionary⁵⁷, the *-ismo* (*-ism*) suffix is added to nouns to convey the meaning of a doctrine. This would portray homosexuality as an ideology and, as such, something that can be taught or formed as an opinion, thus being changeable or transient, as it could be ‘unlearned’ or rejected. However, there is not enough evidence in the corpora to determine if this is the case when *homosexualismo* is used. Also, according to the RAE dictionary, the *-ismo* suffix can convey the meaning of an attitude, tendency or quality, which would again help to portray homosexuality as impermanent. Nonetheless, in Spanish, this suffix shares the meaning of ‘attitude’ conveyed by the suffix *-idad* (*-ity*)⁵⁸ in nouns such as *homosexualidad* (*homosexuality*) or even *heterosexualidad* (*heterosexuality*).

⁵⁶ RAE stands for *Real Academia de la Lengua Española* (*Royal Spanish Academy*), which is the official institution in charge of the standardisation of the Spanish language worldwide. Its dictionary is used as a reliable source for language prescriptivism in the Spanish speaking world, and it can be found at <http://dle.rae.es/?w=diccionario>

⁵⁷ See the definition of *-ismo* at <https://dle.rae.es/?id=MBKXJUu>

⁵⁸ See the definition of *-dad* at <https://dle.rae.es/?id=BotFPGe>

Considering this, and the fact that when talking about female homosexuality the only word available has the *-ismo* ending, namely *lesbianismo* (*lesbianism*), it is difficult to assess whether there is a negative implication when the *-ismo* suffix is used in *homosexualismo* or if it is only meant as an alternative to *-idad* (*-ity*). In the British parliamentary debates on gay equality, Love and Baker (2015: 72) found that the term *homosexualism* was used 5 times (as opposed to 116 mentions of *homosexuality*) by people who were against equalising age of sexual consent, in extracts where homosexuality was portrayed as an illness. This provides evidence that the English version of *homosexualismo* is used as an occasional way of negatively referring to gay people. However, the same use of the word was not identified in the Evangelical Churches Corpus and, as I have explained, it is not possible to suggest that there is a negative connotation associated to the use of this form in the Spanish language. Other changes in religion mentioned in the ECC present gay people as effectively modifying the Bible. This representation is illustrated in extract 6, particularly in its last sentence.

6. Los **homosexuales** han salido de sus armarios y están llegando a ser un poder político. Además, han invadido muchas instituciones religiosas, diciendo que no hay Escritura que diga que la **homosexualidad** es un pecado. Así, los **homosexuales** y muchos religiosos son ciegos a la historia Bíblica e instrucción Bíblica. La **homosexualidad** no es nueva, pero su aceptación por los heterosexuales como otro estilo de vida es nueva. Ellos están formando en diferentes países sus propias congregaciones cristianas. Sus discursos en los púlpitos son <Dios es amor>, <Dios nos ama> y <Dios no discrimina>. Lo peor de todo es que han salido nuevas versiones de la Biblia en que los versículos más difíciles para los **homosexuales** han sido alterados para que ellos no se sientan incómodos y evitar lo que ellos llaman la interpretación homofóbica del texto bíblico. (Versiones <Queen James> y la <NVI>).

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: The **homosexuals** have come out of their closets and are starting to become a political power. Also, they have invaded many religious institutions, claiming that no Scripture says **homosexuality** is a sin. In this way, **homosexuals** and many church leaders are blind to the Biblical history and its teachings. **Homosexuality** is not new, but its acceptance by heterosexuals as another lifestyle is new. They are forming their own Christian congregations in different countries. Their speeches on their pulpits are <God is love>, <God loves us> and <God does not discriminate>. The worst of all is that new versions of the

Bible have come out, where the most difficult verses for *homosexuals* have been altered so they do not feel uncomfortable and to avoid what they call the homophobic interpretation of the Biblical texts. (Versions <Queen James> [sic] and the <NIV>).

ECC – Iglesias_Evangélicas_39.txt

In 6, the author describes how new versions of the Bible are being created to allegedly please gay people. The superlative expression *lo peor de todo* (*the worst of all*), which anaphorically portrays what precedes it as less negative than the changes to the Bible, suggests this is a cause of concern for the churches. Among the negative events described in 6 are gay people being fearless and becoming visible, a meaning that is conveyed with the gay slang metaphoric expression *han salido de sus armarios* (*have come out of their closets*). This could be interpreted as an ironical, perhaps mocking appropriation of the term, or could simply reflect the extent to which it has become widely used. Additionally, gay people are nominated as a political power, while the verb *invadido* (*invaded*) metaphorically portrays fearlessness as an occupation by force. The invasion described in the extract pertains to religion, as the metaphorically occupied sites are identified as several religious institutions. Additionally, the adjective *ciegos* (*blind*) metaphorically characterises the people who accept homosexuality in these institutions. The references to invasions and blindness negatively portray the acceptance of homosexuality in religious settings as an imposition and indifference towards biblical teachings. Moreover, homosexuality is portrayed as something that has existed for a long undetermined time, while its acceptance is characterised as new, thus implying it may be an impermanent trend. This meaning is also conveyed when homosexuality is nominated as *estilo de vida* (*lifestyle*). Additionally, the creation of gay Christian congregations is mentioned, exemplifying another way in which gay people can be regarded as changing religion. Considering the ways in which homosexuality and the acceptance of gay people are

portrayed in the extract, these new congregations can be regarded as a menace to the Evangelical churches, since they threaten the status quo and disregard their core beliefs.

5.3.2.2. Gay people are a powerful minority

In the ECC, 9 concordances, which occur in nine different website articles, portray gay people as a powerful minority. One of the ways in which power is alluded to is by imposing homosexuality to others, as illustrated in extract 7.

7. No es comprensible que el 1% de la población de Chile que se representa en los grupos *homosexuales*, definan según sus dichos y aberrantes prácticas lo que es bueno o malo para nuestros hijos, nietos o para el propio país. Lo bueno, lo moral, lo justo no depende de la sobre ideologización, de la moda ni de un grupo en particular, cualquiera que éste fuera y cuando esto sucede, pues estamos frente a un totalitarismo que todos, unánimemente rechazamos.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: It does not make sense that the 1% of the population of Chile that is represented by *homosexual* groups define, based on their declarations and aberrant practices, what is good or bad for our children, grandchildren or the country. What is good, moral, fair, does not depend on the over-ideologisation, a trend, or a particular group, whichever this is or whenever this happens, since we are in front of a totalitarianism that all of us unanimously reject.

ECC – Iglesias_Evangélicas_4.txt

In 7, the meaning of imposition is conveyed with the noun *totalitarismo* (*totalitarianism*). This implies there is an underlying ideology in LGBTQ⁺ matters, thus portraying homosexuality as a doctrine, having more to do with beliefs than human instinct. Additionally, this represents homosexuality as impermanent, a meaning also conveyed when gay people are associated with ideologies and trends by means of coordination. The representation of homosexuality as impermanent is recurrent in the ECC, and I refer to it in more detail in section 5.4.2. Children are presented as the main recipients of the alleged imposition of homosexuality in the extract. By mentioning children, the churches evoke feelings of concern and outrage, since they are portrayed as innocent and vulnerable and gay people as evil and taking

advantage of a defenceless group of individuals. In a study on British media debates around the introduction of the same-sex marriage law, van der Bom et al. (2015) identified similar representations that portray same-sex marriage as a threat to children. They classify this kind of representation as a type of implicit homophobia which characterises homosexuality and gay people, by extension, as endangering children. In their data, this meaning was conveyed through references to heterosexual child-rearing as the safe, stable and rightful way to raise a child, which implicitly suggests gay people cannot accomplish the same (representations of children in the ECC are discussed in more detail in section 5.3.3).

Regarding the minority aspect of the representation, Chilean gay people are represented as such with the phrase *1% de la población (1% of the population)* in extract 7. This percentage acts as a scientific theoretical rationalisation legitimisation strategy, even when the source of this reference is not provided in the article. Finally, the adjective *aberrantes (aberrant)* and the noun *prácticas (practices)* introduce the meaning of normality, representing homosexuality as abnormal and a behaviour (representations of normality are discussed in more detail in 5.4.1).

It could be argued that a representation that portrays gay people as powerful but also a minority is contradictory. However, these opposing representations could be intended to have a persuasive function. By referring to gay people as a minority, they are invalidated, presented as not important, while the suggestion that they have power regardless of their supposed irrelevance suggests there is something to be suspicious and fearful of – their power is undemocratic because it does not represent the majority. In this way, the implication may be that the changes gay people intend to implement are irrelevant, but still something to be concerned about, since they are ‘getting away with them’. A similar representation concerning power was identified in

a study on British newspaper articles about the introduction of the same-sex marriage law, where Turner et al. (2018) found that same-sex marriage was represented as enforced on people and, as such, being undemocratic and threatening.

Some lines in the ECC also suggest that there is a majority that is being overlooked due to the ‘special treatment’ gay people allegedly receive. This conveys the meaning of injustice and ‘reverse discrimination’ towards the presumably heterosexual majority, as illustrated in extract 8.

8. Por otro lado, nos percatamos que solapadamente el gobierno y sus “reformas” a la educación, busca al igual que en gobiernos de países vecinos, tener el control de la educación de modo de imponer arbitrariamente este tipo de elementos “educativos” que sólo benefician a una minoría y que de acuerdo a los últimos censos es casi imperceptible. No estamos en contra de la diversidad, ni menos en contra de los *homosexuales*, pero creemos que se está abusando de la libertad y el amparo que el gobierno les ha dado, utilizando erróneamente y para su propio beneficio conceptos como discriminación, “palabra mágica” a la que le temen muchos políticos, pero que en este caso, se está aplicando a una gran mayoría que está siendo discriminada al imponer literatura que no está de acuerdo a los valores de la familia que más del 98% de la población representa.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: On the other side, we realise that the government and its educational “reforms” slyly seeks, just like the governments of neighbouring countries, to have the control of education with the purpose of arbitrarily imposing this kind of “educational” elements that only benefit a minority which according to the last census is almost unnoticeable. We are not against diversity, much less against *homosexuals*, but we believe that the freedom and protection that the government has given them are being taken advantage of, mistakenly using, and for their own benefit, concepts such as discrimination, “magic word” that many politicians fear, but which, in this case, is being applied to a majority that is being discriminated through the imposition of literature that does not agree with the family values that more than 98% of the population represents.

ECC – Iglesias_Evangélicas_23.txt

In 8, the government is described as deceitfully supporting gay people, which is an indirect manifestation of gay people’s power. Here, the government is an ally and gay people are portrayed as taking advantage of this. Additionally, politicians are represented as scared of being accused of discrimination thus allowing for this favouring of gay people over others. This represents gay people as untouchable. In the

extract, gay people are allegedly favoured through education, which alludes to children and teenagers, portraying them as the main recipients of their influence. Regarding the minority aspect, here it is attributed to results from a census for which a reference is not provided. The percentage included, a scientific theoretical rationalisation legitimisation, characterises the minority as about 2% of the Chilean population, which is inconsistent with numbers provided previously. A final point of analysis involves the use of the phrase *No estamos en contra de la diversidad, ni menos en contra de los homosexuales* (*We are not against diversity, much less against homosexuals*) which is then followed by the concessive *pero* (*but*). This phrase mitigates a subsequent statement that can be interpreted as being against gay people. Strategies that attempt to diminish the appearance of homophobia are common in exclusionary discourse (see Condor et al. 2010), but they are rare in this corpus.

5.3.2.3. Gay people are being legally recognised

In the ECC, 8 concordances, which occur in four different website articles, represent gay people as being legally recognised. Here, there are references to the legal recognition as occurring in a progressive manner, as illustrated in extract 9.

9. Bachelet apoya matrimonio **gay**. La candidata presidencial de la Nueva Mayoría, Michelle Bachelet, dijo esta noche estar a favor del matrimonio entre personas del **mismo sexo**. Sin embargo, la ex mandataria no quiso adelantar si estaría de acuerdo con que los **homosexuales** puedan adoptar. “Yo iría pasito a pasito”, enfatizó en el programa “El Informante”, de TVN.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: Bachelet supports **gay** marriage. The New Majority presidential candidate, Michelle Bachelet, said tonight to be in favour of marriage between people of the **same sex**. However, the ex-president did not want to say whether she would agree with **homosexuals** being able to adopt. “I would move one little step at a time” she emphasised in the TVN show “El Informante”.

ECC – Iglesias_Evangélicas_33.txt

In 9, the possibility of the passing of a same-sex marriage law is acknowledged, while the possibility of adopting is presented as uncertain but possible with the metaphorical

expression *pasito a pasito* (*one little step at a time*). References to candidates are included in the extract to influence the votes of readers by presenting these events as a threat to the ‘values’ of the churches. This shows Evangelicals are concerned about political matters, and portrays them as the victims, by implication, in the same way identified by Turner et al.’s (2018) analysis of British newspaper articles.

A threatening characterisation of gay people is also identified when their legal recognition is portrayed as a consequence of their active involvement in politics, as illustrated in extract 10.

10. La **homosexualidad** es uno de los mayores componentes de la revolución moral. Los hombres y mujeres que se permiten prácticas **homosexuales** dan la cara al público, sin vergüenza, hoy en día. - Se manifiestan abiertamente y exigen que su estilo de vida sea reconocido como una alternativa válida a la relación heterosexual. Están haciendo presión en la cámara, senado y tribunales para que se les conceda el derecho de no ser discriminados, luego casarse legítimamente, luego adoptar niños, etc. y... están ganado terreno. Sí, el número **homosexuales** declarados está aumentando y su presencia se hace sentir.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: **Homosexuality** is one of the major components of the moral revolution. The men and women who allow themselves **homosexual** practices show their face to the public without shame, nowadays. They openly express themselves and demand that their lifestyle is recognised as a valid alternative to the heterosexual relationship. They are putting pressure on the congress and courts of law so as to be given the right of no discrimination, then to legally get married, and then to adopt children, etc. and... they are gaining ground. Yes, the number of declared **homosexuals** is increasing and their presence is being felt.

ECC – Iglesias_Evangélicas_56.txt

In 10, homosexuality is portrayed as an essential part of a so-called ‘moral revolution’, where openly gay people are characterised as playing a pivotal role. In the extract, gay people are represented as unafraid (or openly gay), increasing in numbers, and as a political power. This meaning is conveyed with references to manifestations, demands and pressure put on congress and courts of law to influence the passing of laws. These representations aim to create a sense of fear regarding the future, being a useful means for validating the churches’ opposition to LGBTQ+ rights. The clause

que se permiten prácticas homosexuales (that allow themselves homosexual practices) conveys the meaning that homosexuality is an indulgence, portraying it as similar to a privilege. Also, the adjective *declarados (declared)* portrays the acknowledgement of one's sexual identity as an official and public act, representing it as a solemn and serious event. In extract 10, the present and present progressive tenses⁵⁹ situate the events as habitual and extending towards the future, which contributes to the sense of fear about what is coming. Furthermore, homosexuality is represented as a practice and a lifestyle, hence a behaviour and a choice, which suggests it is impermanent (I discuss this representation in 5.4.2.1). Finally, the progression in which gay people's demands are expected to take place is provided, where the end of discrimination will trigger the full equation of gay rights (i.e. equal marriage and adoption). This explains the churches' opposition to the passing of the anti-discrimination law discussed in section 2.6.

5.3.3. Gay people are dangerous to children

The third most frequent overarching representation of gay people in the ECC portrays them as dangerous. This meaning is conveyed in 34 concordances distributed across two representations that characterise gay people as exerting a non-sexual influence on children, and as paedophiles. These concordances make up 8.1% of the lines scrutinised. The following two sections present these findings.

5.3.3.1. Gay people are an influence on children

In the ECC, 17 concordances, distributed across seven articles, represent gay people as influencing children. This influence consists of children becoming gay through

⁵⁹ Note that in the English translations I used the same tenses that appear in the Spanish original, as Present Simple and Continuous tenses have the same function in both languages.

non-sexual contact with gay adults. Among these concordances, there are references to adoption, as illustrated in extract 11.

11. Personas *homosexuales* y *lesbianas* han manifestado su deseo de adoptar niños(as). Como las personas tienden a ser moldeadas por su entorno, el ambiente *homosexual* o *lesbiano* se vuelve peligroso para los(as) niños(as) que se críen en él. Ya que, por una cuestión de adaptación socio-cultural, los(as) niños(as) criados(as) allí, corren el riesgo de asimilar las conductas y prácticas antinaturales. Un(a) niño(a) sano(a) puede fácilmente convertirse en *homosexual* o *lesbiana*. No olvidemos que “estando en la miel, todo se pega”. La asimilación de conductas dañinas para sí mismos y los demás, la vemos, por ejemplo, en familias donde existe la drogadicción y/o la delincuencia.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: *Homosexual* and *lesbian* people have expressed their desire to adopt children. Since people tend to be shaped by their surroundings, the *homosexual* or *lesbian* environment becomes dangerous for the children that are brought up in it. Since, due to socio-cultural adaptation, children raised there run the risk of assimilating unnatural practices and behaviour. A healthy child can easily become a *homosexual* or *lesbian*. Let's not forget that “in honey everything sticks”. The assimilation of behaviour that is harmful to themselves and others can be seen, for example, in families where drug addiction and/or crime exist.

ECC – Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal de Chile_6.txt

In 11, gay people of both genders are represented as wanting to become parents by adopting children. The clause *moldeadas por su entorno* (*shaped by their surroundings*) portrays children as endangered, a meaning also conveyed with various characterisations. These represent them as essentially healthy - where health alludes to heterosexuality - but at risk of potentially becoming gay, thus unhealthy, when surrounded by gay people. This is a medicalisation discourse of homosexuality, a historical discourse which portrays homosexuality as a disease and gay people as ill. As a result, this represents homosexuality and gay people as contagious, thus being dangerous, while also suggesting homosexuality is curable and, as such, impermanent. Additionally, adaptation and assimilation are mentioned in 11, characterising the alleged influence of homosexuality as involuntary, thus backgrounding gay people's agency. The implication is that homosexuality can be acquired, as by imitation, which also suggests it is impermanent (see section 5.4.2). This contradicts (or complements)

representations of homosexuality as a consequence of sexual abuse, which I discuss in more detail in section 5.3.4.2.

The adjective *peligroso* (*dangerous*), the phrase *corren el riesgo* (*run the risk*) and the adverb *facilmente* (*easily*) represent the ‘gay environment’ as dangerous, children as endangered, and ‘becoming gay’ as straightforward. Additionally, by mentioning unnatural practices and behaviour as features of the so-called ‘gay environment’, homosexuality is identified as an abnormal and impermanent practice rather than an aspect of a person’s identity (representations discussed in 5.4.1 and 5.4.2). Finally, the article includes an adage which mentions honey to convey the meaning that homosexuality is contagious, where the stickiness quality of this substance suggests it is undesirable and unpleasant. Since adages aim to communicate alleged truths that are based on experience, the inclusion of this aphorism acts as an experiential theoretical rationalisation legitimisation. Another legitimisation strategy is the use of an example that ascribes negative values to the influence of gay parents on their children by comparison. This is a negative comparison moral evaluation legitimisation strategy, where growing up in a gay family is equated to growing up in one where there is drug addiction and crime, references which add to a representation of homosexuality as transitory (discussed in section 5.4.2.1).

Other concordances in the corpus refer to homosexuality as influencing children through laws. Extract 12 show this representation.

12. Ya sabemos que ésta señora no tiene valores Cristianos, pero de ahí a fomentar y aprobar proyectos que de acuerdo a muchos profesionales psicólogos de países europeos, e incluso de comunidades *homosexuales* europeas, no beneficia ni aporta a las parejas *homosexuales*. Si analizamos el trasfondo de este tipo de iniciativas es que nuestros niños(as) sean confundidos e inducidos a una conducta antinatural, producida por problemas psicológicos de acuerdo a los expertos, y no biológicos, el objetivo es que desde niños puedan ser controlados y sus conciencias confundidas, teniendo patrones de comportamiento antinatural, que menos del 1% de personas en Chile mantienen.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: We already know that this lady does not have Christian values, but from that to promoting and approving bills that according to many professional psychologists in European countries, and even from European *homosexual* communities, don't benefit or contribute in any way to *homosexual* couples. If we analyse the undertone of these kinds of initiatives, it is that our children are confused and induced to an unnatural behaviour, caused by psychological problems according to the experts, and not biological ones. The goal is that they can be controlled since their childhood and their conscience confused, having patterns of unnatural behaviour that less than 1% of the people in Chile have.

ECC – Iglesias_Evangélicas_17.txt

As 12 illustrates, gay people's agency is expressed with references to LGBTQ+ bills, where the noun *trasfondo* (*undertone*) suggests there is a hidden objective. This objective is to endanger children by confusing, inducing, and controlling them, which is supported by characterisations of homosexuality as being provoked with the adjective *producida* (*caused*). The dangerous quality of gay people's influence is suggested with references to mental instability in the phrase *problemas psicológicos* (*psychological problems*) and characterisations of homosexuality as unnatural behaviour. These represent homosexuality as abnormal and impermanent (discussed in sections 5.4.1 and 5.4.2). Additionally, a percentage characterises homosexuality as pertaining to a minority, while a reference to the lack of Christian values in former president Michelle Bachelet, implies that being gay is not Christian.

In 12, the bills are characterised as useless and unnecessary with references to the opinions of European psychologists and gay people that portray the rejection of these laws as reasonable. Although the text does not identify these people, mentioning them has a legitimating function, where professional anthroponyms assign the specialists the role of expert authority, while the in-group reference acts as a personal authority legitimization. Additionally, as it was previously explained (see section 5.3.1.2), references to Europe act as expert authority legitimations in a post-colonial context. Similarly, the nomination *expertos* (*experts*) is also an expert authority legitimization

(despite the lack of concrete references) which legitimates the attribution of the cause of homosexuality to external factors. Finally, the percentage at the end of the extract, for which no source is provided either, legitimates the alleged irrelevance of the bills, acting as a scientific theoretical rationalisation legitimisation strategy.

5.3.3.2. Gay people are paedophiles

In the ECC, 17 concordances, which occur in eight different website articles, represent gay people as paedophiles. These portray them as having sexual intercourse with underage people, while seeking to legalise this activity. A topic frequently discussed in these concordances are national and international LGBTQ⁺ organisations. Among the national ones, Movilh and its leader (see section 2.6), Rolando Jiménez, are mentioned, as illustrated in extract 13.

13. De la simpatía, cercanía, pertenencia y/o adherencia que Jiménez y el movilh tienen o tuvieron con la organización pedófila NAMBLA (North American Man/Boy Love Association – Asociación Norte Americana de Amor entre Niños y Hombres Esta organización promueve la pedofilia, es decir, las relaciones sexuales entre adultos y menores del *mismo sexo*. NAMBLA también acepta, gratuitamente, como miembros, a pederastas que han sido encarcelados por cometer crímenes sexuales contra menores y aconseja a los lectores de su boletín sobre cómo evitar la vigilancia de la policía y de los padres de sus víctimas. En ese mismo boletín, esta organización publica regularmente fotos de niños para atraer el interés de sus lectores, así como los "testimonios" de pederastas, algunos de los cuales afirman haber tenido relaciones sexuales con niños de hasta 6 años de edad) quedó de manifiesto cuando Jiménez votó en contra de la expulsión de dicha organización pederasta de ILGA, Organización Internacional de *Homosexuales*, la que promovió su expulsión para no aparecer vinculada de modo alguno con la pedofilia.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: Of the friendliness, closeness, belonging and/or adhesion that Jimenez and movilh have or had with the paedophilic organisation NAMBLA (North American Man/Boy Love Association – This organisation promotes paedophilia, that is sexual intercourse between adults and children of the *same sex*. NAMBLA also accepts, gratuitously, as members, pederasts who have been imprisoned for committing sexual crimes against minors and advises the readers of their bulletin on how to avoid police surveillance and their victims' parents. In that same bulletin, this organisation regularly publishes pictures of children to attract the interest of its readers, as well as the "testimonies" of pederasts, some of whom affirm having had sex with children as young as 6) was evident [sic] when Jimenez voted against the expulsion of that pederast organisation from ILGA, International Organisation of *Homosexuals*, which promoted its expulsion to avoid appearing linked in any way to paedophilia.

ECC – Iglesias_Evangélicas_4.txt

In 13, the leader of Movilh, and this organisation by association, are connected to paedophilia when an alleged friendliness towards an international organisation that promotes it is mentioned. Although the coordination of two verb tenses in the predicate *tienen o tuvieron* (*have or had*) suggests there is uncertainty regarding the link between Jiménez and this organisation, called NAMBLA⁶⁰, the events described in the extract are confirmed by online evidence. The date when these events took place could not be found, but there is a blog written by one of the co-founding members of Movilh that refers to Rolando Jiménez being expelled from this organisation due to his vote in favour of NAMBLA⁶¹. The blog post also states that the current Movilh is a new organisation founded by Jiménez, who used the name of the organisation from which he had been expelled after the first Movilh had dissolved. Although lack of first-person accounts on the events make it impossible to confirm the reasons why Jiménez may have supported NAMBLA or his stance about paedophilia, Jiménez has denied a connection with this organisation⁶².

In 13, after the alleged connection between NAMBLA and the Chilean LGBTQ⁺ movement is stated, the extract mostly describes what NAMBLA is and does. This intends to present children at risk of gay people, who are allegedly paedophiles, and the Chilean movement as supporting the illegal activities the NAMBLA engages in.

⁶⁰ NAMBLA (North American Man/Boy Love Association) is an American organisation that advocates for the decriminalisation of relationships between young and underage individuals and adults. Wikipedia describes it as a ‘paedophile and pederasty advocacy organisation’, whose objective is to ‘abolish age-of-consent laws around the world, and campaigns for the release of men who have been jailed for sexual contacts with minors that did not involve coercion’

(https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/North_American_Man/Boy_Love_Association)
⁶¹ "Manzana de la Discordia" (*Apple of Discord*), published on 29th May 2009 at <http://banderahueca.blogspot.com/2009/05/manzana-de-la-discordia.html>

⁶² “Temuco: Acusan a Rolando Jiménez de integrar entidad que promueve relaciones entre niños y hombres” (*Temuco: Rolando Jimenez is accused of being a member of an entity that promotes relationships between children and men*) published on 5th April 2012 at <https://www.biobiochile.cl/noticias/2012/04/05/temuco-acusan-a-rolando-jimenez-de-integrar-entidad-que-promueve-relaciones-entre-ninos-y-hombres.shtml>

Finally, the international organisation ILGA⁶³ is portrayed as opposing NAMBLA in order to avoid being linked to paedophilia, where the use of the verb *aparecer* (*appearing*) when stating the purpose of this opposition characterises it as a strategy rather than an honest stance, thus portraying this organisation as scheming. Overall, the purpose of mentioning the leader of the gay movement in relation to paedophilia is to invalidate the whole movement, but particularly the Chilean one. This helps to present the rejection of LGBTQ+ laws as reasonable, and the advancement towards equal rights as dangerous.

Another topic mentioned in the concordances that represent gay people as paedophiles pertains to adoption, as illustrated in extract 14.

14. Porque condenar al Pastor Soto? Cuando una persona verdaderamente dice la verdad ante la opinión pública, cuando encara (no acosa) sino encara a un líder **homosexual**, que tiene evidentes registros de relacionarse con organizaciones fuera del país que promueven la adopción de niños con el fin de inducirlos a la sodomía y en muchos casos violarlos. Cuando tiene nexos con organizaciones que promueven la "libertad de decisión" de los niños menores de edad, para consentir que sean objetos sexuales o violados por adultos.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: Why should one condemn Pastor Soto? When a person truly speaks the truth to the public opinion, when he faces (does not harass) but faces a **homosexual** leader who has evident records of relating to foreigner organisations that promote the adoption of children with the purpose of inducing them to sodomy and in many cases rape them. When he has links with organisations that promote "freedom of decision" of minors, to consent that they are sexual objects or raped by adults.

ECC – Iglesias_Evangélicas_12.txt

In 14, gay people's interest in adoption is presented as a political strategy to facilitate access to children. Here, the verb *inducirlos* (*inducing them*) characterises children as being at risk of veiled manipulation, which suggests being gay takes convincing, thus being a rational decision rather than based on instinct. This coincides with previous

⁶³ ILGA (International Lesbian and Gay Association) is an international organisation which brings together LGBTI groups from around the world (source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/International_Lesbian,_Gay,_Bisexual,_Trans_and_Intersex_Association)

representations of gay people as influencing children (see section 5.3.3.1), which portrays them as dangerous and a threat to the most vulnerable. Also, this intends to create an emotional response of rejection.

In 14, international organisations, whose names are not provided, which are allegedly connected to the Chilean gay rights movement are mentioned, creating a sense of worldwide danger. These organisations are portrayed as promoting freedom of choice with the phrase *libertad de decisión* (*freedom of decision*), where the use of scare quotes suggests that they promote the opposite. This coincides with representations of homosexuality as something one is manipulated into. Moreover, by representing sexuality as a decision, the implication is that homosexuality is transient (further discussed in section 5.4.2.1). Additionally, the reference to *sodomía* (*sodomy*) implies paedophilia pertains only to gay men, being an example of gender bias that contributes to lesbian invisibility. Also, the use of this word is a very specific and negative way of referring to same-sex intercourse, which implies that sex is normally penetrative.

In 14, Jiménez is nominated as *líder homosexual* (*homosexual leader*), a *pars pro toto* synecdoche where Jimenez stands for the whole movement he represents. As in the previous extract, this aims to invalidate the demands of the whole movement.

Additionally, the reference to foreign organisations suggests there may be a nationalistic discourse present in the extract. This indicates that the churches fluctuate between instances where they look up to international entities or individuals (e.g. European/American specialists, journals, etc.), and others where they reject them. Also, by mentioning foreign organisations the implication may be that developed countries are allies to the gay movement, helping to increase the sense of fear suggested by representations of homosexuality as a threat. Finally, the extract

mentions Pastor Soto a Chilean Evangelical who is famous for his intolerance towards gay people and violent opposition to the advancement of LGBTQ+ rights. Although he has a reputation for being aggressive, having attacked the leader of Movilh⁶⁴ and a gay politician⁶⁵, here he is characterised as honest and not harassing those whom he opposes. This is an example of positive self-representation by the Evangelical churches, which contradicts accounts of Pastor Soto's behaviour reported in the media.

5.3.4. Gay people are mentally unstable

The last overarching representation of gay people in the ECC portrays them as mentally unstable. This meaning is conveyed in 32 concordances, which make up 7.6% of the lines scrutinised, distributed across three representations that refer to homosexuality and gay people conveying the meaning of emotional instability. The representation of homosexuality suggests that it originates as the consequence of childhood sexual abuse, portraying homosexuality as an altered psychological state. The representations of gay people refer to topics such as substance abuse and violence, characterising gay people as troubled and prone to psychological disorders such as depression. The following three sections present these findings.

5.3.4.1. Gay people are troubled

In the ECC, 13 concordances represent gay people as troubled. All these lines appear in the same article mentioned in 5.3.1.2, and contain references to sadness, substance

⁶⁴ "Movilh denuncia nuevo ataque del pastor Soto contra Rolando Jiménez" (*Movilh reports a new attack by Pastor Soto against Rolando Jimenez*) published on 18th January 2017 at <http://www.adnradio.cl/noticias/nacional/movilh-denuncia-nuevo-ataque-del-pastor-soto-contra-rolando-jimenez/20170118/nota/3359572.aspx>

⁶⁵ "Pastor Soto agrade a diputado Claudio Arriagada por su orientación sexual" (*Pastor Soto attacks Congressman Claudio Arriagada due to his sexual orientation*) published on 19th January 2015 at <http://www.24horas.cl/politica/pastor-soto-agrede-a-diputado-claudio-arriagada-por-su-orientacion-sexual-1560101>

abuse, and domestic violence. Regarding substance abuse, extract 15 mentions different drugs, alcohol, and tobacco, whose consumption is allegedly higher in gay people.

15. También se informa de tasas más altas de abuso de alcohol y drogas. El Dr. Schmidt proporciona hallazgos significativos: Un estudio de Boston encontró que por los años 1985-1988, 80 por ciento de 481 hombres *homosexuales* habían usado marihuana...60 por ciento cocaína, 30 por ciento anfetaminas y 20 por ciento LSD. Un estudio canadiense en 1988-1989 encontró que 76,3 por ciento de 612 hombres *homosexuales* consumían habitualmente alcohol, 32, por ciento tabaco, y 45,6 por ciento al menos una droga.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: Higher rates of alcohol and drug abuse are also reported. Dr Schmidt supplies significant findings: A study in Boston found that during years 1985-1988, 80 percent of 481 *homosexual* men had used marijuana... 60 percent cocaine, 30 percent amphetamines and 20 percent LSD. A Canadian study in 1988-1989 found that 76.3 percent of 612 *homosexual* men habitually consumed alcohol, 32 percent tobacco, and 45.6 percent at least one drug.

ECC – Iglesias_Evangélicas_29.txt

The studies mentioned in 15 focused exclusively on gay men and can be regarded as a case of gender bias or lesbian invisibility. Inspection of the article where the concordances appear reveals that it is not stated to whom these men are being compared. Notwithstanding, the results reported suggest that gay men are unstable, engage in criminal activities, and lack self-control, taking illegal drugs. In terms of legitimation, a proper name and professional anthroponym nominate a specialist, acting as an expert authority legitimation strategy, while references to studies and their results are examples of scientific theoretical rationalisation legitimations. Additionally, the origin of the studies is indicated with toponyms and geographical adjectives. These refer to North America, being examples of the developed world that act as expert authority legitimations like references to Europe do.

Regarding domestic violence, the concordances in extract 16 refer to it in lesbian and gay men relationships.

16. Quizá influenciada por el enfoque de Hollywood, Kali Munro, psicoterapeuta de *lesbianas*, escribe: “Cuando oí hablar por primera vez acerca de la violencia en las relaciones entre *lesbianas*, me pareció difícil de creer. No calzaba con mi imagen idealizada de la comunidad *lesbiana*.” [12] Numerosos autores documentan la violencia en parejas *homosexuales* y *lesbianas*. [13] Un estudio publicado en diciembre de 2002 en el American Journal of Public Health concluyó: Las tasas de víctimas de agresiones entre hombres urbanos que mantienen relaciones sexuales con hombres, son substancialmente más altas que entre hombres heterosexuales y posiblemente mujeres heterosexuales.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: Maybe influenced by the Hollywood approach, Kali Munro, psychotherapist of *lesbians*, writes: “When I first heard about the violence in *lesbian* relationships I found it hard to believe. It did not fit with my idealised image of the *lesbian* community.” [12] Numerous authors document violence in *homosexual* and *lesbian* couples. [13] A study published in December 2002 in the American Journal of Public Health concluded: the rates of victims of attacks between urban men that have relationships with men are substantially higher than those between heterosexual men and probably heterosexual women.

ECC – Iglesias_Evangélicas_29.txt

Extract 16 indicates that lesbianism is not completely overlooked in discussions about sexual identity. A search of the term *lesbian** in the article where the concordances appear results in 8 lines where the node collocates with references to gay men 3 times. This gives a total of 5 concordances where only gay women are mentioned. In 16, topics discussed include domestic violence and promiscuity, namely relationships and the private sphere. Since these domains are ascribed to women in patriarchal culture, depictions of gay women in the article are gender biased. Despite the inclusion of gay women, the journal study quoted in 16 refers exclusively to males.

In the extract, negative representations of gay couples of both genders and the lesbian community are identified. The former are characterised as violent, and the latter as glorified. The implication is that readers should not trust their own perceptions or what they think they know about gay people, particularly gay women. The representation of gay women as violent in their relationships implies that they are atypical women, going against traditional stereotypes of the ‘fairer sex’. This representation is legitimated with the inclusion of an in-group quote, which acts both as a personal and expert authority legitimation, since the credentials of the person are

provided. Apart from the reference to this specialist, other types of legitimations can be identified in the extract. These include footnotes numbers, references to studies, authors, and a journal from a developed country, which are scientific theoretical rationalisation and expert authority legitimations.

Additionally, Hollywood is portrayed as responsible for spreading the romanticised albeit deceitful image of lesbian couples, presenting the entertainment industry (i.e. the media) as an ally of gay people. It could be argued that by quoting a professional therapist the message conveyed is that not even educated individuals are immune to the effects of media ‘manipulation’. Finally, the object of the comparison in 16 are heterosexual men and women, where the use of the adverb *posiblemente* (possibly) casts doubts about the role played by women in the results mentioned.

5.3.4.2. Homosexuality is a consequence of childhood sexual abuse

In the ECC, 12 lines distributed across four website articles represent same-sex attraction as resulting from childhood experiences of sexual abuse, portraying it as a trauma and gay people as psychologically damaged. Although this representation is closely related to the representation about paedophilia (section 5.3.4.2), I categorised it under the mentally unstable overarching representation because the main focus of its concordances is on the alleged cause of homosexuality and the people who are supposedly gay because of this, rather than those committing the abuses. However, it could also be considered within the group that refers to paedophilia, since, ultimately, those accused of sexually abusing children are characterised as gay. Extract 17 illustrates this representation.

17. Necesario es decir que NADIE nace *homosexual* sino que su “preferencia sexual” se desarrolla como fruto de la ausencia de una figura paterna y/o una figura materna muy dominante y autoritaria, pero principalmente por haber sido víctimas de abusos y/o violaciones en su infancia o adolescencia (sólo como ejemplo, Juan Carlos Cruz, residente en EE.UU. es abiertamente *homosexual* y una de las

víctimas del **homosexual** sacerdote Karadima y aunque él no lo reconozca así, su **homosexualidad** pudiera ser fruto directo de haber sido corrompido por aquel cura), por lo que cabría preguntarse si el joven recién fallecido ¿no habrá sido uno más de los tantos **homosexuales** y travestis que hoy se prostituyen pero que fueron corrompidos o abusados por algún **homosexual** adulto (...)

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: It is necessary to say that NOBODY is born **homosexual** but their “sexual preference” develops as a result of the absence of a father figure and/or a very dominant and authoritarian mother figure, but mainly for having been the victim of abuses and/or rape during their childhood or teenage years (just as an example, Juan Carlos Cruz, resident of the USA, is openly **homosexual** and one of the victims of the **homosexual** priest Karadima and, although he doesn’t recognise it as such, his **homosexuality** could be the direct result of having been corrupted by that priest), so one should wonder whether the recently deceased young man wasn’t maybe another one of the many **homosexuals** and transvestites that prostitute themselves today but were corrupted or abused by a **homosexual** adult (...)

ECC – Iglesias_Evangélicas_2.txt

At the start of 17, the use of capitals in the nomination *NADIE* (*NOBODY*) strongly refutes that people are born gay, which suggests homosexuality is not inherent and is temporary (I discuss this representation in section 5.4.2.1). Then, the nomination *preferencia sexual* (*sexual preference*) characterises homosexuality as a choice conditioned by different external factors. These include family background and the commonly found stereotype that people who take on roles traditionally assigned to the opposite gender will produce gay children. This acts as a form of gender policing which implies that women should let men be (or remain) in charge. Additionally, men who abandon their families are warned about consequences this allegedly has on their children, being also policed and blamed for their children’s sexual identity. These warnings play a regulating role, promoting the traditional heteronormative patriarchal family, where the man is the head of the household. However, the adverb *principalmente* (*mainly*) indicates that homosexuality is predominantly conceived as the result of being sexually abused or assaulted at an early age. In 17, the nomination *víctimas* (*victims*) and the clauses *haber sido/fueron corrompido(s)* (*having been/were corrupted*), *fueron abusados* (*were abused*) and *se prostituyen* (*prostitute themselves*) characterise gay people as vulnerable and damaged. However, in the last three

concordances in 17, the link between sexual abuse and homosexuality is questioned, being presented as a possibility with the conditional verb forms *podiera ser* (*could be*), *cabría preguntarse* (translated as *should wonder*), or *no habrá sido* (translated as *wasn't maybe*), which mitigate the initial stance. Finally, a surname and proper name nominate a priest accused of raping children and one of his victims, identifying the last one as 'becoming gay' due to this abuse. These references to well-known cases in the Chilean context are personal authority legitimations that evoke a vivid image. Similarly, there is an allusion to a young man, which inspection of the article reveals to be Daniel Zamudio (see section 2.7). Here, however, readers are invited to consider the topic discussed and draw their own -potentially biased- conclusions about the origin of Daniel's sexual identity. Then, the extract generalises with the phrase *uno más de los tantos homosexuales* (*another one of the many homosexuals*), which moves from a specific case to the wider population, portraying gay people as having undergone childhood sexual abuse.

Within the lines that refer to sexual abuse as the cause of homosexuality, it is frequent to find references to neighbours, parents, and family members as the perpetrators of sexual abuse, thus referring to incest. These references appear in extract 18.

18. Ahora tenemos un alcalde que si vela por la mayoría y un puñado de desviados con trancas de infancia cuyo odio y vergüenza quieren enfocarlo en niños, ¿para que? Para promover la pedofilia como quiere el presidente del movilh y sus aliados? Acaso no hay quien vea que inducir a los niños a ideologías retorcidas y que son producto de traumas de infancia, violaciones, pedofilia, sean ahora legalizados. No fueron acaso los senadores y diputados elegidos para velar por la mayoría, para que nuestra sociedad y nuestros hijos NO SEAN VIOLADOS PARA CONVERTIRSE LUEGO EN **HOMOSEXUALES**, o que los pobres niños paguen las desgracias de sus padres, y queden expuestos a enfermedades de transmisión sexual, porque un puñado de retorcidos quiere vengarse de sus padres, abuelos, tíos o vecinos que los violaron? ¿Porque deben pagar los inocentes por la desgracia de los adultos? Lamentamos que los *homosexuales* hayan llegado a esta condición por los abusos de los que fueron presa en su niñez, pero PROMOVER la pedofilia diciendo que "nicolas tiene dos papas" es un grave atentado a los derechos humanos y más aun a los derechos de quienes no pueden defenderse por si solos.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: Now we have a major that does look out for the majority and a handful of deviants with childhood traumas who want to focus their hatred and shame on children, what for? To promote paedophilia like the president of the Movilh and his allies want? Isn't there anyone that sees that inducing children to twisted ideologies which are the product of childhood traumas, rape, paedophilia, are now legalised [sic]. Weren't the senators and congress members chosen to look out for the majority, so our society and our children are NOT RAPED TO THEN BECOME **HOMOSEXUALS**, or that the poor children pay for the misfortunes of their parents and end up exposed to sexually transmitted diseases, because a handful of twisted people want to take revenge on their parents, grandparents, uncles or neighbours who raped them? Why must the innocent pay for the misfortune of the adults? We are sorry **homosexuals** became this way due to the abuse they were victims of in their childhood, but to PROMOTE paedophilia saying that "Nicolas has two fathers" is a serious violation of human rights and more so of the rights of those who cannot defend themselves.

ECC – Iglesias_Evangélicas_20.txt

In 18, the writer uses hypophora, a rhetorical technique where a question is posed and answered, making the author appear as if they are conducting a dialogue with an audience. This is intended to arouse curiosity in the reader as well as making the author appear knowledgeable and confident. Here, children are mentioned and portrayed as defenceless victims who pay for other people's misfortunes, being the recipients of gay people's hatred and shame and at risk of getting STDs. This helps to create a sense of fear about their alleged danger, while portraying gay people as evil and a public health menace. This meaning is also conveyed in the clause *quieren vengarse* (*want to take revenge*). Additionally, the phrases *puñado de desviados* (*handful of deviants*) and *puñado de retorcidos* (*handful of twisted people*) portray homosexuality as a deviation and gay people as a perverse minority, their quality of victims disappearing once they are no longer children. When the churches express regret about abuses taking place and resulting in people being gay, their rejection of gay people is mitigated, since rejecting victims would not be acceptable. As this is something one would not expect from a religious organisation, the churches need to position themselves as understanding, in spite of the harshness of their assertions.

Other representations in the extract portray homosexuality as an extrinsic quality with the verb *convertirse* (*become*) (for more about this representation see section 5.4.2.1). Also, homosexuality is nominated as paedophilia and an ideology, which suggests it can be taught. In 18, the ideology is characterised as perverse and promoted by the gay movement with the support of politicians, again portraying them as allies. Lastly, capitalisation is again used strategically with an emphasising effect.

To conclude, it should be noted that the reason why sexual abuse would result in homosexuality is not explained in the articles where the extracts appear. Additionally, the representation of parents as (gay) rapists provides support for the opposition to adoption by same-sex couples. Finally, it must be borne in mind that when an origin or source is sought for homosexuality, the assumption is that it is not natural or normal (discussed in section 5.4.1), but a consequence of particular factors, which constitutes a homophobic understanding of it.

5.3.4.3. Gay people are prone to psychological disorders

In the ECC, 7 lines represent gay people as prone to psychological disorders. Overall, these disorders are portrayed as negatively influencing gay people's relationships and personality. Extract 19 refers to gay people, primarily young gay and bisexual men, as prone to depression and suicide in a higher rate than other (heterosexual) people.

19. La depresión grave, así como pensamientos e intentos suicidas son también más frecuentes entre los **homosexuales**, especialmente cuando son jóvenes, que en la población en general. Aparecen estudios, uno tras otro, con los mismos resultados en ese sentido. En su estudio de 1997 de 750 hombres entre 18 y 27 años de edad, Christopher Bagley y Pierre Tremblay informaron: Tasas significativamente más altas de ideas y acciones suicidas ya ocurridas fueron informadas por hombres de orientación **homosexual**, llegando a 62,5% los que intentaron suicidarse. Estos hallazgos, que indican que los hombres **homosexuales** y bisexuales están 13,9 veces más en riesgo de un intento serio de suicidio, son coherentes con conclusiones anteriores. [19]

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: Serious depression, as well as suicidal thoughts and suicide attempts, are also more frequent among **homosexuals**, especially when they are young, than in the general population. There are studies with these findings

appearing one after the other. In their study of 750 men between 18 and 27 years old conducted in 1997, Christopher Bagley and Pierre Tremblay reported: Significantly higher rates of suicidal ideas and actions were reported by men of *homosexual* orientation, reaching 62.5% of those who tried to commit suicide. These findings, which indicate that bisexual and *homosexual* men are 13.9 times in more danger of a serious suicidal attempt, are coherent with previous conclusions. [19]

ECC – Iglesias_Evangélicas_29.txt

In 19, references to studies, percentages, rates and footnotes are scientific theoretical rationalisation legitimations for the representation of gay men as prone to psychological problems. Similarly, proper names are expert authority legitimations that nominate what are presumably experts. When gay people are represented as prone to psychological problems in the ECC, the cause of these problems is omitted, which implies they are due to their sexual identity rather than extrinsic factors such as the homophobia experienced, particularly at a young age. This suggests that society's acceptance has no role in resolving their mental instability, but something should be done about homosexuality proper. Additionally, by blaming gay people of their alleged problems, the churches disclaim any responsibility they may have regarding the way gay people feel due to the rejection they promote and exercise.

Other individuals portrayed as psychologically unstable in the ECC are same-sex parents, as illustrated in extract 20.

20. En las familias monoparentales, suele ocurrir que los(as) niños(as) que viven en ellas, presentan problemas emocionales y sicosociales. Si esto ocurre con un(a) tutor(a) (monoparental) que representa un modelo definido de hombre (papá) o mujer (mamá), las posibilidades de daños emocionales y sociales de los(as) niños(as) criados con *homosexuales* o *lesbianas*, aumentan. Según algunos(as) autores(as), las personas *homosexuales* y *lesbianas* tienden a ser víctimas de trastornos afectivos, que se traducen en ansiedad, nerviosismo, depresión, compulsividad y problemas sicosomáticos [1].

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: In single-parent families, it tends to be the case that the children that are part of them present emotional and psychosocial problems. If this happens with a (single-parent) guardian who represents a defined model of man (father) or woman (mother), the possibilities of emotional and social damage for the children raised with *homosexuals* or *lesbians* increase. According to some authors, *homosexual* and *lesbian* people tend to be victims of affective disorders,

that translate into anxiety, nervousness, depression, compulsivity and psychosomatic problems.

ECC – Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal de Chile 6.txt

In 20, all forms of non-traditional families are negatively characterised with references to the alleged negative effects of one-parent families on children. This plays a regulating role (as identified in 5.3.4.1), where the assumption is that parents who do not comply with traditional gender roles negatively influence their children. However, the verb *aumentan* (*increase*) indicates that the effect of gay parents on children is worse. This representation of gay parents as dangerous is also instantiated when they are ascribed certain mental problems that portray them as unstable and lacking control. This is legitimated with references to *algunos(as)* (*some*) authors and a footnote, being examples of expert authority and scientific theoretical rationalisation legitimations. However, who or how many these authors are is not indicated in the extract or footnote provided.

5.4. Representations of homosexuality

Up to this point in the analysis, two representations of homosexuality have already been discussed. These portray it as a sin (section 5.3.1.1) and as a consequence of childhood sexual abuse (section 5.3.4.2). Since these representations suggested the same overarching ones as some representations of gay people identified, they were grouped together to avoid repetition when presenting the findings. However, it was also possible to identify two representations of homosexuality that did not pair with the representations of other entities. These are included in this section and represent homosexuality as abnormal and not being part of a person's identity. These representations were instantiated in 53 concordances, which make up 12.6% of the

lines scrutinised. In what follows, different findings within these representations and their implications are discussed.

5.4.1. Homosexuality is not normal

The overarching representation of homosexuality as abnormal is made up of one representation or group of 40 concordances, which make up 9.5% of the lines analysed. Here, the meaning of abnormality is conveyed when homosexuality is characterised as a deviation.

5.4.1.1. Homosexuality is a deviation

In the ECC, 40 concordances, which occur in eleven different website articles, represent homosexuality as a deviation, being the most recurrent representation in the corpus. These concordances portray homosexuality as abnormal, unnatural or aberrant. In extract 21, this abnormality corresponds to a psychological state, which relates to representations of gay people in section 5.3.4.

21. Entonces ¿podemos amar el pecado? de ninguna manera, podemos dejar que miles de niños sean violentados legalmente por leyes que 5 o 6 diputados y senadores que fueron elegidos como hombres y ahora ejercen el cargo como **homosexuales**. ¿Quién responde ante un engaño de esta magnitud? Todos votaron por un hombre, y resulto ser un **homosexual**. ¿Porque se ocultó? Porque sabe que su tendencia psicológica es una anomalía que lo ha llevado a caer en ésta condición. ¿Vergüenza? Si debería sentir vergüenza de defraudar a miles que votaron por él, y a su familia...

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: Then, can we love sin? There is no way we can let thousands of children be legally forced by laws that 5 or 6 congress men and senators that were elected as men and now work as **homosexuals** [sic]. Who stands up to such a ploy? Everyone voted for a man, and he turned out to be a **homosexual**. Why was this hidden? Because he knows his psychological tendency is an anomaly that has lead him to fall into this condition. Shame? Yes, he should feel ashamed to disappoint the thousands who voted for him, and his family...

ECC – Iglesias_Evangélicas_12.txt

In 21, hypophora (asking and answering questions) is used again. Here, homosexuality is nominated as a sin, a psychological tendency and a condition or

state. Although the Spanish noun *condición* (*condition*) is not used to nominate illnesses as in English, the phrase that precedes it, *caer en* (*to fall into*), has a negative metaphorical connotation and tends to collocate with similarly negative nouns. A search of this phrase in the CEA demonstrates this, since it occurred with nouns such as *bancarota* (*bankruptcy*), *desgracia* (*disgrace*), *depression* (*depression*), *alcoholism* (*alcoholism*), and *drogadicción* (*drug addiction*). In this way, using this phrase implies that being gay is something unfortunate, even comparable to an addiction. In the extract, nominating homosexuality as a psychological tendency characterises it as abnormal, while doing it with the noun *tendencia* (*tendency*) portrays it as impermanent, comparable to an inclination rather than a definite aspect of a person's identity (discussed in section 5.4.2). Additionally, the characterisation of homosexuality as a sin implies the churches are obliged to reject it. Also, the extract mentions children and foregrounds their representation as the main group allegedly affected by homosexuality. This meaning is conveyed when they are characterised as victims of violence, namely endangered, coinciding with findings in previous analyses. Additionally, the churches are represented as concerned about children in the clause *no podemos dejar* (*we cannot let*), which portrays them as protecting, validating their rejection of LGBTQ+ laws and homosexuality based on the allegedly much needed protection of a group of people consistently portrayed as highly vulnerable and at risk. Another representation in the extract pertains to politicians and their role in the passing of laws that benefit gay people. Here, politicians are characterised as a minority of deceiving men who portray themselves as non-gay so as to be elected. Furthermore, with the sentence *todos votaron por un hombre, y resulto ser un homosexual* (*everyone voted for a man, and he turned out to be a homosexual*), the implication is that being homosexual is incompatible with being a man. In this

way, the churches conflate notions of gender, sex and sexuality. This representation also has the homophobic and sexist connotation that gay men are not masculine. Finally, the extract hints at the origin of homosexuality, identifying it as a result of the aforementioned psychological tendency, which is also nominated as homosexuality. In this way, homosexuality is portrayed as originating from homosexuality, which constitutes a circular argument or fallacy. This reveals a lack of clarity regarding sexual identity matters.

The reason why homosexuality is considered a deviation from a norm or what is natural is mentioned in the corpus, as illustrated in extract 22.

22. Cuando un hombre y una mujer se unen en matrimonio, en general gozan de la bendición de engendrar hijos. De esta forma se asegura la continuidad de la especie humana. Si todas las personas del mundo convivieran con otras personas del *mismo sexo* (siguiendo el criterio *homosexual* o *lesbiano*), la especie humana se extinguiría. Decimos esto, en el contexto del aumento paulatino de las depravaciones sexuales. No es natural la reproducción entre humanos del *mismo sexo*. Por lo tanto, tampoco es natural el acto sexual entre humanos del *mismo sexo*. Esto nos hace ver, que la misma naturaleza nos indica que las relaciones de pareja deben ser heterosexuales.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: When a man and a woman are joined in matrimony, in general, they enjoy the blessing of conceiving children. In this way, the continuity of the human species is ensured. If all the people in the world cohabitated with other people of the *same sex* (following the *homosexual* and *lesbian* criterion), the human species would become extinct. We say this in the context of the gradual increase of sexual depravities. Reproduction between *same-sex* humans is not natural. Therefore, the sexual act between *same-sex* humans is not natural either. This allows us to see that nature itself shows us that relationships between couples must be heterosexual.

ECC – Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal de Chile 6.txt

In 22, the alleged deviant quality of homosexuality pertains to its relation to procreation. Here, having children is characterised as involving men and women, being evaluated from a religious perspective as a blessing and discussed in relation to the preservation of the human species. This creates a sense of fear around homosexuality, as it would endanger human existence. Additionally, homosexuality is

identified as being on the rise and nominated as *depravaciones sexuales* (*sexual depravities*), which characterises it as a deviation, increasing the sense of fear about it. In 22, an analogy is used to explain the alleged unnatural quality of same-sex intercourse, as it would not allow for reproduction to take place. Based on this analogy, the rejection of homosexuality rests on nature, indicated in the phrase *la misma naturaleza* (*nature itself*), which is given agency in the extract. This naturalisation acts as a moral evaluation legitimisation, which indicates that alternative ways of procreation, such as IVF or surrogacy, are not regarded as natural ways of producing offspring. This is probably based on the fact that they involve human manipulation, which implies that the only ‘natural’ way of having children is through heterosexual sex. In their study about homophobia in media debates around the introduction of the British same-sex marriage law, van de Bom et al. (2015) found that procreation was used as an argument to reject equal marriage, where the possibility of passing a same-sex marriage law was represented as threatening civilisation. This shows how similar arguments and representations are used in different contexts where LGBTQ⁺ people or laws are rejected.

It should be noted that representing human sexuality as having reproduction as its only objective overlooks the well-known fact that human beings have sexual intercourse for pleasure and not only when the conditions for reproduction are present, such as ovulation in women, for example. It is also questionable when the churches portray homosexuality as a threat to human existence, since for homosexuality to be a threat one should first assume that everyone is potentially gay. Based on frequent representations of homosexuality as a choice, the assumption the churches seem to make is that everyone would choose to be gay given the chance to decide. This does

not only represent homosexuality as choice but also heterosexuality, thus contradicting the belief that this sexual identity is determined by nature.

5.4.2. Homosexuality is not part of a person's identity

The overarching representation that portrays homosexuality as not being a part of a person's identity is made up of one representation or group of 13 concordances, which make up 3.1% of the lines analysed. Here, homosexuality is portrayed as temporary, rather than an innate and stable personality trait.

5.4.2.1. Homosexuality is transitory

In the ECC, 13 lines, which occur in two different website articles, represent homosexuality as transitory or an impermanent aspect of a person's identity. This meaning is conveyed when homosexuality is portrayed as a choice, which implies it can be changed. This is illustrated in extract 23.

23. Pablo menciona “PASIONES DESORDENADAS”, es decir conducta *homosexual*. Algunos creyentes de Colosias habían sido culpables de estas prácticas. El apóstol dice en el versículo 7: “en las cuales anduvieron en otro tiempo”. Notemos que usa el tiempo pretérito, indicando por lo tanto que ya no viven en ellas. Los que antes habían andado en ellas ya no lo hacían.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: Paul mentions “inordinate affection”, that is to say *homosexual* behaviour. Some believers of Colossians had been guilty of these practices. The apostle says in, in verse 7: “and you once walked in these things”. Note that the past tense is used, thus indicating they no longer live in them. Those who had once walked in them, no longer did it.

ECC – Iglesias_Evangélicas_56.txt

In 23, the phrase *conducta homosexual (homosexual behaviour)* nominates homosexuality and characterises it as an activity, something transitory. Additionally, a quote by Paul the apostle nominates homosexuality as *pasiones desordenadas (inordinate affection)* which refers to sexual desire and characterises it as messy and impulsive, portraying it as impermanent and as lack of control. Regarding gay people,

they are nominated as *creyentes* (*believers*), namely followers of the church, being characterised as sinners with the adjective *culpables* (*guilty*). Concerning legitimation strategies, the quote by Paul is an example of personal authority legitimation. This quote is attributed to the Bible, making it a scientific theoretical rationalisation legitimation. Additionally, one of the biblical quotes is explained in 23, metaphorically suggesting that homosexuality is a path out of which one can walk, thus also conveying the meaning of choice and impermanence. Similarly, homosexuality is represented as a lifestyle with the phrase *viven en* (*live in*), where the preposition conveys the metaphorical sense that homosexuality is similar to a dwelling, again suggesting it is not a permanent state. References to it being *curable* also represent homosexuality as impermanent, implying it is a disease. This corresponds to a medicalisation discourse of homosexuality, as illustrated in extract 24.

24. La **Homosexualidad** es curable: La exposición hasta ahora ha sido deprimente. Pero estoy contento de decir una buena noticia: Hay esperanza para el **homosexual**. El individuo entrampado en esta práctica puede ser liberado. No tiene porqué vivir de esa manera. Puede ser victorioso y libre. Y esto es algo de que estar contento. El hecho de que aborrezcamos el pecado de la **homosexualidad** no significa que tengamos que despreciar al individuo que se halla entre sus garras.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: **Homosexuality** is curable: What has been illustrated so far is depressing. But I am happy to tell a good piece of news: There is hope for the **homosexual**. The person who is trapped in this practice can be liberated. There is no reason to live this way. They can be victorious and free. And this is something to be happy about. The fact we abhor the sin of **homosexuality** does not mean we have to despise the person that is between its claws.

ECC – Iglesias_Evangélicas_56.txt

In 24, references to victory portray homosexuality as a battle and challenge, while references to freedom represent it as imprisonment and so does the verb *entrampado* (*trapped*). Also, the phrase *sus garras* (*its claws*) metaphorically identifies it as a beast holding people against their will. Additionally, the clause *no tiene porqué vivir de esa*

manera (has no reason to live this way) portray it as a lifestyle and a choice, while its nomination as a practice suggests homosexuality is something you do rather than part of who you are. The implication is that homosexuality is similar to a habit, thus being impermanent. Here, hope is mentioned when the possibility of stopping being gay is stated, which positively evaluates the impermanence of homosexuality. Finally, the inclusion of the Christian maxim 'hate the sin, not the sinner' positively self-represents the churches, portraying them as accepting. Similarly, they characterise themselves as pleased to inform people that they can choose not to be gay, which represents them as honestly caring for others.

5.5. Representations of gay marriage

In the ECC, one overarching representation of equal marriage was identified. This is instantiated in one representation or set of 13 concordances, which make up 3.1% of the lines scrutinised. In what follows, the most recurrent findings within the concordances that make up this representation are discussed.

5.5.1. Gay marriage is wrong

The overarching representation of gay marriage in the data is instantiated in a group of concordances where gay marriage is represented as wrong. This meaning is conveyed when gay marriage laws are portrayed as rejected in different places around the world.

5.5.1.1. Gay marriage laws are being rejected

In the ECC, 13 concordances, which occur in four different website articles, represent gay marriage laws as rejected. These lines mention events taking place in different European and South American countries. Extract 25 mentions Europe.

25. El objetivo de la gran coalición que lidera la canciller, Angela Merkel, es "avanzar hacia la plena equiparación de derechos, fiscales y de otra índole" de las parejas de hecho *homosexuales*, indicó el portavoz del Gobierno, Steffen Seibert. En ese

capítulo no entra, sin embargo, la posibilidad del matrimonio civil entre personas del *mismo sexo*, añadió el portavoz, que se remitió al compromiso incluido en el pacto de coalición entre conservadores y socialdemócratas de "dirimir las diferencias discriminatorias entre *homosexuales* y heterosexuales". Seibert insistió, asimismo, en que el caso de Irlanda, donde unos días atrás se aprobó en referéndum el matrimonio *homosexual*, no afectará los planes de la gran coalición alemana.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: The objective of the grand coalition led by Chancellor Angela Merkel is to "move forward towards the full equation of rights, in terms of tax and of other kinds of laws" for cohabiting *homosexual* couples, said the government's spokesperson, Steffen Seibert. In that chapter, however, the possibility of civil marriage between *same-sex* people is not included, added the spokesperson, who referred to the commitment included in the pact of the coalition between conservatives and social democrats of "settling the discriminatory differences between *homosexuals* and heterosexuals". Seibert insisted, also, that the case of Ireland, where a couple of days ago *homosexual* marriage was approved in a referendum, will not affect the plans of the grand German coalition.

ECC – Iglesias_Evangélicas_15.txt

In 25, two proper names situate the events discussed as pertaining to European politics. Europe is also nominated when a country and an adjective denoting nationality are mentioned, namely *Irlanda (Ireland)* and *alemana (German)*. As previously identified, references to Europe act as legitimation strategies of the expert authority kind. The names of politicians and a professional anthroponym indicate that the extract focuses primarily on events taking place in Germany, whose Prime Minister and spokesperson are mentioned. These two specific references and the direct quotes included in the extract act as legitimation strategies of the personal authority kind. The quotes identify equal rights for gay people as an objective of these politicians, nominated in the phrase *plena equiparación de derechos (full equation of rights)* and the nouns *planes (plans)* and *compromiso (commitment)*. These two nouns portray the goal as a moral obligation to be fulfilled in the future. Additionally, the quotes represent gay people as discriminated and recognise the need to put an end to this. However, equal marriage is excluded from the objectives set by the politicians. This meaning is conveyed in the phrase *no entra (not included)* and the distance taken

in relation to Ireland, indicated in the clause *no afectará los planes* (*will not affect the plans*). The implication of these references is that a lack of gay marriage laws is not considered discriminatory. This provides support for the churches' opposition to same-sex marriage, since it suggests it is not considered necessary. Moreover, the characterisation of marriage with the adjective *civil* (*civil*) foregrounds that it is not religious marriage what is being discussed. This aims to dismiss arguments that may question the opposition of the churches to marriage based on the fact it is not religious but civil marriage that is being discussed in congress. In this way, by portraying legitimated lay actors as rejecting civil marriage, the opposition of the church to civil marriage is legitimated as well. Similarly, the representation of Europe as divided, having places where same-sex marriage is accepted and others where it is not, allows the churches to present their own stance as valid, as it coincides with that of at least part of the individuals looked up to (i.e. Europeans). This could be identified as an authority of conformity legitimation, although the implication is not that 'everybody's doing it, and so should we', but 'some of them are doing it, so why shouldn't we?' instead.

Other concordances that refer to the rejection of gay marriage laws in the ECC portray the churches as influencing this rejection, as illustrated in extract 26.

26. Además expreso mi satisfacción pues un amplio sector del pueblo evangélico y especialmente la totalidad de la Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal que Dios me ha honrado en dirigir, entendió que esto no tiene nada que ver con ecumenismo, con el cual no estamos de acuerdo y que solo es un trabajo en conjunto con todas las entidades sociales, políticas y religiosas que estén contra el matrimonio *homosexual* y el aborto, pueden frenar legislar sobre estos temas en Chile. Creo que esta carta cumplió su objetivo, pues en todas las últimas declaraciones del gobierno ha buscado concordar con nuestras peticiones sobre el matrimonio entre un hombre y una mujer y como acción más concreta es la respuesta del Presidente en la carta adjunta.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: Additionally, I express my satisfaction since a wide sector of the Evangelical people and specially all the Methodist Pentecostal Church that God has honoured me to direct, understood that this has nothing to do with

ecumenism, something with which we do not agree, and it is only a joint effort with all the social, political and religious entities that are against *homosexual* marriage and abortion, [sic] can put a stop to legislation about these topics in Chile. I think this letter fulfilled its function, since in all the latest Government statements it has sought to agree with our requests about marriage between a man and a woman, and a more concrete action is the President's reply in the letter attached.

ECC – Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal de Chile 11.txt

Extract 26 includes a first-person account on the alleged success of a joint effort of the Evangelical churches and organisations from different domains that oppose same-sex marriage and abortion laws in Chile, thus associating both topics. The text producer self-characterises as satisfied and identifies as the leader of an Evangelical church in Chile, a role he identifies as being assigned by God. This legitimates him and his stance as a personal authority. In the extract, the success described is attributed to a letter written by this leader and those of the other organisations that oppose the laws. This success allegedly materialised in two ways. First, by the agreement the government is characterised as eager to show, suggested in the verb phrase *ha buscado concordar* (*has sought to agree*). And secondly, it is represented as evidenced in a letter written by the country's president at the time, which allegedly shows his agreement. This represents the authors of the letter as powerful, influencing the rejection of these bills, and the government as their ally, which contradicts previous representations of governments and politicians supporting gay people. With references to ecumenism, the leader represents his church as autonomous, regardless of having joined forces with other organisations. The purpose of this representation is to foreground this church's agency and present it as important. It could be argued that references to places where equal marriage laws have been rejected and the support of politicians and the government intend to provide reassurance that the world is not changing drastically, as there is still disagreement about these laws in the developed and secular world.

5.6. Representations of the Evangelical churches

In the ECC, the Evangelical churches are less frequently represented than gay people and homosexuality. However, the churches occasionally engage in self-representation. This kind of representation was identified in 5 concordances, which make up 1.2% of the lines scrutinised. In what follows, the most representative findings in the concordances that represent the churches are discussed.

5.6.1. The Evangelical churches are against equality

The analysis of the ECC allowed for the identification of one overarching representation of the Evangelical churches, which portrays the churches against equality. This meaning is conveyed in concordances that represent the churches as actively opposing LGBTQ⁺ rights. Although both overarching representation and the representation where the concordances are grouped could be collapsed together under one heading, I decided to separate them into two to respect the presentation of the findings as they are organised in the chapter.

5.6.1.1. The Evangelical churches are against LGBTQ⁺ rights

In the ECC, 5 concordances, which occur in five different website articles, represent the Evangelical churches as opposing LGBTQ⁺ rights. As extract 27 shows, the opposing section of the Evangelical churches is characterised as the majority.

27. De los tres millones de evangélicos de Chile, según el censo de 2002 (y vaya que van a haber muchas sorpresas en el censo que por éstos días concluye en nuestro país), al menos 2,5 millones estamos en total desacuerdo con la Agenda **Gay** y los desvalores que en ella se promueve y sólo un muy minoritario sector, ligado al ecumenismo y al Concilio Mundial de Iglesias, los favorecen, de modo que ya no es posible seguir sustentando la patraña o falacia de que sólo es un pequeño grupo de Pastores evangélicos son los que nos oponemos a la legalización e institucionalización del pecado.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: Out of the three million Evangelicals in Chile, according to the 2002 Census (and there'll certainly be many surprises with the Census that is about to be completed in our country these days), at least 2.5 million of us are in

total disagreement with the **Gay** Agenda and the lack of values that it promotes, and only a very minority segment connected to ecumenism and the World Council of Churches are in favour, so it is no longer possible to continue holding up the tall story or fallacy that only a small group of Evangelical priests are the ones who oppose to the legalisation and institutionalisation of sin.

ECC – Iglesias_Evangélicas_46.txt

Extract 27 characterises the belief that a minority of Evangelicals are against LGBTQ⁺ rights as untrue with the nouns *patraña* (*tall story*) and *falacia* (*fallacy*). Additionally, LGBTQ⁺ rights are nominated as *agenda gay* (*gay agenda*), negatively characterising the objectives of the LGBTQ⁺ movement, since the phrase *gay* or *homosexual agenda* is used in anti-gay discourse to portray the search for LGBTQ⁺ equality as sinister and something to be afraid of⁶⁶. In this way, the use of the phrase *gay agenda* in the ECC intends to portray gay people as deceptively wanting to achieve something which puts others at risk. It should be noted that the noun *agenda* does not have the same meaning in Spanish as it does in English when it is used to refer to a secret reason to do something, being used here as a borrowing from the English language. In 27, the so-called *gay agenda* is represented as lacking values, something the Evangelical people are against. Additionally, the advancement of LGBTQ⁺ rights is characterised as legalising and validating homosexuality, which the noun *pecado* (*sin*) represents as immoral. These representations justify opposition to LGBTQ⁺ rights.

The ‘minority tall story’ is rebutted with two figures that allegedly stand for the Evangelical people who are against homosexuality. A Census is identified as the source of these figures, which constitutes a scientific theoretical rationalisation legitimisation. Finally, the churches refer to Evangelicals in favour of LGBTQ⁺ rights or gay people as the real minority, a strategy that intends to dismiss their

⁶⁶ Source: *GLAAD Media Reference Guide - Terms To Avoid*, available at <https://www.glaad.org/reference/offensive>

representation by inversion of roles. Additionally, the pro-LGBTQ⁺ rights minority is characterised as related to ecumenism, which is a way of discrediting them, since the main Evangelical churches in Chile are against the unity of Christian churches.

Another representation of the stance of Evangelical churches can be identified when they are portrayed as angry and actively expressing their opposition, as illustrated in extract 28.

28. Luego de un debate que estuvo marcado por la fuerte presencia de representantes de iglesias cristianas de todo el país que rechazaban la iniciativa, y representantes de agrupaciones de **gay** y transexuales y transgénero que estaban a favor de su aprobación, el debate del proyecto debió ser interrumpido tras las protestas de pastores y creyentes que acusaron a varios parlamentarios de cambiar su votación y respaldar una iniciativa que dijeron afecta a la familia.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: After a debate which was characterised by the strong presence of representatives of Christian churches from all over the country who rejected the initiative, and representatives of **gay** and transsexual and transgender groups that were in favour of its passing, the discussion of the bill had to be interrupted due to the protests of priests and believers who accused several congress members of changing their vote and backing up an initiative which, they said, affects the family.

ECC – Iglesias_Evangélicas_53.txt

The events described in 28 took place in congress during the debates of the anti-discrimination bill. In the extract, Christian churches representatives and church followers are characterised as numerous with the phrase *de todo el país (from all over the country)*. Also, they are portrayed as having a strong presence, interrupting the debate, where the noun *protestas (protests)* portrays them as angry. Additionally, the clause *acusaron a varios parlamentarios de cambiar su votación (accused several congress members of changing their vote)* and the verb *respaldar (backing up)* portray congress members as unreliable allies of the LGBTQ⁺ movement. This coincides with representations of politicians identified in previous analyses. As the bill is described as affecting the family, presumably negatively, the portrayal of politicians as allies helps to create a sense of fear and insecurity about the future.

5.7. Conclusion

The analysis of the ECC presented in this chapter revealed different dominant and minority representations of homosexuality, gay people, children, politics, the churches, and LGBTQ+ laws. Regarding homosexuality, it is represented as immoral with references to sin, being morally evaluated as disgraceful and unnatural, and potentially leading to human extinction thus needing to be stopped. Metaphors personalise it and portray it as a battle, a form of imprisonment, and a beast, which allows the churches to avoid mentioning gay people when negatively evaluating their actions or demands. Additionally, homosexuality is represented as temporary, not an intrinsic feature of a person's identity. This meaning is conveyed when it is portrayed as a lifestyle, choice, behaviour, tendency, an ideology that can be taught to others and something that is acquired, like a disease. This last representation medicalises it. Similarly, it is portrayed as a psychological problem, being both the consequence and cause of mental instability, which is contradictory. Also, it is represented as a consequence of parental non-compliance to gender roles - allowing for gender policing - as well as the result of sexual abuse, including incest, thus being imposed on children. As a consequence, homosexuality and gay people, particularly parents, are represented as influencing and endangering children. This influence is represented as materialising in education, laws, sexual abuse, manipulation, and through imitation. Finally, homosexuality is characterised as endangering the family.

Concerning gay people, they are represented as promiscuous, and hypersexualised.

The churches consider that same-sex monogamous relationships are a political strategy that aims to make homosexuality resemble heterosexuality. Also, gay men are identified as paedophiles, and a public health menace due to the transmission of sexual diseases. Consequently, gay people are regarded as a threat, mainly to children

but also to the human race, as they would allow for its extinction. Additionally, gay people are represented as damaged by the alleged sexual abuses they were victims as children, which resulted in the ‘acquisition’ of their sexual identity, and in them being prone to psychological disorders, mentally unstable, taking illegal drugs and lacking self-control. Furthermore, they are believed to want revenge for the sexual abuses they were allegedly victims, which contributes to their representation as threatening. This is also helped by representations of gay couples as violent and projecting a deceitful image. Also, gay people are portrayed as fearless, becoming visible and powerful, pressuring politicians into passing laws for them despite being a minority. This creates a sense of fear and injustice, which in the ECC context extends to their influence on religion, materialised in modifications to the Bible and the creation of new congregations.

Politically speaking, the gay movement is represented as promoting homosexuality, which contributes to its representation as an ideology. Similarly, gay couples’ intention to adopt and the distance taken by LGBTQ⁺ organisations from paedophilia are portrayed as political strategies which threaten children. The majority of the activities gay people engage in or their objectives are linked to children in the ECC. This creates a sense of fear that helps the churches to reject LGBTQ⁺ matters more easily. Additionally, politicians, the government and the mass media are represented as allies of the gay movement, the sense of fear emphasised with representations of politicians as complying with their demands out of fear.

Regarding the Evangelical churches, their opposition to LGBTQ⁺ rights is represented as notorious, strong, and shared by the majority of Evangelicals. At the same time, the churches are sometimes, although not often, represented as merciful, accepting and concerned about gay people, not being against them but against homosexuality, which

is their 'sin' and a menace. Also, they express regret about the sexual abuses gay people were allegedly victims. However, they are mainly worried about the children they supposedly endanger and about the injustice of having a minority define laws for the majority. In this way, the churches are the protectors of children, and also the enforcers of Biblical teachings which reject homosexuality. As homosexuality is rejected in the Bible, the churches have the obligation to reject it as well, or else they would be ignoring the Scriptures in favour of a trend, which is how they represent the acceptance of gay people nowadays. Although the churches portray homosexuality as something to be fearful of, they also self-represent as powerful, influencing politics and hindering the passing of LGBTQ⁺ laws. With this contradicting representation, the churches suggest the world is not changing as drastically as believed in order to suggest these changes can be stopped. This meaning is conveyed when the acceptance of equal marriage is represented as varying around the world.

Other representations of LGBTQ⁺ laws suggest they are unnecessary, particularly when it pertains to marriage. However, they are a possibility, and the anti-discrimination law is considered just a first step, which creates a sense of fear about the possibility of this law being passed. Similarly, the laws are represented as going against values, having a hidden objective aimed at endangering children, while legalising and institutionalising homosexuality. These representations allow for the rejection of LGBTQ⁺ laws to appear reasonable, thus non-discriminatory. Finally, the ECC includes a few references to heterosexual sex, which is regarded as the only natural way of procreating, and human sex as intended only for reproduction. Additionally, it is suggested that heterosexuality is as much a choice as homosexuality, when it is implied that people would choose to be gay given the

chance to decide. This contradiction and others identified are not recognised as such in the extracts and articles analysed, thus revealing gaps in the representations.

Regarding legitimisation strategies, the most recurrent ones are scientific theoretical rationalisation and expert authority legitimations, being closely followed by personal authority ones. Other legitimations identified are experiential theoretical rationalisations, negative comparison evaluations, moral evaluations and authority of conformity legitimations. Among the linguistic strategies that help to instantiate representations or legitimate them, it was possible to identify scare quotes, associations, generalisations of specific examples and personalisations. Other strategies identified can be regarded as stylistic legitimations. These include capitalisations for emphasis, and hypophora.

Finally, let us consider the legitimating function of the representations proper. In the ECC, the representations delegitimize gay people, homosexuality, and gay marriage. This is achieved by portraying gay people as an imminent menace, since they are characterised as unhealthy, dangerous to children, but also powerful. Concerning homosexuality, it is delegitimized by representing it as a temporary abnormality, thus not to be taken seriously as it could be reversed. Regarding gay marriage, it is delegitimized by being represented as wrong, but also as unthreatening when equal marriage laws are portrayed as rejected. Conversely, the Evangelical churches are intended to be legitimized when they are represented as opposing LGBTQ⁺ rights, which suggests they are actively trying to prevent 'negative' changes. The legitimization of the churches is also achieved by means of the entities/phenomena that are delegitimized in this data set, as these delegitimizations set the ground for a positive evaluation of the churches' opposition, since they would be reacting to a menace with the purpose of protecting people (particularly children) from it.

The representations around homosexuality in the Evangelical Churches Corpus are therefore straightforwardly negative with most strategies aimed around emphasis as opposed to convincing readers that their negative stance is not inherently problematic in itself. Having considered these representations, we now turn to the Catholic Church – the most established and dominant religious context in Chile.

Chapter 6. Representations around homosexuality in the Catholic Church Corpus

6.1. Introduction

In this chapter, concordances from the Catholic Church Corpus (CCC) that instantiate representations around homosexuality are examined. As with the previous chapter, nomination and predication strategies that help to instantiate representations are identified, as well as any legitimation strategies used to justify them. In section 6.2, the search terms used to obtain the concordances analysed and an overall list of the representations identified are provided. Then, sections 6.3 to 6.5 provide more detailed analyses of some concordance lines that instantiate representations about homosexuality, the Catholic Church, and same-sex relationships. Section 6.6 concludes the Chapter.

6.2. Concordance analysis of the Catholic Church Corpus

The CCC consists of 86,271 words distributed across 109 church website articles about homosexuality and LGBTQ⁺ laws published during 2005-2015, when debates about these laws were taking place in the Chilean congress. The data here analysed consists of 187 extended concordances or extracts, which were retrieved using ten search terms on AntConc 3.5.7 (Anthony 2018) (see section 4.5.3.4 for more information about the search terms). Four of the ten search terms retrieved concordances in the CCC, as illustrated in Table 6.1.

	SEARCH TERM	N° OF CONCORDANCES
1	<i>homosexual*</i>	162
2	<i>mismo sexo</i>	17
3	<i>lesbian*</i>	5
4	<i>gay*</i>	3
5	<i>lésbic*</i>	0
6	<i>fleto*</i>	0
7	<i>cola*</i>	0
8	<i>maric*</i>	0
9	<i>lela*</i>	0
10	<i>camion*</i>	0
	TOTAL	187

Table 6.1. Total number of CCC concordances separated by search term and ordered by frequency.

As Table 6.1 shows, search terms aimed at identifying colloquial or derogatory terms for gay people in Spanish such as *fleto**, *cola**, *maric**, *lela** and *camion** did not retrieve any results in the CCC and neither did search term *lésbic** for the adjective *lésbica/o (lesbian)*. As in the previous chapter, the lack of derogatory terms is likely to be a consequence of these terms being used in the informal register and in spoken communicative exchanges rather than formal written language, such as the data that make up the CCC. In this corpus, the standard terms *homosexual**, *lesbian**, *gay**, and *mismo sexo* retrieved 86%, 9.1%, 2.7%, and 1.6% of the concordances, respectively. As in the ECC, the majority of the lines include a form of the word *homosexual*. Regarding distribution, out of the 109 files that make up the CCC, the occurrences of *homosexual** were found in 80 files, the occurrences of *mismo sexo* in 11, the occurrences of *lesbian** in 3, and the occurrences of *gay** in 2 website articles. As mentioned in 4.5.4.1, forms of the search terms sometimes collocated with each other. Due to the low frequency of words such as *gay(s)* or *lesbiana(s)*, there are not many co-occurring search terms in the CCC. The concordance analysis showed only 2 lines where *homosexuales* collocates with *lesbianas*, which suggests the former was being used to refer to gay males in those instances. The implication of this is that

either the term *homosexuales* is predominantly used as an inclusive term, referring to both men and women, or that gay women are overshadowed in the corpus, constituting a case of lesbian invisibility.

As explained in 4.5.3.1, the concordance analysis started with the identification of the main message or representation conveyed in the lines, which were then grouped according to similarities. This resulted in the identification of three main phenomena being represented in the CCC, namely homosexuality, the Catholic Church, and same-sex relationships. There are ten different representations of these phenomena in the corpus. These were then grouped according to similarities, making up four overarching representations of these phenomena in the corpus. Compared to the previous chapter, the CCC does not have representations of gay people per se, since discussions about gay people in this corpus tend to revolve around the Church's behaviour towards them, being identified as representations of this church.

Additionally, the CCC represents same-sex relationships as opposed to the ECC's focus on gay marriage (although the two phenomena are related). The reason for this difference seems to be grounded in the fact that the Catholic Church does not believe in the concept of *gay/homosexual marriage*, as will be discussed later, since it considers *marriage* to be heterosexual by definition of the word. Due to this, the Church rarely mentions '*gay/homosexual marriage*' and often refers to it by other means. For instance, it talks about the *legalisation* or *equation* of *gay* or *same-sex relationships* to heterosexual ones, uses scare quotes around the term, or questions its validity when mentioned. Consequently, it seemed appropriate to reflect this in the name of the relevant representations.

Considering frequency, homosexuality is the most frequently represented phenomenon in this corpus, with two overarching representations instantiated in four

groups of concordances or representations. These comprise a total of 42 concordance lines, that is 22.5% of the lines scrutinised. This is followed by representations of the Catholic Church with one overarching representation instantiated in four representations distributed across 35 concordances or 18.7% of the lines. Finally, same-sex relationships are represented in one overarching representation consisting of two representations distributed across 20 concordance lines, which makes up 10.7% of the lines scrutinised. The different phenomena, overarching representations, and representations identified in the data are illustrated below. The numbers in brackets indicate the number of (extended) concordance lines where the different representations are instantiated and their corresponding percentage values.

I. REPRESENTATIONS OF HOMOSEXUALITY

1. Homosexuality is not part of a person's identity
 - i. Homosexuality is a tendency (18 lines or 9.6%)
 - ii. Homosexuality is provoked (8 lines or 4.3%)
 - iii. Homosexuality is a behaviour (7 lines or 3.7%)
2. Homosexuality is a problem
 - iv. Homosexuality is an issue (9 lines or 4.8%)

II. REPRESENTATIONS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

3. The Catholic Church is tolerant
 - i. The Catholic Church is accompanying gay people (12 lines or 6.4%)
 - ii. The Catholic Church is non-discriminatory (10 lines or 5.3%)
 - iii. The Catholic Church is accepting (7 lines or 3.7%)
 - iv. The Catholic Church is respectful (6 lines or 3.2%)

III. REPRESENTATIONS OF SAME-SEX RELATIONSHIPS

4. Same-sex relationships are wrong
 - i. Legalising same-sex relationships is wrong (15 lines or 8%)
 - ii. Same-sex relationships are unnatural (5 lines or 2.7%)

Each social actor, event, or phenomenon represented in the CCC has been arranged in decreasing order according to the total number of concordances that contribute to their

representation and the same has been done with the overarching representations. This means that in the CCC, homosexuality is predominantly represented as not being part of a person's identity (in 33 concordances or 17.6% of the lines analysed) and less frequently as a problem (in 9 concordances or 4.8% of the concordances). The least frequent representation in the corpus pertains to same-sex relationships, which are represented as wrong in 20 concordances (10.7% of the lines analysed). This organisation criterion is followed in the presentation of the findings in this chapter. In what follows, the different representations within the overarching representations identified are discussed in relation to patterns identified within the concordances that instantiate them and other relevant linguistic traces that convey a particular meaning, allude to or legitimate a particular representation. As with the previous chapter, I have made efforts to avoid repetition and keep focus on one representation at a time for structural cohesiveness.

6.3. Representations of homosexuality

As mentioned above, the entity most recurrently represented in the concordances analysed in the CCC is homosexuality. The analysis of the data set revealed two overarching representations of this sexual identity, instantiated explicitly in relation to the noun *homosexualidad* (*homosexuality*), or indirectly through references to gay people or their relationships. These representations were identified in 42 lines, making up 22.5% of the concordances scrutinised in this corpus. In what follows, I briefly describe the corresponding overarching representation, and then analyse some concordance lines within each representation.

6.3.1. Homosexuality is not part of a person's identity

The most recurrent overarching representations of homosexuality identified portray it as not being part of a person's identity. This overarching representation suggests homosexuality is not an innate trait of a person's identity, but something that a person is inclined to do, a temporary activity rather than a permanent feature. This overarching representation is instantiated in three groups of concordances or representations, made up of a total of 33 concordances which stand for 17.6% of the lines analysed. The following three sections present these findings.

6.3.1.1. Homosexuality is a tendency

In the CCC, 18 concordances distributed across nine websites articles represent homosexuality as a tendency, being the most recurrent representation identified in the analysis. In these lines, the noun *tendencia(s)* (*tendency/ies*) is used in prepositional phrases, relative and other subordinate clauses that characterise gay people as having *gay tendencies*, thus acting as predication strategies. Among the concordances in this representation, it is suggested that there are different kinds of tendencies according to degrees of permanency, a meaning that is conveyed when tendencies are characterised as deep-seated, in the phrase *profundamente arraigadas*, and contrasted to plain tendencies. This is illustrated in extract 1.

1. "De ningún modo pueden ignorarse las consecuencias negativas que pueden derivar de la Ordenación de personas con tendencias **homosexuales** profundamente arraigadas". "Si se tratase, en cambio, de tendencias **homosexuales** que fuesen sólo la expresión de un problema transitorio, como, por ejemplo, el de una adolescencia todavía no terminada, éstas deberán ser claramente superadas al menos tres años antes de la Ordenación diaconal"

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: "There's no way that the negative consequences that may arise from the Ordainment of people with deep-seated **homosexual** tendencies can be ignored". "If we were, however, talking about **homosexual** tendencies that were only the expression of a transitory problem, like, for example, an unfinished adolescence, these should have been clearly overcome at least three years before ordainment"

CCC - Conferencia_Episcopal_de_Chile_102.txt

As extract 1 shows, the phrase *personas con tendencias homosexuales* (people with deep-seated homosexual tendencies) nominates gay people in an extract about the ordainment of priests. As mentioned above, the deep-seated tendencies are contrasted to temporary ones, which are negatively characterised as the manifestation of a problem and surmountable, with the adjective *superadas* (overcome), which also conveys the meaning of temporariness. Additionally, the transitory problem is nominated with the phrase *adolescencia todavía no terminada* (unfinished adolescence), which portrays homosexuality as an immature state. Regarding legitimisation strategies, extract 1 contains a quote from an official document that refers to the ordainment of gay priests⁶⁷. As such, it corresponds to an impersonal authority legitimisation.

A search of the noun *tendencia* in the CEA corpus (see section 4.4.4) reveals that it tends to co-occur with words that suggest variation is possible, such as verbs *mantener* (keep), *invertir* (reverse), *transformar* (transform), or adjectives like *progresiva* (progressive), or *constante* (constant). Hence, it can be argued that this noun conveys the meaning of an inclination or a trend, something that can come and go, while the phrase *profundamente arraigadas* (deep-seated) portrays these tendencies as somewhat fixed or difficult to change. This creates an oxymoron, as it acknowledges that the gay identity is fixed, while simultaneously denying it by implying it can be changed. This may be due to confusion about what (homo)sexuality is. Finally, extract 1 mentions negative consequences potentially resulting from the ordainment of gay priests. Although the article where the extract appears does not

⁶⁷ *Instruction Concerning the Criteria for the Discernment of Vocations with regard to Persons with Homosexual Tendencies in view of their Admission to the Seminary and to Holy Orders*, published on 4th November 2005, available at http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/ccatheduc/documents/rc_con_ccatheduc_doc_2005104_istruzione_en.html

explain what these consequences are, they are likely to allude to the sexual abuse accusations many Catholic Church priests have received worldwide. This connection is clearly made in the article where extract 2 appears, which mentions clerical sexual abuse accusations in Brazil and quotes the same document cited in extract 1.

2. Además de la tutela del derecho, la Iglesia está muy empeñada en la prevención de estos hechos tratando de encontrar la mejor formación para que los futuros sacerdotes puedan alcanzar la madurez afectiva y la paternidad espiritual que son los fundamentos para el celibato eclesiástico (“Instrucción sobre los criterios del discernimiento vocacional acerca de las personas con tendencias *homosexuales* y de su admisión en los Seminarios y a las ordenes sagradas”, Congregación para la Educación Católica del 04.11.2004).

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: Besides the due process, the Church is very committed to preventing these events trying to find the best training, so future priests can reach the affective maturity and spiritual fatherhood that are the basis of clerical celibacy (“Instruction Concerning the Criteria for the Discernment of Vocations with regard to Persons with *Homosexual* Tendencies in view of their Admission to the Seminary and to Holy Orders”, Congregation for Catholic Education on 04.11.2004)

CCC - Conferencia_Episcopal_de_Chile_100.txt

As extract 2 shows, the Church is characterised as concerned about the sexual abuses through its commitment to ensure legal processes are respected while stopping more abuses from happening. This last phenomenon is nominated with the noun *prevención* (*preventing*) and is characterised as involving the training future priests undergo to become clerics. This implies that whatever caused them to commit these abuses can be stopped through education, thus portraying it as something temporary and changeable. The implication of linking homosexuality to sexual abuse is that paedophile priests are gay, and this sexual identity has made them commit these crimes. In this way, by referring to their training, homosexuality is portrayed as transient. Finally, extract 2 also represents paedophilia, and homosexuality by implication, as immaturity when it is suggested that future priests need to reach affective maturity to stop committing these crimes. In terms of legitimation, an

impersonal authority legitimation strategy is used when the reference of the document is provided.

Among the concordances that portray homosexuality as a tendency, there are also references to lay people. As with priests, chastity is suggested for all gay individuals as a way of controlling their sexual identity. This is illustrated in extract 3.

3. En ese sentido, recordó que la Iglesia invita a las personas *homosexuales* a que vivan la castidad. "Una persona con tendencia *homosexual*, antes de su tendencia, es un ser humano que merece respeto; es un ciudadano que tiene derechos y deberes. Ellos piensan que la sociedad ha ido cambiando y que, por lo tanto, se debe cambiar el tipo de derechos para estas personas. Nosotros pensamos que eso es un tema más complejo", afirmó el P. Chomali, junto con agregar que la Iglesia Católica ama a las personas y las acoge a todas.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: In that sense, he reminded us that the Church invites *homosexual* people to live in chastity. "A person with a *homosexual* tendency, before their tendency, they are human beings that have to be respected; they are citizens with rights and obligations. They think the society has been changing and that, as a consequence, the type of rights for these people have to change. We think this is a more complex matter", P. Chomali stated, and also added that the Catholic Church loves people and accept them all.

CCC - Conferencia Episcopal de Chile_99.txt

The verb *invita* (*invites*) in 3, suggests the Church is only proposing celibacy to gay people rather than imposing it, as it would have been the case if stronger verbs such as *ordena* (*commands*) or *solicita* (*requires*) had been chosen. This verb choice portrays the Church as flexible regarding its rules, but also as accepting homosexuality provided it is not practiced. As mentioned in 2.5, celibacy is a requisite for clerics, nuns, and lay single people in Catholicism, although the last group are allowed to engage in sexual intercourse once they are married, as opposed to clerics and nuns. As celibacy is considered one of the highest virtues and an indication of clerical commitment to God, extract 3 suggests that the Church expects gay people to have the same level of commitment to chastity as its representatives, even when they are not ordained. Gay people are thus expected to never have sex whereas for most

heterosexual people this is not the case, which reveals a negative evaluation of homosexuality.

The representation of homosexuality as a tendency is again conveyed with a prepositional phrase that portrays homosexuality as a possession, thus not being a feature of a person's identity, while the possibility of opting for chastity portrays it as a choice. Additionally, the extract refers to gay people as having rights, obligations and deserving respect just like any other person, which portrays them as equal to heterosexual people, self-representing the Church as accepting (this representation of the Church is discussed in section 6.4.1.3). However, the prepositional phrase *antes de su tendencia* (*before their tendency*) implies that they are not commonly regarded as having or deserving these things due to their sexuality, thus othering them. Another othering strategy is identified when gay people are nominated as *estas personas* (*these people*), implying they are being spoken about rather than to. The same meaning is conveyed when they are characterised as believing the society will accept them, which is implicitly denied when this acceptance is characterised as unresolved with the nomination *un tema más complejo* (*a more complex matter*). Finally, the Church explicitly self-represents as loving and accepting all people. This type of self-representation often occurs when gay people are denied of something, thus being a discourse strategy that mitigates the Church's rejection.

6.3.1.2. Homosexuality is provoked

Another way in which homosexuality is represented as not being part of a person's identity is when it is portrayed as having a cause or origin. In the CCC, 8 concordances distributed throughout five website articles represent homosexuality in this way. This representation implies that homosexuality is not natural or normal but results from specific factors. This corresponds to a homophobic discourse that

considers homosexuality abnormal as opposed to heterosexuality, which is considered the ‘natural’ norm, requiring no explanation. This allows for representations of homosexuality as an illness or a deviation, for example. Extract 4 illustrates this.

4. Origen y las causas de **homosexualidad**. El Dr. Lorenzo García Samartino (Argentina) desarrolló este eje en tres ponencias que incluyó una mirada global sobre la sexualidad humana y un análisis pormenorizado acerca del posible origen y causas de la **homosexualidad**. La Dra. María Ana Ennis (Argentina), introdujo a la asamblea en una forma de terapia de análisis y recuperación. 3. Propuestas pastorales y terapéuticas. El Dr. Daniel Nuñez (México) presentó dos ponencias: “La condición **homosexual** y sus diferentes formas de manifestación” y “Propuestas terapéuticas basadas en la ética humana y religiosa”.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: The origin and causes of **homosexuality**. Dr Lorenzo García Samartino (Argentina) developed this axis in three presentations that included a global point of view about human sexuality and a detailed analysis about the potential origin and causes of **homosexuality**. Dr Maria Ana Ennis (Argentina) introduced the assembly to a form of therapy of analysis and reparation. 3. Pastoral and therapeutic suggestions. Dr Daniel Nuñez (Mexico) gave two presentations: “The **homosexual** condition and its different forms of manifestation” and “Therapeutic proposals based on human and religious ethics”.

CCC - Conferencia Episcopal de Chile_87.txt

Although the alleged factors that provoke homosexuality are not mentioned in the lines scrutinised, they are often nominated with the noun *causas* (*causes*) in the concordances of this representation. A search of *causas* (*causes*) in the CEA corpus showed that this word has a negative semantic prosody in Spanish, as it often occurs with nouns such as *solución* (*solution*), *consecuencias* (*consequences*), *mortalidad* (*mortality*), *enfermedad* (*disease*), *delitos* (*crime*), and *pobreza* (*poverty*). Therefore, the use of this noun implies homosexuality is negative. In extract 4, the alleged causes and origin of homosexuality are characterised with the adjective *posibles* (*potential*), which suggests there is no certainty as to what these are. Additionally, the phrase *formas de manifestación* (*forms of manifestation*) portrays homosexuality as having indicators that help to identify it in a way that is similar to the symptoms of a disease. The same meaning of illness is conveyed with the noun *terapia* (*therapy*) and the

adjective *terapéuticas* (*therapeutic*) in the extract, which also portray it as able to be overcome. This meaning is also conveyed with the phrase *terapia de análisis y reparación* (*therapy of analysis and reparation*).

In the extract, therapy is characterised as complying with human and religious ethics. Although the article where the extract appears does not reveal what this consists of, the suggestion is that the proposed ‘treatment’ is not cruel, like it was in the past. It should be noted that the use of the noun *reparación* (*reparation*) to characterise the therapy instead of one like *conversión* (*conversion*), suggests that homosexuality is seen as a deviation from a norm, rather than a state of being that needs to be turned into something else. This coincides with representations of homosexuality as not being an essential trait. Finally, the extract contains nominations as proper names, toponyms, and professional anthroponyms which are authority legitimations.

Additionally, the extract includes references to academic conferences with the noun *ponencias* (*presentations*), which operate as scientific theoretical rationalisation legitimisation strategies. It should be noted that the article where the extract appears does not reveal what kind of *Dr* the professional title in the extract nominated. It could be from medical or social sciences, for example. The former case would medicalise homosexuality, while the latter could help portray it from a behaviourist perspective. Homosexuality is also represented as provoked when it is compared to a trend, which suggests it is imitated and replicated, as illustrated in extract 5.

5. Luego, el profesor de teología moral Waldo Romo, recalcó que el libro recrea la complejidad del fenómeno de la **homosexualidad** adolescente, que hoy es parecida a una moda.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: Then, the professor in moral theology Waldo Romo, stressed that the book recreates the complexity of the phenomenon of teenage **homosexuality**, which, nowadays, is similar to a trend.

CCC - Conferencia_Episcopal_de_Chile_80.txt

In 5, the adjective *adolescente* (*teenage*) characterises homosexuality as pertaining to young people, which is then portrayed as a complex matter. Additionally, the comparison to a trend represents it as the consequence of peer imitation, where the implication is that it exists among young people as a result of its visibility, which could be an influence of the media. Representations of homosexuality as related to teenagers and as a trend also portray it as a sign of immaturity, also identified in 6.3.1.1. Finally, the extract contains an expert authority legitimisation strategy when a specialist is nominated with a proper name and professional anthroponym.

Homosexuality is also represented as being provoked in the CCC when it is portrayed as a consequence of internal factors, as suggested in extract 6.

6. Entre los casos están el de un ex pandillero colombiano que ahora es sacerdote, una empresaria masónica divorciada que atacaba a la Iglesia y que ahora es una fiel devota; y el impactante testimonio de un mexicano **homosexual** que se prostituía y que descubrió que el amor de Dios era superior a cualquiera de sus sufrimientos.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: Among the cases is a former gang member from Colombia who is now a priest, a divorced masonic business woman who was against the Church and now is a faithful devotee; and the shocking testimony of a **homosexual** Mexican who used to prostitute himself and discovered that God's love was greater than any of his afflictions.

CCC - Conferencia_Episcopal_de_Chile_64.txt

In 6, homosexuality and prostitution are nominated as *sufrimientos* (*afflictions*), which portrays them as resulting from mental anguish. The extract mentions different cases shown in a film about Catholic converts that would exemplify that homosexuality,

among other phenomena, can come to an end, thus portraying it as impermanent. The cases mentioned in the extract are rather extreme, which suggests the former state of the converts was diametrically incompatible with being a Catholic, and also that change is always possible. A homosexual person is equated with a gang member and perhaps more surprisingly, a divorced businesswoman who was antagonistic to the Church. However, the homosexual person's testimony is the only one described as *impactante* (*shocking*). The act of conversion is characterised with the verb *descubrió* (*discovering*) as finding something unknown that was missing. This refers to God's love, which is understood as allowing people to change. In this way, faith is portrayed as a means by which people can stop being gay.

6.3.1.3. Homosexuality is a behaviour

In the CCC, 7 lines occurring in four different website articles represent homosexuality as a behaviour or a practice, an activity rather than an identity trait, being thus portrayed as something that can be modified. The majority of these lines mention the ordainment of priests, portraying homosexuality as a tendency (as discussed in 6.3.1.1). In the concordances of this representation, the meaning of behaviour is conveyed with the noun *actos* (*acts*), as illustrated in extract 7.

7. La **homosexualidad** y el ministerio ordenado "El Catecismo de la Iglesia Católica distingue entre los actos **homosexuales** y las tendencias **homosexuales**. Respecto a los actos, enseña que en la Sagrada Escritura son presentados como pecados graves. La Tradición los ha considerado siempre intrínsecamente inmorales y contrarios a ley natural. Por tanto, no pueden ser aprobados en ningún caso".

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: **Homosexuality** in the ordained ministry "The Catechism of the Catholic Church distinguishes between **homosexual** acts and **homosexual** tendencies. Regarding acts, it teaches us that they are presented as serious sins in the Holy Scriptures. The Tradition has always considered them intrinsically immoral and against natural law. Therefore, they cannot be approved in any case.

CCC - Conferencia_Episcopal_de_Chile_102.txt

In 7, the representation of homosexuality consisting of tendencies and acts is legitimated with a quote from the document about the ordainment of gay priests mentioned in 6.3.1.1. Since the document draws its conclusions from Catholic doctrine and the Sacred or Holy Tradition⁶⁸, nominated with the nouns *Catecismo* (*Catechism*) and *Tradición* (*Tradition*), respectively, the quote acts as a scientific theoretical rationalisation legitimation. As the extract shows, acts are considered more serious than tendencies, being represented as immoral and unnatural. Although references to homosexual acts or behaviour are likely to refer to sexual intercourse, the article where the concordances occur does not mention what this entails.

Homosexuality is also represented as a behaviour when the verb *practicar* ([they] *practice*) is used, as illustrated in extract 8.

8. "A la luz de estas enseñanzas, este Dicasterio, de acuerdo con la Congregación para el Culto Divino y la Disciplina de los Sacramentos, cree necesario afirmar claramente que la Iglesia, respetando profundamente a las personas en cuestión, no puede admitir al Seminario y a las Órdenes Sagradas a quienes practican la **homosexualidad**, presentan tendencias **homosexuales** profundamente arraigadas o sostienen la llamada cultura **gay**".

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: In the light of these teachings, this Dicastery, in accordance with the Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments, believes it necessary to clearly state that the Church, deeply respecting these people, cannot admit in the Holy Orders those who practice **homosexuality**, have deeply rooted **homosexual** tendencies or maintain what is known as **gay** culture".

CCC - Conferencia_Episcopal_de_Chile_102.txt

In 8, homosexuality is portrayed as consisting of three phenomena: an entrenched tendency that a person has, an activity the person practices (presumably a euphemism for sexual activities), and maintenance of a so-called 'gay culture', all of which can be regarded as impermanent manifestations of a person's identity. Additionally, the reference to a 'gay culture' implies that gay people are culturally homogenous, which

⁶⁸ In Catholicism, the Sacred or Holy Tradition corresponds to Christian teachings that are not included in the Bible but were transmitted from Jesus to his apostles and from these to their successors.

reveals a prejudiced understanding of people's lives based on their sexual identity. As with the previous extract, the article where 8 appears does not mention what the behaviour or gay culture entail, suggesting their understanding must be taken for granted. Finally, in 8 the Church self-represents as respecting gay people despite its recommendation that they should not be allowed to ordain. As identified in 6.3.1.1, this self-representation intends to mitigate the Church's rejection of homosexuality.

6.3.2. Homosexuality is a problem

The analysis of the concordances of the CCC revealed an overarching representation where homosexuality is portrayed as a problem. This overarching representation is instantiated in one representation or group of 9 concordances that portrays homosexuality as an issue, making up 4.8% of the lines analysed. As in Chapter 5 (section 5.6.1), both overarching representation and the one where the concordances in this section are grouped could be collapsed together under one heading. However, I separated them into two so as to respect the presentation of the findings as they are organised in this chapter.

6.3.2.1. Homosexuality is an issue

In the CCC, 9 concordances, which occur in 9 different website articles, portray homosexuality as an issue, a complex matter that is being (or has to be) discussed. These concordances refer to same-sex relationships and homosexuality. In eight of these lines, LGBTQ⁺ matters or homosexuality are associated with other topics, as illustrated in extract 9.

9. Durante seis meses recibieron capacitación en media training y se formaron en los temas más candentes que suscitan las mayores polémicas y dudas como aborto, eutanasia, matrimonio *homosexual*, abusos del clero, organización de la Iglesia, entre otros.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: For six months, they were prepared in media training and were instructed about the hottest topics that give rise to the biggest controversies and uncertainties, such as abortion, euthanasia, **homosexual** marriage, abuse by priests, the organisation of the Church, among others.

CCC - Conferencia_Episcopal_de_Chile_55.txt

In 9, homosexual marriage is equated with other topics that are seen to challenge the Church (abortion, euthanasia, etc.), to most of which it opposes. In the extract, the topics are characterised as controversial and trending, implying they are unresolved. The article where the extract appears refers to a media training workshop created for lay people who want to represent the Church. This reference to preparation and training pertaining to these matters contributes to portray same-sex marriage as a complex topic and the Church as concerned about it and reasonably engaging in its discussion.

In other concordances in the corpus, homosexuality and same-sex relationships are represented as delicate, worrying, and problematic matters. Extract 10 includes an instance where homosexuality is identified as a problem.

10. El avance paulatino de un profundo relativismo moral globalizado, unido a una grave distorsión del sentido de la sexualidad humana y a un eficaz mecanismo legal de legitimación de conductas sociales, hacen que el problema de la **homosexualidad**, tanto en sus actos como en sus tendencias y aspiraciones de reconocimiento social, se haya convertido en un tema de amplio debate social y eclesial insoslayable a la misión de evangelizar la cultura de nuestro tiempo.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: The slow advancement of a deep globalised moral relativism, together with a serious distortion of the sense of human sexuality and an effective legal mechanism of legitimation of social behaviour have made the problem of **homosexuality**, both in terms of its acts and its tendencies and aspirations for social acknowledgement, become a topic of broad social and church debate inescapable to the mission of evangelising the culture of our times.

CCC - Conferencia_Episcopal_de_Chile_87.txt

In 10, homosexuality is portrayed as intricate, comprising different phenomena, such as acts, tendencies, and aspiring for social recognition, being thus personified as having an objective (acts and tendencies are discussed in 6.3.1). The aspiration for

social recognition refers to equal rights, which, together with the tendencies and acts, are characterised as problematic. Additionally, homosexuality is nominated with the phrase *tema de amplio debate social y eclesial (topic of broad social and church debate)*, which characterises it as an extensively discussed topic and portrays it as trending. Also, the reference to moral relativism and a distorted sexuality negatively represent homosexuality, characterising it as relative, immoral and a sexual deviation. Finally, the reference to evangelisation presents religious conversion and faith as a means to stop homosexuality (as also identified in 6.3.1.2). I note that the representation of homosexuality as a problem or issue, while negative, is different from the Evangelical churches' representation of homosexuality as immoral and a sin, as that representation foregrounds the role that religion plays in the evaluation, while the Catholic Church's one backgrounds it. This meaning is conveyed when the Catholic Church presents the allegedly problematic nature of homosexuality as pertaining to (lay) society, sexuality and legal matters rather than a sinful or exclusively moral issue. This is likely to be a consequence of the Catholic Church's active and more open involvement in society, as demonstrated by its role as a provider of education and health services worldwide, as well as its more accepting stance regarding science and reason (see Chapter 2).

6.4. Representations of the Catholic Church

The analysis of the CCC revealed a set of representations that positively portray the Catholic Church. These representations consist of a total of 35 concordances, making up 18.7% of the concordances scrutinised from this corpus. These were grouped under one overarching representation that portrays the Church as tolerant.

6.4.1. The Catholic Church is tolerant

The overarching representation that portrays the Catholic Church as tolerant is instantiated in four groups of concordances or representations. These representations convey this meaning by representing the Church as accompanying gay people, being non-discriminatory, accepting, and respectful. Although references to non-discrimination and acceptance could be regarded as conveying the same meaning, they were separated into two representations, one that foregrounds the rejection of discrimination against gay people and another that foregrounds acceptance instead. The following four sections present these findings.

6.4.1.1. The Catholic Church is accompanying gay people

In the CCC, 12 concordances distributed across nine different website articles represent the Church as accompanying gay people, being the third most recurrent representation in this corpus. Among these lines, 8 concordances extended this accompaniment to gay people's families. In the concordances, the meaning of accompaniment is conveyed with references to pastoral care, and verbs and nouns such as *acompañar* (*accompany*) and *acompañamiento* (*accompaniment*). Extract 11 illustrates this.

11. Acompañando la vida y la fe de personas **homosexuales** y sus familias Programa radial SEMBRANDO profundizó en la Pastoral de la Diversidad Sexual, una iniciativa que muestra el rostro misericordioso de la Iglesia. La Pastoral de la Diversidad Sexual surgió para dar respuesta a la búsqueda espiritual y de acompañamiento pastoral por parte de personas **homosexuales** católicas.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: Accompanying the life and faith of **homosexual** people and their families The SOWING Radio programme delved into the Pastoral in Sexual Diversity group, an initiative that shows the merciful face of the Church. The Pastoral in Sexual Diversity originated as an answer to the spiritual search and pastoral accompaniment of Catholic **homosexual** people.

CCC - Conferencia_Episcopal_de_Chile_50.txt

In 11, the Church portrays itself as accompanying (which could be interpreted as both literal and metaphorical) gay people and their families in their daily and religious lives. This implies that gay people and also those close to them need support, being equally 'affected' by their sexual identity, implicitly portraying gay people as harmful to those close to them. Additionally, by nominating a pastoral group dedicated to help gay people and their families, which is an impersonal authority legitimization strategy, the Church is portrayed as worried about all these people, and present in their lives. In the extract, the existence of this pastoral group is characterised as a way the Church shows its merciful side, thus positively representing it. Furthermore, the pastoral group is characterised as satisfying two needs, which the extract describes as a spiritual search and a search for accompaniment, which portrays gay people as actively looking for help. In Catholicism, spirituality involves prayer and living in accordance to God's teachings. Hence, the implication is that Catholic gay people are not living a Christian life, but pastoral care would provide the guidance towards it. This coincides with findings in previous sections where faith is portrayed as helping people refrain from experiencing their sexuality. In this way, finding spirituality would entail finding God's love (as it is nominated in extract 8), so as to overcome homosexuality. As in previous findings, this portrays homosexuality as temporary, rather than innate.

Among the concordances that portray the Church as accompanying gay people there are two lines that mention Daniel Zamudio (see section 2.7) and his family, acting as examples of accompaniment. These references are personal authority legitimations that evoke a vivid image which validates the representation of the Church as present, caring, and involved. Extract 12 includes one of these references.

12. Por encargo del Arzobispo de Santiago, monseñor Ricardo Ezzati, en varias ocasiones el Padre Llanca estuvo con la familia Zamudio en la Posta Central, en medio de los 25 días en que el joven agonizó tras ser agredido brutalmente por su condición *homosexual*. El diario capitalino señala que el vicario de la Esperanza “contuvo a la familia en los momentos más difíciles; oró con ella en distintos rincones de la Posta Central y rezó, incluso en la UTI, por la recuperación del joven”.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: As ordered by the Archbishop of Santiago, Monsignor Ricardo Ezzati, Father Llanca was with the Zamudio family in various occasions at the Central Hospital, during the 25 days that the young man was dying after being brutally attacked due to his *homosexuality*. The city newspaper says that the vicar of [Young] Hope [Vicary] “contained the family during the most difficult times, prayed with them in different corners of the Central Hospital and even prayed at the ICU for the recovery of the young man”.

CCC - Conferencia_Episcopal_de_Chile_65.txt

In 12, the Church is portrayed as providing unremitting support to the family of a victim of homophobic violence, as well as spiritual guidance through prayer during hardship, contributing to the portrayal of gay people and their families as vulnerable. This coincides with the function attributed to pastoral care in extract 11, thus positively portraying the Church. Additionally, the extract mentions a priest, the organisation he serves, and higher-ranked Church representatives in Chile. These are nominated with proper names and titles, being the people ordering and in charge of the accompaniment of the victim’s family. These references are personal authority legitimations, which validate the representation of the Church, while presenting it as unified in its commitment. Additionally, the reference to a newspaper, an impersonal authority legitimation, intends to present this portrayal of the Church as unbiased, not coming from the Church itself.

6.4.1.2. The Catholic Church is not discriminatory

In the CCC, 10 concordances distributed across eight different website articles portray the Church as non-discriminatory, being the fourth most recurrent representation in this corpus. This meaning is conveyed when discrimination or the mistreatment of gay

people are explicitly rejected. In 3 concordances of this representation, the text producers mention dignity as a quality that gay people have, as illustrated in extract

13.

13. Los coautores del documento son la profesora María Alejandra Carrasco, la psicóloga María Marcela Ferrer, la enfermera universitaria Paulina Johnson y el médico Christian Schnake. En la presentación se sostiene: "Partiendo de la premisa -bien subrayada por la Iglesia- de que la persona **homosexual** tiene exactamente la misma dignidad personal que la heterosexual, y que en consecuencia se rechaza toda actitud vejatoria en su contra, el documento muestra los fundamentos científicos y filosóficos que permiten afirmar que este fenómeno no se puede, sin embargo, homologar a la tendencia heterosexual".

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: The co-authors of the document are professor María Alejandra Carrasco, psychologist María Marcela Ferrer, university nurse Paulina Johnson and the physician Christian Schnake. In the presentation, it is maintained that: "Starting from the premise –very emphasised by the Church- that the **homosexual** person has exactly the same personal dignity as the heterosexual one, and that, as a consequence, any degrading attitude against them is rejected, the document shows the scientific and philosophical reasons that allow (us) to assert that this phenomenon cannot be, however, made equivalent to the heterosexual tendency.

CCC - Conferencia_Episcopal_de_Chile_76.txt

In 13, the Church emphasises gay people's dignity and equates them to heterosexual people in the possession of this quality. However, they are then characterised as different or 'the other' when homosexuality is nominated with the noun *fenómeno* (*phenomenon*) and characterised as impossible to be equated to heterosexuality. As a result, the Church's self-representation as accepting and non-discriminatory acts as a strategy that intends to mitigate opposition to LGBTQ+ rights, as already identified in sections 6.3.1.1 and 6.3.1.3. In fact, in 7 lines of this representation the rejection of discrimination is accompanied by the acknowledgement of an impossibility of the Church to accept the legalisation or recognition of same-sex partnerships (discussed in more detail in 6.5.1). This demonstrates that by foregrounding the rejection of discrimination, the Church self-represents as tolerant in situations when it is acting in a discriminatory manner.

In 13, the difference between hetero- and homosexuality is regarded as scientifically and philosophically proven and ascertained with the verb *afirmar* (*to assert*). The references to bodies of knowledge act as scientific theoretical rationalisation legitimations. Additionally, the source of this information is attributed to health professionals, nominated with proper names and professional anthroponyms, being expert authority legitimations that contribute to a medicalisation discourse around homosexuality.

It is somewhat surprising to see the use of the noun *tendencia* (*tendency*) to refer to heterosexuality in 13, as this perhaps contradicts the view implied elsewhere that heterosexuality is the normal, natural state for humans, with homosexuality being an unstable and fixable deviation. As discussed in 6.3.1.1, the noun *tendencia* portrays sexual identities as fluid and changeable, an inclination rather than part of a person's identity. The use of this word to refer to heterosexuality suggests the text producer sees sexuality in general as something modifiable, which would explain the belief that homosexuality can be passed on from adults to children. In an attempt to test this theory, the phrase *tendencia heterosexual* (*heterosexual tendency*) was searched in the CEA reference corpus. However, this search did not retrieve any results, which suggests the occurrence of the phrase in the corpus may be a coincidence, or perhaps an attempt by the writer to seem neutral by referring to heterosexuality in the same way as they refer to homosexuality.

Extract 14 includes another example where the mistreatment of gay people is categorically rejected by the Church with the predications *es de deplorar con firmeza* (*should be strongly bemoaned*) and *merecen la condena* (*deserves the disapproval*).

14. "Es de deplorar con firmeza que las personas **homosexuales** hayan sido y sean todavía objeto de expresiones malévolas y de acciones violentas. Tales comportamientos merecen la condena de los pastores de la Iglesia, dondequiera que se verifiquen. Revelan una falta de respeto por los demás, que lesiona unos

principios elementales sobre los que se basa una sana convivencia civil. La dignidad propia de toda persona siempre debe ser respetada en las palabras, en las acciones y en las legislaciones".

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: "The fact that *homosexual* people have been and still are the recipients of evil expressions and violent actions should be strongly bemoaned. Such behaviour deserves the disapproval of the pastors of the Church, wherever they occur. They show a lack of respect for others, which harms the basic principles on which a healthy civil coexistence is based. The dignity proper to every person must always be respected in the words, the actions and the laws.

CCC - Conferencia_Episcopal_de_Chile_66.txt

In 14, the need to always respect gay people's dignity is mentioned, where the adjective *propia* (*proper*) characterises this quality as inherent of all humans. In this extract, the need to have laws that recognise gay people is mentioned and identified as a way of showing the aforementioned respect. Since the Church is against the legalisation of same-sex partnerships, it is not clear what option it considers when acknowledging the need to pass laws for gay people, as no alternative is mentioned in the article where 14 occurs. Considering this, the reference to laws in this extract may well be an attempt to lead readers to believe the Church wants laws to be passed for the benefit of gay people, when in reality they have opposed the bills already suggested. As the quotation marks in the extract indicate, 14 appears in another document. Inspection of the article where the extract appears shows it is a document by the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, the body responsible of promulgating and protecting the Catholic doctrine, which acts as an impersonal authority legitimation.

6.4.1.3. The Catholic Church is accepting

In the CCC, 7 concordances distributed across five different website articles represent the Church as accepting. This meaning is conveyed with forms of the verbs *acoger* (*welcome*) and *aceptar* (*accept*). Among the lines that instantiate this representation

there are 2 concordances where same-sex partnerships are rejected. However, the majority of the lines focus on the accepting quality of the Church, as illustrated in extract 15.

15. No sólo acogemos a todas las personas, como es la experiencia de cualquiera que conozca la Iglesia, sino que en el específico caso de las que tienen tendencia **homosexual**, tenemos orientaciones acerca de su atención pastoral, que privilegian la acogida, ayuda, en conformidad a la verdad. El caso del la Clínica del Sida, fundada por el padre Baldo Santi, es un ejemplo patente del acompañamiento y dedicación de la Iglesia a las personas con este mal, y particularmente a los **homosexuales**.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: We not only welcome all people, as is the experience of anyone who knows the Church, but in the particular case of those who have a **homosexual** tendency, we have guidelines about their pastoral care that favour acceptance, help, in agreement with the truth. The case of the Aids Clinic, founded by father Baldo Santi, is a clear example of the accompaniment and dedication of the Church to people with this illness, and particularly to **homosexuals**.

CCC - Conferencia_Episcopal_de_Chile_63.txt

In 15, the accepting quality of the Church is represented as evident and attestable by everyone close to it. Additionally, the Church is portrayed as concerned about gay people specifically when guidelines designed for them are mentioned, which shows how serious it is about providing them with spiritual guidance through pastoral care. This pastoral care is identified as having acceptance as its main focus, but also as conforming to the Catholic doctrine which is nominated with the noun phrase *la verdad (the truth)*. As previous analyses have shown, the Catholic doctrine recommends celibacy to gay people, which is allegedly facilitated through faith (see sections 6.3.1.2, 6.3.2.1 and 6.4.1.1). This implies that its acceptance of gay people is conditioned to the abandonment of their sexual identity, thus being far from accepting. Additionally, homosexuality is portrayed as a tendency, thus impermanent. As in the two previous representations, gay people are portrayed as rejected and vulnerable when the nouns *acogida (acceptance)* and *ayuda (help)* are used. This foregrounds the importance of an accepting (accompanying, and non-discriminatory) Church, adding

value to its representations. Additionally, the extract exemplifies the Church's support of gay people, evoking a vivid image that validates the representation of the Church as accepting. This example includes nominations, such as the name of the organisation providing the help and the name of the cleric who created it. The former is an impersonal authority legitimisation strategy and the latter an expert authority one. The analysis of this representation also revealed a line where the Church's acceptance is delimited, which suggests it is far from being a demonstration of tolerance towards gay people. This is shown in extract 16.

16. En relación a los *homosexuales* se puso de relieve la necesidad de aceptación, pero con la prudencia adecuada, con el fin de no crear la impresión de una evaluación positiva de esa orientación por parte de la Iglesia.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: Regarding *homosexuals*, the need of acceptance was emphasised, but with the right caution, so as to avoid creating the impression of a positive evaluation of that orientation by the Church.

CCC - Conferencia_Episcopal_de_Chile_39.txt

In 16, the need to accept gay people is emphasised. This implies that rejecting them is recognised as negative by the Church, which is an indication of its good intentions. However, previous analyses have shown that, in general, the Church's tolerance does not involve allowing gay people to experience their sexuality and have the same rights as heterosexual people. In 16, this is effectively stated when the acceptance is characterised as having to be prudent. Also, the clause *con el fin de no crear la impresión de una evaluación positiva* (so as to avoid creating the impression of a positive evaluation) is a euphemistic way of saying that the Church negatively evaluates, thus dislikes and rejects, homosexuality.

6.4.1.4. The Catholic Church is respectful

In the CCC, 6 lines distributed across five different website articles portray the Church as respectful. In 5 of these lines, the Church's impossibility (or unwillingness)

to equate same-sex to opposite-sex relationships is mentioned (I discuss this representation in more detail in 6.5.1.1). This suggests the references to respect also intend to mitigate the rejection of LGBTQ⁺ matters and gay people by the Church, as it has already been identified (sections 6.3.1.1, 6.3.1.3, 6.4.1.2, 6.4.1.3). An example of this appears in extract 17.

17. Más grave aún es la legalización de las uniones *homosexuales*, ya que, en este caso, se niega la diferencia sexual entre las personas de esas uniones. Esto no perjudica el reconocimiento de la dignidad de cada persona: para todos quiero expresar mi respeto y solicitud pastoral.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: Even more serious is the legalisation of *homosexual* partnerships, since, in this case, the sexual difference between the people in these partnerships is denied. This does not affect the acknowledgement of the dignity of each person: I want to express my respect and pastoral support for everyone.

CCC - Conferencia_Episcopal_de_Chile_38.txt

Extract 17 occurs in an article about the legalisation of same- and opposite-sex partnerships, where the legalisation of the former is portrayed as worse than that of the latter due to the sex of those involved. As noted above, gay couples are negatively characterised despite the representation of the Church as respecting them and recognising their dignity, a strategy that mitigates its rejection. Also, the reference to pastoral support in 17 suggests gay people can count on the Church for help, presumably to stop being gay.

Extract 18 also refers to respect, but here the impossibility to equate relationships is not mentioned. However, the extract sheds some light regarding the understanding of homosexuality as impermanent.

18. Uniones *homosexuales* Ante una pregunta sobre las iniciativas para regular las uniones *homosexuales*, el Cardenal Errázuriz recordó que en primer lugar, se debe un respeto a las personas que tienen una tendencia *homosexual* y que muchas veces han sido mal tratadas y discriminadas; también se debe respetar la libertad individual, por cuanto la manera en que va a vivir una persona debe decidirla en conciencia.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: **Homosexual** partnerships Answering a question about the initiatives that seek to regulate **homosexual** partnerships, Bishop Errázuriz remembered that in the first place, respect is owed to people who have a **homosexual** tendency and have often been mistreated and discriminated; we must also respect individual freedom, since the way a person is going to live must be consciously decided.

CCC - Conferencia_Episcopal_de_Chile_92.txt

In 18, respect is mentioned in relation to the civil-partnership bill. Here, the stance of the Church is presented by a high-ranked representative, who is nominated with a proper name and clerical title, being personal authority legitimation strategies. In 18, respect is mentioned twice, in relation to gay people, and individual freedom. The reference to freedom portrays homosexuality as a conscious choice, thus involving the careful evaluation of factors. The implication is that being gay is a decision, thus having to be respected. Also, this represents homosexuality as impermanent. The appeal for respect of the ‘decision’ to be gay is somewhat contradictory with previous findings (see section 6.3.1.1), where gay people are advised to refrain from experiencing their sexuality, thus showing inconsistencies within the Church. Also coinciding with previous findings, gay people are characterised as having a tendency rather than being gay. Moreover, the inclusion of the clause *la manera en que va a vivir una persona (the way a person is going to live)* represents homosexuality as a lifestyle, coinciding with its representation as an impermanent trait. Finally, the discrimination and mistreatment of gay people are acknowledged in 18, representing the respect owed to them as a way of making up for it. This excerpt, while being congruent with representations found earlier in this chapter, is notable in that it hints at an acceptance of gay people not seen so far.

6.5. Representations of same-sex partnerships

The last phenomenon frequently represented in the concordances from the CCC is same-sex relationships. The analysis of this corpus revealed one overarching representation that portrays these relationships as wrong, consisting of a total of 20 concordances. These make up 10.7% of the concordances scrutinised from this corpus.

6.5.1. Same-sex relationships are wrong

The overarching representation that suggests same-sex relationships are wrong is instantiated in two groups of concordances. This meaning is conveyed when the legalisation of gay relationships is represented negatively and gay relationships as unnatural. The following two sections present these findings.

6.5.1.1. Legalising same-sex relationships is wrong

In the CCC, 15 concordances, which occur in eleven different website articles, represent the legalisation of gay relationships as wrong, being the second most frequent representation in the corpus. This suggests one of the main foci of this Church is to express its rejection of civil-partnerships and equal marriage, as illustrated in extract 19.

19. Manifestó que existen otras maneras de resguardar los derechos civiles de las minorías, pero decir que el matrimonio pueda ser entre dos personas del *mismo sexo* es errado.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: He said that there are other ways to safeguard the civil rights of the minorities but saying that marriage can be between two people of the *same sex* is wrong.

CCC - Conferencia_Episcopal_de_Chile_107.txt

As shown in the article where the extended concordance in 19 appears, the extract includes the opinion of a Bishop, being a personal authority legitimation. Here, the

predicative adjective *errado* (*wrong*) characterises gay marriage as a mistake.

Additionally, the extract acknowledges the existence of legal alternatives that can address gay people's needs. However, the article where the extract appears does not mention them. Finally, gay people are nominated as *minorías* (*minorities*), implying their rights are not representative of the majority, thus invalidating their demands.

The concordances of this representation often mention the use of the term 'marriage' in relation to the opposition to the legalisation of same-sex relationships, as illustrated in extract 20.

20. Señaló que a pesar de que existe la necesidad de regular las uniones de personas del *mismo sexo*, la Iglesia no está de acuerdo con que se use el término de matrimonio.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: He said that even when it is necessary to regulate the partnerships between people of the *same sex*, the Church does not agree with the use of the term 'marriage'.

CCC - Conferencia Episcopal de Chile 36.txt

In 20, the need to legally regulate same-sex partnerships is recognised, but gay marriage is rejected. Since the rejection is presented as pertaining to the term rather than relationships proper, the implication is that gay relationships are not the problem, thus neither are gay people. Hence, discrimination is backgrounded. In 20, the acknowledgement of the need for regulation could be seen as accepting the 'lesser' of two 'evils' in the Church's eyes – legal regulation of same-sex partnerships as opposed to gay marriage. Their aim then could be characterised as making concessions towards the new status quo but determined to curb further legal change. As the extract provides the opinion of a priest who is nominated with his title and proper name in the article where 20 appears, the opinion is validated via personal authority legitimations.

Finally, extract 21 reveals what the Church thinks about same-sex relationships.

21. Aclaró que la Iglesia le interesa particularmente la realidad de las uniones de hecho, realidad que no desconoce ni condena. Sin embargo, manifestó que “cualquier alteración no suficientemente madurada termina provocando males mayores que los que se intentaban soslayar. Asimismo, la evidencia empírica muestra que la legalización de las uniones de hecho es el camino que antecede al intento de establecer directamente el matrimonio *homosexual*”.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: He clarified that the Church is particularly interested in the reality of non-marital cohabitations, a reality it does not punish or is unaware of. However, he stated that “any alteration that is not mature enough ends up doing more harm than what one was trying to avoid. Likewise, empirical evidence shows that the legalisation of non-marital cohabitations is the path that precedes the attempt to directly establish *homosexual* marriage.

CCC - Conferencia_Episcopal_de_Chile_57.txt

In 21, the civil-partnership bill is characterised as immature, a feature that was also ascribed to homosexuality in previous findings (sections 6.3.1.1 and 6.3.1.2), portraying it as impermanent and unimportant. In this extract, the implication of a representation of homosexuality as an immature state of a person’s sexual identity is that laws related to it would be a rush response to an irrelevant matter, since they intend to legalise relationships which are not to be taken seriously due to their allegedly transient quality. Because of this, the bill is represented as unnecessary, having negative consequences, as indicated in the clause *termina provocando males mayores (ends up doing more harm)*. Although the article where the extract appears does not identify these consequences, they may refer to same-sex marriage, which is mentioned in the sentence that follows. In 21, the existence of proof that supports the possibility of an equal marriage law being passed after civil-partnerships are legalised is mentioned. This proof, nominated with the phrase *evidencia empírica (empirical evidence)*, constitutes a scientific theoretical rationalisation legitimisation. An inspection of the article where 21 appears shows that the quote cites a Church representative, being a personal authority legitimisation. Finally, 21 represents the Church as interested in, aware of, and non-judgemental about domestic cohabitations.

This implies that it is tolerant, receptive, and conscious of the current needs of society, thus positively representing this church.

6.5.1.2. Same-sex relationships are unnatural

In the CCC, 5 lines distributed across four different website articles portray same-sex relationships as unnatural. As van Leeuwen (2008) asserts, naturalisations can be regarded as moral evaluation legitimisation strategies. Extract 22 illustrates this representation.

22. El Cardenal Francisco Javier Errázuriz es enfático en señalar, sobre la pregunta por el avance de pensamientos socialistas y progresistas, donde se legaliza el aborto, el divorcio, la eutanasia, el matrimonio entre *homosexuales*, que "siempre nos ha parecido una aberración llamar matrimonio a la unión de dos personas del *mismo sexo*, tema que no se trató en Aparecida. Y a veces los temas "progresistas" son los más retrógrados del mundo. ¿Qué más retrógrado que lo que ha hecho el señor Zapatero en España, implantando, por ley, que la unión de dos personas del *mismo sexo* es matrimonio? Si se abandona el derecho natural, no veo cuál puede ser el criterio para no regresar a la poligamia y a la poliandria o para no llamar matrimonio a uniones de una mujer con cinco hombres y dos mujeres. ¡Política más retrógrada que esa, no conozco!"

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: Cardinal Francisco Javier Errazuriz is emphatic when he says, regarding the question about the advancement of socialist and progressive thoughts, where abortion, divorce, euthanasia, marriage between **homosexuals** are legalised, that "we have always thought that calling the partnership between two people of the **same sex** marriage is aberrant, a topic that was not discussed at Aparecida. Sometimes, "progressive" topics are the most retrograde in the world. What is more retrograde than what Mr Zapatero has done in Spain, instituting, by law, that the partnerships of two people of the **same-sex** is marriage? If natural law is given up, I do not see what will keep us from going back to polygamy and polyandry or from calling marriage the partnerships between a woman and five men and two women. I do not know of a more retrograde policy!"

CCC - Conferencia_Episcopal_de_Chile_86.txt

In 22, the phrase *una aberración* (*an aberration*) nominates the use of the term marriage to refer to gay partnerships characterising equal marriage as abnormal. This coincides with findings in 6.5.1.1, where rejecting the use of the term is a strategy that avoids rejecting same-sex relationships proper. The meaning of unnatural is conveyed with the verb *abandona* (*given up*) and the phrase *el derecho natural* (*natural law*),

which portrays the law, and consequently homosexuality, as going against nature. As discussed in 2.5, this type of naturalisation follows from the belief that heterosexuality is natural because it allows procreation, while homosexuality does not. Additionally, same-sex relationships are negatively represented in 22 by association to topics the Church rejects, such as abortion, euthanasia, and divorce. Negative representations by association were also identified in 6.3.2.1. In 22, the adjective *progresistas* (*progressive*) characterises these topics as politically left-leaning, thus ideological, and promoting change. However, the use of scare quotes in 22 challenges this meaning. This challenging is also carried out with the hyperbolic predicative phrase *los más retrógrados del mundo* (*the most retrograde in the world*), which characterises the topics as backward, implying that the Church is not. Furthermore, the extract contains a personal authority legitimisation strategy in an example that nominates a Spanish politician with a proper name. This example evokes an image that intends to support the representation of same-sex marriage as retrograde, although it fails to convey this meaning. Also, the extract portrays same-sex marriage as potentially leading to polygamy and polyandry, which are also intended to convey the meaning of backwardness. The implication may be that these forms of relationships pre-date contemporary legal configurations, thus being expressions of a presumably less civilised social order. Similar references to non-normative relationships were found in van der Bom et al. (2015), who identified implicit homophobia in media debates around the introduction of the British same-sex marriage law. Finally, a Church authority is cited and nominated with his title and proper name, which act as personal authority legitimations.

Extract 23 also illustrates the representation of gay relationships as unnatural and hints at an alternative to same-sex marriage.

- 23 También expresó que es necesario regular un marco legal que regule en materia patrimonial las relaciones estables entre parejas *homosexuales*. "Pero llamar a estas uniones matrimonio y equipararlas a la unión entre un hombre y una mujer es cambiar el orden natural de las cosas", aclaró el Obispo.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: He also stated that it is necessary to regulate a legal framework that regulates the stable relationships of *homosexual* couples in terms of inheritance. "But calling these partnerships marriage and equating them to the partnership between a man and a woman is to change the natural order of things", the Bishop clarified.

CCC - Conferencia_Episcopal_de_Chile_108.txt

In 23, using the term *matrimonio (marriage)* to refer to gay couples and equating gay relationships to heterosexual ones is portrayed as unnatural with the clause *cambiar el orden natural de las cosas (to change the natural order of things)*. As in extracts 20 and 21, the rejection is focused on the term, not on gay relationships. Similarly, likening same- and opposite-sex relationships is characterised as wrong, rather than gay relationships themselves. Although the Church is portrayed as opposing the equation of gay relationships, the extract acknowledges the need to legally regulate inheritance matters, which implies it rejects marriage and similar institutions, but not legal recognition in all its forms. As in 6.5.1.1, this portrays the Church as making concessions towards the new status quo. Finally, citing and nominating a Bishop with his title act as personal authority legitimations.

6.6. Conclusion

The most recurrent representations of homosexuality in the CCC portray it as temporary. This meaning is conveyed when it is characterised as a behaviour, a tendency, provoked, a choice, and a lifestyle. The analysis also revealed minority representations of homosexuality as immoral, an expression of immaturity, as well as an unnatural or abnormal phenomenon. Catholicism or religious faith is represented as a means to opt out of homosexuality, with homosexuality and Catholicism described

as incompatible with one another. A medicalisation discourse of homosexuality was also identified when health sciences and health specialists are mentioned.

Regarding gay people, unlike the Evangelical texts, the Catholic Church does not focus on representing a gay identity. This could be the result of not seeing homosexuality as an identity proper, but a temporary manifestation of sexual desire. However, it could also be a strategy whereby the Church avoids targeting people by focusing on the more abstract concept of homosexuality or on itself. However, there are minority representations of gay people in the lines analysed. These portray them as equal to others, which refers to heterosexual people, but also as different from them. This meaning is conveyed with othering strategies or by implication when equating same- to opposite-sex partnerships is characterised as impossible. Gay people are also portrayed as a minority which suggests their needs are not representative of the population.

Other minority representations pertain to paedophilia, which is related to homosexuality when the ordainment of priests is discussed. In the lines analysed, the Church is represented as concerned about this matter, and paedophile priests as dangerous. Since the implication is that these priests are gay, it is homosexuality that is represented as a threat. Consequently, the Church refuses to ordain gay people, which portrays homosexuality as incompatible with Catholicism. This meaning is also conveyed when gay people are recommended to embrace celibacy. This represents the Church as rejecting gay people, despite its representations as tolerant.

The Church often self-represents in the corpus. In these representations, it identifies as non-discriminatory, rejecting the discrimination of gay people by others, being accepting, merciful, respectful, accompanying, and loving. These representations serve as legitimisation strategies in themselves as they mitigate the accusation that they

engage in homophobic representations, and include references to gay people and their families, who are thus portrayed as vulnerable, lost, needing guidance, support, and company. This represents gay people's families as suffering by extension, which negatively evaluates gay people. Other representations of the Church portray it as involved in social matters, concerned about domestic partnerships, aware of society's needs and engaging in current discussions.

Some of the positive representations of the Church are contradicted when it rejects gay partnership and equal marriage laws, which are portrayed as wrong, unnatural, and retrograde. Also, equal marriage is identified as an ideological matter. Moreover, same-sex marriage is considered a trending, controversial, and unresolved topic, negative representations that permeate homosexuality and gay people. The Church seems to want to maintain the status quo as much as possible (e.g. rejecting gay marriage), rather than introducing new homophobic laws that outlaw gay people further. However, the analysis also revealed that the Church recognises the need to regulate same-sex partnerships despite its opposition to equal marriage. Its suggestion is that inheritance matters are regulated, suggesting that at least in some quarters the Church is prepared to acknowledge gay relationships and advocate some form of legal protection around them. Perhaps this is suggestive of a concession that is being made in order to avoid the legalisation of gay marriage but to still appear reasonable.

The analysis revealed that contradicting representations often operate as discourse strategies, which mitigate the Church's opposition. For instance, when the Church self-represents as tolerant in contexts where it rejects equal laws. This can also be argued when the Church rejects equal marriage based on the use of this term or the belief that the civil-partnership law will facilitate it. Here, the strategy is to base opposition on something different from homosexuality or gay people. However, many

characterisations that negatively portray same-sex relationships were identified, giving away the Church's stance about them.

Regarding legitimations, personal authority legitimations are the most recurrently used ones in this corpus, closely followed by impersonal authority legitimations. These correspond to references to church representatives, specific examples and Church documents. Additionally, there are expert and scientific theoretical rationalisation legitimations, as well as moral evaluations in the form of naturalisations. Among other linguistic strategies that help to instantiate or legitimate representations there are othering strategies, associations, personalisations, and the use of scare quotes. Compared to the Evangelical corpus, scare quotes are used much less frequently in this corpus. Similarly, the concordances analysed did not contain any occurrences of stylistic legitimations such as hypophora or capitalisation for emphasis. Regarding the legitimating function of the representations proper, they primarily delegitimize homosexuality and same-sex relationships, and legitimate the Church. Homosexuality is delegitimized when portrayed as impermanent, and problematic thus not to be taken seriously while being a nuisance. On the other hand, same-sex relationships are delegitimized when represented as wrong and unnatural thus unsuitable for legalisation. Regarding the Church, it is legitimized when portrayed as tolerant, caring about gay people. These representations contribute towards an overarching representation of the Church as benevolent concerning matters that are unimportant, and troublesome, such as homosexuality and same-sex relationships. The Catholic Church, while representing homosexuality in a negative way and being opposed to same-sex marriage, differs from the Evangelical churches in avoiding the more explicitly negative representations and relying heavily on mitigation to

positively self-represent. Having considered two religious contexts, the following chapter examines the Chilean congress.

Chapter 7. Representations around homosexuality in the Parliamentary Debates Corpus

7.1. Introduction

In this chapter, concordances from the Parliamentary Debates Corpus (PDC) that instantiate representations around homosexuality are examined. As with the previous chapters, nomination and predication strategies that help to instantiate representations are identified, as well as any legitimization strategies used to justify them. In section 7.2, the search terms used to generate the concordances analysed and an overall list of the representations identified are provided. Then, sections 7.3 to 7.6 provide more detailed analyses of some concordance lines that instantiate representations about gay people, churches, homosexuality, and gay marriage. Finally, section 7.6. concludes the chapter.

7.2. Concordance analysis of the Parliamentary Debates Corpus

The PDC consists of 231,467 words distributed across 18 files of the transcriptions of the debates about the anti-discrimination and civil-partnership laws held in the Chilean Senate and Chamber of Deputies during 2005-2015. The data here analysed consists of 480 extended concordances or extracts, which were retrieved using ten search terms on AntConc 3.5.7 (Anthony 2018) (see section 4.5.3.4 for more information about the search terms). Six of the ten search terms retrieved concordances in the PDC, as illustrated in Table 7.1.

	SEARCH TERM	N° OF CONCORDANCES
1	<i>homosexual*</i>	272
2	<i>mismo sexo</i>	187
3	<i>gay*</i>	11
4	<i>lesbian*</i>	6
5	<i>lésbic*</i>	2
6	<i>maric*</i>	2
7	<i>fleto*</i>	0
8	<i>cola*</i>	0
9	<i>lela*</i>	0
10	<i>camion*</i>	0
	TOTAL	480

Table 7.1. Total number of PDC concordances separated by search term and ordered by frequency.

As Table 7.1 shows, the majority of the lines analysed in this chapter were retrieved with the standard search term *homosexual** or the phrase *mismo sexo* (*same sex*). As opposed to the ECC and CCC, the search term *maric** retrieved two concordances in the PDC. These lines contain the adjective *marica*, which appear in a poem quoted in one speech written by Pedro Lemebel, a Chilean gay novelist. However, the overall lack of derogatory terms coincides with findings in the previous chapters, where the formal register of the parliamentary debates plays a role in the absence of these terms. In this corpus, the terms *homosexual**, *mismo sexo*, *gay**, *lesbian**, *lésbic**, and *maric** retrieved 56.7%, 39%, 2.3%, 1.3%, 0.4%, and 0.4% of the concordances, respectively. As in the ECC and CCC, the majority of the lines include a form of the word *homosexual*. Regarding distribution, out of the 18 files that make up the PDC, *homosexual** occurred in 15 files, *mismo sexo* in 12, *gay** in 6, *lesbian** in 3, *lésbic** in 1, and *maric** in 1 file or website article.

As mentioned in 4.5.3.1, the concordance analysis started with the identification of the main message conveyed in the lines, which were then grouped according to similarities. This resulted in the identification of four main phenomena being represented in the PDC, namely gay people, the churches, homosexuality, and gay

marriage. There are nine different representations of these phenomena in the corpus. These were then grouped according to similarities, making up six overarching representations of these entities or phenomena. Considering the previous chapters, the most recurrent entities or phenomena represented in the PDC coincide with those in the Evangelical corpus, including gay people. Although these address the same phenomenon, the PDC represents 'gay marriage' rather than '(the legalisation of) gay relationships', as the Catholic Church does.

Considering frequency, gay people are the most frequently represented entity in the lines scrutinised of this corpus, with three overarching representations instantiated in six groups of concordances or representations. These comprise a total of 118 concordance lines, which makes up 25% of the lines scrutinised. This is followed by representations of the churches, homosexuality, and gay marriage with one overarching representation each. These are instantiated in one representation for each entity, consisting of a total of 10 (2.1%), 7 (1.5%), and 5 (1%) concordance lines, respectively. The different phenomena, overarching representations, and representations identified in the data are illustrated below. The numbers in brackets indicate the number of (extended) concordance lines where the different representations are instantiated and their corresponding percentage values.

REPRESENTATIONS OF GAY PEOPLE

1. Gay people are vulnerable
 - i. Gay people are discriminated against (32 lines or 6.7%)
 - ii. Gay partnerships are unregulated (29 lines or 6%)
 - iii. Gay partnerships are not recognised (15 lines or 3.1%)
 - iv. Gay couples are unprotected (14 lines or 2.9%)
2. Gay people are uncommon
 - v. Gay people are different from heterosexual people (15 lines or 3.1%)
3. Gay people are unexceptional
 - vi. Gay people are like other people (13 lines or 2.7%)

REPRESENTATIONS OF THE CHURCHES

4. The churches are tolerant
 - i. The churches are accepting of gay people (10 lines or 2.1%)

REPRESENTATIONS OF HOMOSEXUALITY

5. Homosexuality is not dangerous to children
 - i. Homosexuality is not paedophilia (7 lines or 1.5%)

REPRESENTATIONS OF GAY MARRIAGE

6. Gay marriage is wrong
 - i. Gay marriage is not marriage (5 lines or 1%)

As in previous chapters, each social actor, event, or phenomenon represented in the PDC has been arranged in decreasing order according to the total number of concordances that contribute to their representation and the same has been done with the overarching representations. This means that in the PDC, gay people are predominantly represented as vulnerable (in 90 concordances or 18.8% of the lines analysed), and less frequently as unexceptional (in 13 concordances or 2.7% of the data analysed). The least frequent representation in the corpus portrays gay marriage as wrong, which is instantiated in 5 concordances that make up 1% of the concordances scrutinised. This organisation criterion is followed in the presentation of the findings in this chapter. In what follows, the different representations within the overarching representations identified are discussed in relation to patterns identified within the concordances that instantiate them and other relevant linguistic traces that convey a particular meaning, allude to or legitimate a particular representation. As with the previous chapters, I have made efforts to avoid repetition and keep focus on one representation at a time for structural cohesiveness.

7.3. Representations of gay people

As mentioned previously, gay people are the most recurrently represented entity in the PDC. Here, they are characterised in three overarching representations instantiated across six representations or groups of concordances. These representations were identified in 118 lines, making up 25% of the concordances scrutinised from this corpus. In what follows, I briefly describe the corresponding overarching representation, and then analyse some concordance lines within each representation.

7.3.1. Gay people are vulnerable

The most frequent overarching representation of gay people in the corpus portrays them as vulnerable. This meaning is conveyed in 90 concordances distributed across four representations, which stand for 18.8% of the lines analysed. These representations allude to vulnerability when they characterise gay people as discriminated (in the debates of both bills) and their partnerships as unregulated, unrecognised, and unprotected (in the debates of the civil-partnership bill). The following four sections present these findings.

7.3.1.1. Gay people are discriminated

The most recurrent representation of gay people, and also the most recurrent one in the whole PDC, portrays them as undergoing discrimination. This is instantiated in 32 concordances, which occur in ten different debates, in speeches by politicians in favour of passing the bills, in favour of the civil-partnership bill but against equal marriage, or against an equal civil-partnership law. Some of the concordances in this representation include examples of types of discrimination, containing references to violence, mockery, and lack of legal protection. Extract 1 includes references to violence and other kinds of discrimination.

1. En cuanto a las uniones de hecho *homosexuales*, primero tengo la necesidad profunda de señalar que existe y ha existido una realidad indesmentible de actos de violencia psicológica, incluso física, de tratos vejatorios y de discriminaciones arbitrarias en contra de muchas personas simplemente por tener una orientación sexual distinta. Esto, evidentemente -hay que decirlo-, afecta lo más sagrado que posee una persona: su dignidad. Cualquiera que sea el concepto de matrimonio que tengamos en esta Sala, nada, nunca, puede justificar la discriminación arbitraria y los actos de violencia que hemos visto en estos últimos días solo por tener una orientación sexual distinta. Nadie puede arrogarse el derecho a juzgar ni a apuntar o condenar espiritualmente a otro por esa causa.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: Regarding *homosexual* non-marital cohabitation, first I have the deep need to mention that there is and there has always been an undeniable reality of acts of psychological violence, even physical, of degrading treatment and arbitrary discriminations against many people just because they have a different sexual orientation. This, evidently, -it must be said- affects the most sacred quality that a person has: their dignity. Regardless of the concept of marriage that we have in this Room, nothing can ever justify the arbitrary discrimination and the acts of violence that we have seen these last days only for having a different sexual orientation. Nobody can claim the right to judge or point or spiritually condemn another person due to this.

1 AUC_Discusion_Unica_Chamber_of_Deputies.txt – Nicolás Monckeberg (RN)

Extract 1 occurs in debates about the civil-partnership law. Here, the adjective *indesmentible* (*undeniable*) suggests the existence of discrimination against gay people may have been contested. However, the extended extract does not specify when. Additionally, the adjective *muchas* (*many*) characterises a considerable number of, but not all, gay people as discriminated. The extract mentions psychological and physical violence, as well as unreasonable discrimination with the phrase *discriminaciones arbitrarias* (*arbitrary discriminations*), which suggests there are instances when discrimination may be justified. Additionally, homosexuality is alluded to in the nomination *orientación sexual distinta* (*different sexual orientation*), where *distinta* fulfils an othering function. Another allusion pertains to religion with the adjective *sagrado* (*sacred*) that metaphorically characterises dignity. Similarly, religious rejection of homosexuality is alluded to in the phrase *condenar espiritualmente* (*spiritually condemn*), which is rejected in the extract. Finally, the

existence of different understandings of marriage is acknowledged in the clause *cualquiera sea el concepto de matrimonio que tengamos* (whatever the concept of marriage that we have), indicating there is no universal definition for it. This challenges its portrayal as exclusively involving opposite-sex couples.

Extract 2 occurs in the anti-discrimination bill debates and mentions mockery as part of a speech where the discriminatory behaviour of a university authority is reported.

2. Son tan grandes su odio y su rabia contra lo diferente, que primero ataca a la Mistral y luego a todos los **homosexuales**. Que eso siga ocurriendo hoy demuestra que aún la **homosexualidad** es un tema tabú. Miremos el número de adolescentes **gay** que a nivel mundial se suicidan a causa de las burlas que sufren en sus entornos. Los mismos miedos que padeció Gabriela deben de sentir cientos de jóvenes en el siglo XXI.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: Her hatred and anger against what is different are so big that she first attacks Mistral and then all **homosexuals**. The fact that this keeps happening today proves that **homosexuality** is still a taboo. Let us consider the number of **gay** teenagers who kill themselves worldwide because of the ridicule they undergo in their surroundings. The same fears that Gabriela experienced is what hundreds of young people must experience in the 21st century.

3 AD_Discusion_Particular_Senate.txt – Jaime Quintana (PPD)

In 2, the phrase *su odio y su rabia* (her hatred and anger) nominate homophobic behaviour, while the phrase *lo diferente* (what is different) nominates homosexuality fulfilling an othering function. Although she did not identify as gay during her lifetime, the proper name *Mistral* nominates a Chilean poet⁶⁹ who was presumably gay and has become an important referent for local LGBTQ⁺ organisations, thus being a personal authority legitimation. In 2, attacks are generalised from this specific referent to include all gay people. Also, discrimination is portrayed as an ongoing issue with the clause *que siga ocurriendo hoy* (this keeps happening today) and the time period is nominated and delimited with the phrase *siglo XXI* (21st century), while

⁶⁹ Gabriela Mistral (1889-1857) was a Chilean educator, poet and diplomat who became the first Latin American to be awarded a Nobel Prize in Literature in 1945.

also conveying surprise or outrage at dated attitudes that still prevail. In the extract, the predicative clause *que a nivel mundial se suicidan* (*who kill themselves worldwide*) characterises gay teenagers and suicide as a global issue, thus important and not specific of the Chilean context. Also, suicide is reported as a consequence of mockery, indicated in the noun *burlas* (*ridicule*), which acknowledges the influence of external factors on ‘mental problems’ that gay people may undergo, something that has been attributed to inherent features of a gay sexual identity in previous analyses (section 5.3.4).

Extract 3 mentions the lack of laws as an example of discrimination against gay people. This extract occurs in the debates about the civil-partnership bill.

3. Existe una Ley de Matrimonio Civil, que establece una institucionalidad que rige a las parejas heterosexuales. Pero no hay un estatuto jurídico que rija la vida de los convivientes, especialmente de los **homosexuales**. En tal sentido, eso sí puede considerarse una discriminación arbitraria: hay estatuto jurídico para las parejas heterosexuales, pero no existe lo mismo para las **homosexuales**. Me adelanto a decir que yo soy partidario de un matrimonio heterosexual, de un contrato entre un hombre y una mujer. Sin embargo, el punto es harina de otro costal; y lo discutiremos en otro momento, aunque se halla indirectamente relacionado. Pero - reitero- no puede ser que no exista ningún estatuto jurídico para las parejas **homosexuales**.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: There is a Civil Marriage Law that establishes an official regulation that governs heterosexual couples. But there is no law that rules the life of those who cohabit, especially **homosexuals**. In that sense, that can indeed be considered an arbitrary discrimination: there is a law for heterosexual couples, but the same does not exist for **homosexual** ones. I am fast to say that I am in favour of heterosexual marriage, of a contract between a man and a woman. However, this is a different matter and we will discuss it at another time, although it is indirectly related to this. But – I insist – it is not possible that there is no law for **homosexual** couples.

3 AUC_Discusion_Particular_Senate.txt – Ignacio Walker (PDC)

In 3, cohabiting partnerships are represented as unregulated (discussed later in 7.3.1.2), and gay partnerships are foregrounded with the adverb *especialmente* (*especially*), while the phrase *discriminación arbitraria* (*arbitrary discrimination*) characterises the lack of regulation as unfounded. Nonetheless, the politician mentions

his/her support to opposite-sex marriage thus rejecting equal laws. This suggests that the absence of any kind of regulation for gay couples is what is negatively evaluated, while a lack of same-sex marriage law is not considered to be discriminatory. This coincides with findings in the Catholic corpus (section 6.5.1.1). Finally, nominating an existent law in the extract acts as an impersonal authority legitimation strategy.

7.3.1.2. Gay partnerships are unregulated

The second most recurrent representation of gay people, and in the whole PDC, pertains to their partnerships, which are portrayed as unregulated with forms of the verb *regular* (*to regulate*) and references to the need to create laws. This representation occurs in 29 concordances, distributed across six different debates, in speeches by politicians in favour of the civil-partnership bill, against an equal civil-partnership law, or in favour of the bill but against equal marriage or adoption by gay couples. This is illustrated in extract 4.

4. Al mismo tiempo, me parece adecuado que la institución del matrimonio (el que conocemos hoy día, el del Código Civil) se reserve para un hombre y una mujer. Ello, no porque sea homofóbico como han planteado aquí, en la Sala, algunos Senadores. Pero también resulta necesario que se cree una institucionalidad para las parejas del *mismo sexo*, que regule sus derechos y prohibiciones, como lo hace este proyecto. Es el camino que han tomado otros países a los que nos gusta mencionar como modernos o dignos de imitar: Alemania, Austria y otras naciones europeas.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: At the same time, I think it is appropriate that the institution of marriage (the one we know nowadays, the one in the Civil Code) is reserved for a man and a woman. This is not because I am homophobic, as it has been suggested here, in the Chamber, by some Senators. But it is also necessary that a law is created for *same-sex* couples, to regulate their rights and bans as this bill does. That is the path other countries have taken, countries that we like to mention as modern or worthy of imitation: Germany, Austria and other European nations.

4 AUC_Discusion_Particular_Senate.txt – Baldo Prokurica (RN)

In 4, the adjective *necesario* (*necessary*) characterises the creation of a law for same-sex partnerships as a requirement. However, the politician supports opposite-sex marriage only, thus rejecting gay marriage and implying that a civil-partnership law

should be enough. The politician introduces his stance as a personal opinion, which is foregrounded with the mental process verb phrase *me parece* (*I think*). However, he also legitimates it by mentioning the Civil Code, an impersonal authority legitimation strategy. Since rejecting gay marriage is considered discriminatory by those promoting equality, the politician takes an explicit stance to disclaim homophobia with the phrase *no porque sea homofóbico* (*not because I am homophobic*), asserting that he has been accused of it by colleagues in parliament. In order to determine whether these accusatory stances occurred in the corpus, I ran a search of the term *homof**, which resulted in the retrieval of 18 lines where a form of the search term occurred. In these lines, 7 refer to gay people experiencing homophobia, 1 line defines homophobia, 2 lines state that being against the civil-partnership bill or parts of it is not homophobic, and only 1 accuses a politician of being homophobic, while 7 contain instances where politicians disclaim homophobic behaviour or stances. This shows that accusatory stances against politicians are not frequently being taken in parliament, with only one occurrence, but they are still being acknowledged through the use of disclaimers, which implies there is an underlying understanding of rejection being perceived as a type of homophobic behaviour or attitude. Finally, the politician's opposing stance is again legitimated in the extract when Europe and European countries are nominated. These are characterised with the adjective *modernos* (*modern*) and the phrase *dignos de imitar* (*worthy of imitation*), which implies their example should be followed. As in previous chapters (see section 5.3.1.2), references to Europe in a postcolonial context act as expert authority legitimation strategies, since Europe is considered to be the foremost source of knowledge.

In extract 5, the phrase *para regular (to regulate)* characterises the purpose of the bill in a speech that portrays having marriage for heterosexual couples and civil-partnership for gay ones as discriminatory. This meaning is conveyed in the clause *no genera otro efecto que el de agudizar la discriminación (the only effect this argument creates is to aggravate discrimination)*, providing support for the politician's need to disclaim homophobia in extract 4.

5. Por lo anterior, no es aceptable argumentar "que este acuerdo (el AVP) solo rijan para parejas del *mismo sexo*, porque los heterosexuales tienen un estatuto que es el matrimonio". Esta línea argumentativa no genera otro efecto que el de agudizar la discriminación hacia las minorías sexuales y las asimetrías simbólicas con relación a personas del *mismo sexo* que han decidido vivir juntas, ya que ofrecen para regular la organización de la vida en pareja dos regímenes jurídicos diferentes y paralelos.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: Because of that, it is not acceptable to use the argument that "this bill (the CPA⁷⁰) should be only for *same-sex* couples, because heterosexuals have marriage". The only effect this argument creates is to aggravate discrimination towards sexual minorities and the symbolic asymmetries in relation to *same-sex* people who have decided to live together, since two different and parallel legal frameworks are offered to regulate the organisation of the lives of the couples.

4 AUC_Discusion_Particular_Senate.txt – Felipe Harboe (PPD)

In 5, the existence of separate laws for same- and opposite-sex couples is identified as inadmissible and a sign of intolerance and inequality with the clause *no es aceptable (it is not acceptable)*, the noun *discriminación (discrimination)* and the phrase *asimetrías simbólicas (symbolic asymmetries)*. These characterisations help the speaker to reject the notion that marriage is an exclusively heterosexual institution and challenge the argument used to oppose bill in extract 4, which is here nominated with the phrase *línea argumentativa (argument)*.

⁷⁰ CPA (*Civil-partnership Agreement*) is my translation of the acronym AUC (*Acuerdo de Unión Civil*), which stands for the name used to refer to the Chilean civil-partnership law.

7.3.1.3. Gay partnerships are not recognised

In the PDC, 15 concordances distributed across seven different debates represent gay partnerships as not being legally recognised. This meaning is conveyed with forms of the verb *reconocer* (*to recognise*) and other words or phrases that suggest gay couples are not acknowledged. This representation is instantiated in speeches by politicians in favour of the civil-partnership bill, in favour of the bill but against equal marriage, or against an equal civil-partnership law. Extract 6 illustrates this stance, in which rejection of the bills is based on it being inclusive. This explains the apparent contradiction in the extract, where the need for the bill is acknowledged and then the bill is rejected.

6. [C]reo que hay que darles un lugar jurídico a los convivientes del *mismo sexo*. Comparto lo manifestado por el Senador señor Orpis, en cuanto a que lo único que se conseguirá con esta propuesta legislativa es debilitar instituciones fundamentales de nuestro país, como son la familia y el matrimonio.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: I think that *same-sex* partners have to be given legal recognition. I share what Senator Orpis expressed, since the only thing that will be achieved by this legal proposal is to weaken institutions that are fundamental in our country, such as the family and marriage.

4 AUC_Discusion_Particular_Senate.txt - Alejandro García-Huidobro (UDI)

In 6, the first person singular mental process verb *creo* (*think*) characterises the politician's stance as a personal opinion. In the extract, the phrase *propuesta legislativa* (*legal proposal*) nominates the equal civil-partnership bill, which the verb *debilitar* (*to weaken*) characterises as detrimental. This effect pertains to marriage and the family, characterised as extremely important with the adjective *fundamentales* (*fundamental*), which helps to represent the bill as serious, having to be stopped. Additionally, the clause *hay que darles* (*have to be given*) characterises the recognition of gay partnerships as an obligation, while backgrounding whose responsibility this is.

Extract 7 includes a speech by a politician in favour of the civil-partnership bills and adoption by gay couples. Here, the lack of recognition is represented in relation to parenthood.

7. Es importante resaltar algunos temas que no fueron tocados a fondo en la discusión de este proyecto y que deben ser materia de legislación en forma urgente: la tuición de los hijos y la adopción para parejas del *mismo sexo*. Cuando toleramos que se niegue a las parejas del *mismo sexo* el reconocimiento legal como padres, estamos generando un perjuicio a los intereses superiores del niño.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: It is important to highlight some topics that were not discussed in depth in the debates of this bill and that have to be regulated urgently: the guardianship of children and adoption by *same-sex* couples. When we accept that *same-sex* couples are denied legal recognition as parents, we are damaging the best interests of the child.

1 AUC_Discusion_Unica_Chamber_of_Deputies.txt – Maya Fernandez (PS)

In 7, the passive verb phrase *se niega* (*are denied*) characterises the lack of recognition as intentional, while backgrounding those not allowing for it.

Additionally, the noun *perjuicio* (*damaging*) portrays children as endangered by those who accept the absence of laws. This includes the politician speaking, as indicated with the first-person plural verbs *toleramos* (*accept*) and *estamos* (*are*), thus accepting blame. This representation of children as endangered by politicians' actions, or lack thereof, is different from representations of endangered children identified in previous chapters, where parents or adults close to the children are portrayed as the menace (section 5.3.3).

7.3.1.4. Gay couples are unprotected

In the PDC, 14 concordances, distributed across six different debates, portray gay couples as unprotected. This meaning is conveyed with forms of the words *proteger* (*protect*) or *amparar* (*shelter*), which occur in speeches by politicians in favour of the civil-partnership bill, against an equal civil-partnership law, and against the bill because it was too similar to the marriage law, allegedly posing a threat to it. In 9

concordances of this representation, heterosexual couples are also characterised as unprotected. This is illustrated in extract 8.

8. Sé que esta propuesta legislativa no resuelve muchos aspectos que enfrentan las personas que deciden convivir porque implica tomar la decisión de contraer un estado civil. Pero sí es un avance, pues genera una opción que claramente permite mayor protección para quienes viven en pareja, sean heterosexuales u **homosexuales**. Por estos motivos, señora Presidenta, adelanto mi respaldo al proyecto.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: I know that this bill does not solve many aspects that the people who have decided to live together face, because it involves making the decision to change marital status. But it is indeed an advancement, since it results in an option that clearly allows for increased protection for those who live together as a couple, whether they are heterosexual or **homosexual**. Due to this, Madame President, I support the bill.

4 AUC_Discusion_Particular_Senate.txt – Carolina Goic (DC)

As in previous analyses, the first-person singular mental process verb *sé* (*know*) introduces a personal opinion in 8. Here, the clause *permite mayor protección* (*allows for increased protection*) alludes to the lack of protection of cohabiting couples by indicating there is currently some. This probably refers to opposite-sex marriage, which was the only kind of protection available for couples at the time the debates took place.

In extract 9, the impersonal clause *es necesario dar protección* (*it is necessary to grant protection*) alludes to the lack of protection and characterises protection as a need, while backgrounding who should grant it, namely politicians.

9. El AVP⁷¹ significa un avance y hacer realidad lo establecido en un conjunto de tratados internacionales suscritos por Chile que recogen en nuestro ordenamiento jurídico una práctica y una realidad ya asumidas en instrumentos de aquella índole. En tal sentido, las personas que han elegido vivir con otras de su **mismo sexo** merecen la protección jurídica, no por esta circunstancia, sino porque es necesario dar protección al ser humano en sus diversas expresiones de organización de vida.

⁷¹ The acronym AVP stands for one of the names the civil-partnership bill had during its discussion in congress. I translated this acronym as LCA, which stands for *Acuerdo de Vida en Pareja* (*Life as a Couple Agreement*).

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: The LCA means an advancement and the materialisation of what is established in a series of international treaties that Chile has signed, which encompass a practice and a reality in our laws which have already been taken on in instruments of that kind. In that sense, people who have decided to live with others of their *same sex* deserve the legal protection, not because of these circumstances, but because it is necessary to grant protection to human beings in the diverse ways in which they organise their lives.

4 AUC_Discusion_Particular_Senate.txt – Felipe Harboe (PPD)

In 9, international treaties are mentioned, legitimating the representation of protection as necessary with an impersonal authority legitimation strategy. However, the phrase *no por esta circunstancia (not because of these circumstances)* portrays the civil-partnership law as an obligation regardless. Moreover, the verb *merecen (deserve)* characterises gay couples as entitled to protection, thus being equal to heterosexual ones (this is discussed in more detail in section 7.3.3).

7.3.2. Gay people are uncommon

The second most recurrent overarching representation of gay people in the PDC portrays them as uncommon in discussions about the civil-partnership bill. This representation helps to convey the argument that different laws are needed for the different kinds of couples. This overarching representation is instantiated in one representation or group of concordances, which occur in speeches by politicians in favour of the bill but against gay marriage, against an equal civil-partnership law, and against a bill they considered benefitted a minority, namely gay people. This overarching representation is instantiated in 15 concordances which stand for 3.1% of the lines analysed.

7.3.2.1. Gay people are different from heterosexual people

In the PDC, 15 concordances, distributed across six different debates, portray gay and heterosexual people as different. This meaning is conveyed implicitly and explicitly.

The implicit representation can be identified when a law specially for same-sex partnerships is supported, as illustrated in extract 10.

10. Se ha tratado de hacer creer que el extenderlo a las parejas heterosexuales de alguna manera generaría una suerte de igualdad. Y que el no hacerlo sería, por lo tanto, una suerte de discriminación. He revisado la jurisprudencia internacional. Y en Alemania, en Austria, en Finlandia, en Suiza, en el Reino Unido, la verdad es que existe la unión civil *homosexual* y el matrimonio para las parejas heterosexuales, y nadie podría decir que esos países discriminan o no respetan los derechos civiles de las personas.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: There have been attempts at making us believe that extending this to heterosexual couples would generate some sort of equality. And not doing it would therefore be a kind of discrimination. I have checked international laws. And in Germany, Austria, Finland, Switzerland and the United Kingdom there is a *homosexual* civil-partnership law and marriage for heterosexual couples, and nobody could say that those countries discriminate or do not respect the civil rights of the people.

3 AUC Discussion Particular Senate.txt – Jacqueline van Rysselberghe (UDI)

In 10, the phrase *una suerte de igualdad* (*some sort of equality*) questions the notion of equality and suggest that having an equal civil-partnership law does not promote it. This intends to persuade listeners that having differentiating laws is not discriminatory. Furthermore, it implies that equal laws are a strategy to create a false sense of equality. This meaning is conveyed in the passive clause *se ha tratado de hacer creer* (*there have been attempts at making us believe*), which backgrounds the identity of those allegedly deceiving. Moreover, toponyms nominate countries that have different laws for gay and heterosexual couples, acting as authority of conformity legitimization strategies for the representation of equality as unnecessary. As previously identified, references to Europe act as expert authority legitimization strategies. This legitimating role is clear in the clauses *nadie podría decir que esos países discriminan o no respetan los derechos civiles de las personas* (*nobody could say that those countries discriminate or do not respect the civil rights of the people*), which portrays Europe as a place where discrimination does not exist.

An explicit instantiation of the representation of gay people as different is illustrated in extract 11, where couples are differentiated based on their potential to bear children.

11. Yo no soy partidario del matrimonio para personas del *mismo sexo*. Porque creo que el matrimonio es una institución diferente, con características propias, con historia propia, con una derivación especial precisamente por la eventualidad de que nazcan hijos, lo cual genera una serie de obligaciones que no existen en el caso de personas del *mismo sexo*. Entonces, no se trata de discriminar, sino de resolver los problemas, pero con soluciones adecuadas a su naturaleza propia. Y tratándose de personas del *mismo sexo* se justifica una relación de distinta índole, porque no existen las mismas consecuencias, pero sí muchas que hoy día la ley no recoge. Por consiguiente, me parece muy significativo efectuar aquella diferenciación.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: I am not in favour of marriage for people of the *same sex*. Because I think that marriage is a different institution, with its own characteristics, its own history, with a special derivation precisely due to the possibility of children being born, which generates a series of obligations that do not exist in the case of people of the *same sex*. Then, it is not about discriminating, but solving problems with solutions that are right for their own nature. And when it is about people of the *same sex*, a relationship of a different kind is justified, because the same consequences do not exist, but there are indeed many others that the law today does not consider. Therefore, I think it is very significant to differentiate.

2 AUC_Discusion_General_Senate.txt – Hernán Larraín (UDI)

In 11, the first-person singular pronoun *yo* (*I*) portrays the rejection of gay marriage as a personal opinion. Then, opposition to gay marriage is expressed with characterisations of (heterosexual) marriage which include procreation, indicated in the clause *que nazcan hijos* (*of children being born*). Additionally, the mitigating clause *no se trata de discriminar* (*it is not about discriminating*) disclaims discrimination, showing the politician is aware that this stance is likely to be regarded as intolerant by its opponents. Furthermore, the phrase *naturaleza propia* (*own nature*) conveys a moral evaluation legitimisation, suggesting there are essential differences between partnerships. The noun *consecuencias* (*consequences*) nominates these differences, suggesting they involve a result (i.e. children produced through sexual intercourse).

In 11, the same-sex civil-partnership law is nominated with the noun *relación* (*relationship*), and the clause *se justifica* (*is justified*) characterises it as reasonable. The meaning of difference is also conveyed in the phrase *distinta índole* (*different kind*), which characterises this law, while the adjectives *diferente* (*different*), *propia(s)* (*own*) and *especial* (*special*) refer to heterosexual marriage.

7.3.3. Gay people are unexceptional

The third and last overarching representation of gay people identified in the PDC portrays them as unexceptional. This overarching representation is instantiated in one representation or group of concordances that occur in speeches given in the debates about the civil-partnership bill by politicians in favour of the bill, and in favour of gay marriage. The concordances of this representation argue against those who represent gay people and heterosexual people as different, thus contradicting the representation in 7.3.2. Therefore, the two representations help to convey two opposing stances: that differentiating laws are needed (in section 7.3.2), and that all couples deserve the same rights (in this section). This last stance explains the support of equal marriage expressed in some lines of this representation. This overarching representation is instantiated in 13 concordances which stand for 2.7% of the lines analysed.

7.3.3.1. Gay people are like other people

In the PDC, 13 concordances, distributed across five different debates, represent gay people as not different from other people. This meaning is conveyed with references to gay people's rights, which portray them as entitled to them like any person, and comparisons to heterosexual people. Extract 12 illustrates these references.

12. En consecuencia, este acuerdo de vida en pareja tiene como propósito permitir la libertad a otros para decidir si quieren convivir, y, por tanto, someterse algún día al mecanismo propuesto, o casarse. Sin embargo, como yo considero que todos los seres humanos tienen los mismos derechos, la misma dignidad, que está puesta

aquí en cuestión de una manera casi brutal -a mi juicio-, creo que los **homosexuales**, a menos que se diga lo contrario y se exprese claramente, tienen la misma dignidad, iguales derechos, la misma condición de persona que los heterosexuales, y, por ende, el derecho a usar el instrumento sugerido en este proyecto, o entrar en la lógica de la vida del matrimonio.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: As a consequence, this life as a couple agreement has the purpose of allowing others the freedom to decide if they want to live together, and therefore, adopt this law or get married. However, since I believe that all human beings have the same rights, the same dignity, that are being questioned here in an almost savage way – in my opinion -, I believe **homosexuals**, unless the opposite is expressed clearly, have the same dignity, equal rights, the same condition as a person as heterosexuals and, therefore, the right to use the law proposed in this bill or get married.

2 AUC_Discusion_General_Senate.txt – Guido Girardi (PPD)

In 12, the first-person singular mental process verbs *considero* (*believe*) *creo* (*believe*), and the phrase *a mi juicio* (*in my opinion*) characterise the speaker's stance as a personal opinion. Here, the meaning of equality is conveyed in the phrase *todos los seres humanos* (*all human beings*), which nominates gay people as part of a whole and characterises them as unexceptional. This meaning is also conveyed in the phrases *mismos/iguales derechos* (*same/equal rights*), *misma dignidad* (*same dignity*), *misma condición de persona* (*same condition as a person*), which ascribe these features to gay people. In 12, the phrase *que los heterosexuales* (*as heterosexuals*) nominates the object of the comparison. Additionally, the adjective *brutal* (*savage*) represents those who question equality as inhumane.

Extract 13 portrays gay people as unexceptional in relation to parenthood, thus challenging those who question their suitability to raise children.

13. Yo siempre lo señalo: no entiendo a quienes piensan -y por eso rebato lo que sostiene el Senador Bianchi- que una pareja **homosexual**, por el hecho de ser tal, no puede cuidar a un niño. ¡Quién dijo que el afecto que se le entrega a un menor, los valores que se le inculcan, el cariño con que se le cría y la educación que se le entrega tienen vinculación con la orientación u opción que cada persona tome respecto de su vida sexual!

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: I always say it: I do not understand those who think –and that is why I refute what Senator Bianchi says- that a **homosexual** couple, just

because it is one, cannot take care of a child. Who said that the affection giving to a child, the values taught to them, the love they are brought up with and the education given to them relate to the orientation or choice that each person makes about their sexual life!

4 AUC_Discusion_Particular_Senate.txt – Fulvio Rossi (PS)

In 13, the pronoun *yo* (*I*), the first-person singular verbal process verbs *señalo* (*say*) and *rebato* (*refute*), and mental process ones such as *entiendo* (*understand*) characterise the speaker's stance as a personal opinion, while verbal and mental processes allude to ongoing discussions about LGBTQ+ matters. Additionally, a rhetorical question is used to show disagreement, as is suggested by its transcription between exclamation marks, which reveals the speaker's strong emotions when conveying the speech. Finally, through coordination, the nouns *opción* (*choice*) and *orientación* (*orientation*) characterise homosexuality as a conscious decision, thus implying it is impermanent. This reveals some inconsistencies in the speaker, since conceiving homosexuality as a choice can be regarded as homophobic, but s/he supports equality.

7.4. Representations of the churches

The second most frequently represented entity revealed in the PDC are churches. Here, churches are portrayed in one overarching representation instantiated in one representation or group of concordances. The lines in this representation occur in speeches of politicians in favour of the anti-discrimination and civil-partnership bills, and in favour of the civil-partnership bill but against equal marriage.

7.4.1. The churches are tolerant

The overarching representation of the churches identified in the PDC portrays them as tolerant. This representation is instantiated in 10 concordances, distributed across five different debates, in speeches that convey the meaning of tolerance by portraying the

churches as accepting gay people. These concordances make up for 2.1% of the lines analysed.

7.4.1.1. The churches are accepting of gay people

Among the 10 concordances that represent the churches as accepting gay people, 9 characterise the Catholic Church. Extract 14 includes three concordances where the Pope and other Catholic Church leaders are mentioned.

14. A propósito del Sínodo de Obispos sobre la Familia, realizado el año recién pasado en Roma, el Papa Francisco señaló que los **homosexuales** “tenían dones y atributos que ofrecer”, y agregó que Dios “no le tiene miedo a la novedad”. Sin duda, el Papa Francisco nos ha venido a enseñar un camino de humildad en medio de una sociedad y de un mundo en el que el individualismo impera sin mayores contrapesos y donde se atropella la dignidad de las personas. ¿Alguien en esta Sala se siente con la autoridad moral para desautorizar las palabras del Papa? Por otra parte, al cura obrero y defensor de los derechos humanos en dictadura, a sus 97 años de edad, le preguntaron en una entrevista por el matrimonio igualitario y respondió: “Lo apruebo. El **homosexual** tiene derecho a amar y compartir su vida con otra persona. Si la naturaleza le pide una relación **homosexual**, entonces, bueno, es lo que le pide la naturaleza y es legítimo.”

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: In relation to the Synod of Bishops about the Family, held just last year in Roma, Pope Francis said that **homosexuals** “had gifts and qualities to offer”, and added that God “is not afraid of new things”. Undoubtedly, Pope Francis has come to teach us a path of humility in the middle of a society and a world where individualism rules without major counterbalance and where the dignity of people is run over. Does anyone in this Room feel they have the moral authority to discredit the words of the Pope? On the other hand, the worker priest who defended human rights during the dictatorship was asked in an interview when he was 97 years old about equal marriage and he answered: “I approve it. The **homosexual** has the right to love and share their life with another person. If nature asks them to have a **homosexual** relation, then, well, that is what nature is asking and it is legitimate.”

I AUC_Discusion_Unica_Chamber_of_Deputies.txt – Claudio Arriagada (DC)

In 14, two religious leaders are quoted, acting as personal authority legitimisation strategies. These quotes imply acceptance is due when they characterise gay people as contributing to society (or maybe religion, as this is not specified here) and homosexuality as valid with the adjective *legítimo* (*legitimate*). In 14, the age of the priest cited is included in an attempt to show that gay people are accepted even by

people who could be expected to be overly conservative within this church, thus portraying it as modern. Additionally, homosexuality is represented as normal with the clause *la naturaleza le pide* (*nature asks them for*), a moral evaluation legitimisation, and gay people as having the right to experience their sexual identity. This contradicts the findings in 6.3.1.1, where the Church recommends gay people to be celibate, showing inconsistencies within the Church (section 6.4.1.4).

Finally, the speaker portrays the Pope as an unquestioned authority with a rhetorical question. Considering this is implied in congress, the speaker is suggesting that this church's stance should be accepted by all people irrespective of their religion, which overlooks other faiths that may be represented in congress, presents this church as having a say in the discussion, and overrules the fact that Chile is a secular State.

As Chapter 6 showed, representations of the Catholic Church as accepting are not exclusive of the parliamentary context. A potential effect of this representation is that gay people feel welcomed by it, whilst presenting it as modern, and accepting. These meanings are also conveyed when the clause *no le tiene miedo* (*is not afraid*) characterises God as unafraid. Here, the nomination *la novedad* (*new things*) could be referring to homosexuality, gay people, or LGBTQ+ laws, but this cannot be determined.

Regarding the Evangelical churches, extract 15 shows the only concordance where it is mentioned.

15. Señor Presidente, yo admiro y respeto a quienes tienen el don de la fe. Y me niego a aceptar que ellos puedan creer que haya personas que no son hijos de Dios: los **homosexuales**, las lesbianas, los transgéneros. Pienso que esa es una visión acotada y no corresponde a la que observé al permanecer durante cuarenta a cuarenta y cinco años muy cerca del pueblo evangélico.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: Mister President, I admire and respect those who have the gift of faith. And I refuse to accept that they could believe that there are people who are not the children of God: **homosexuals**, lesbians, transgender people. I think that is a narrowed-down perspective and does not correspond with what I

saw when I stayed very close to the evangelical people during forty to forty-five years.

3 AD_Discusion_Particular_Senate.txt – Alejandro Navarro (MAS)

In 15, the Evangelical churches are portrayed as accepting by means of the rejection of their intolerance with the clause *me niego a aceptar* (*I refuse to accept*). This implies their intolerance has been suggested elsewhere. As in previous analyses, first-person singular pronouns and verbs, such as *yo* (*I*), *me* (*I*), and *niego* (*refuse*) present claims as a personal opinion. Similarly, the politician mentions his/her own experience with these churches as an example that validates his/her assertion, being a personal authority legitimation strategy. Also, the phrase *visión acotada* (*narrowed-down perspective*) portrays claims of intolerance as biased and describing a minority. This contradicts findings in Chapter 5 (section 5.6.1.1) where the rejection of LGBTQ+ matters are portrayed as representing the majority of Evangelicals.

7.5. Representations of Homosexuality

The third most frequently represented entity in the PDC is homosexuality. In this corpus, there is one overarching representation of homosexuality instantiated in one representation or group of 7 concordances that appear in speeches in favour of the anti-discrimination bill. These concordances make up for 1.5% of the lines analysed.

7.5.1. Homosexuality is not dangerous to children

The representation of homosexuality in the PDC portrays it as harmless to children. The following section presents these findings.

7.5.1.1. Homosexuality is not paedophilia

In the PDC, 7 concordances that occur in three different debates mention paedophilia. Here, the politicians reject the correlation between homosexuality and this sexual

practice (a connection also made in section 5.3.3.2). This indicates that a correlation between the two was made during the discussion of the anti-discrimination bill, although it did not show in the analysis. In the concordances of this representation, 3 mention paedophilia as unrelated to a specific sexual identity, suggesting its correlation to homosexuality is unfounded. This is illustrated in extract 16.

16. La verdad es que se han dicho muchas cosas falsas, entre ellas que el proyecto se prestaría para proteger prácticas perversas, como la pedofilia. ¡Eso es una falta de respeto! Los pedófilos pueden ser **homosexuales** o heterosexuales. Ello no tiene nada que ver con la condición o la orientación sexual.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: The truth is that many false things have been said, among those that the bill would lend itself to protect perverse practices such as paedophilia. That is a lack of respect! Paedophiles can be **homosexual** or heterosexual. That has nothing to do with the sexual condition or orientation.

3 AD_Discussion_Particular_Senate.txt – Patricio Walker (DC)

In 16, the anti-discrimination bill is characterised as believed to allow for child molestation to go unpunished. This is identified as a false claim used to oppose this bill, as conveyed in the passive clause *se han dicho muchas cosas falsas* (*many false things have been said*) which backgrounds the identity of those making the claim. The noun *pedófilos* (*paedophiles*) nominates child molesters, characterised as either hetero- or homosexual. This represents homosexuality as not threatening children (or heterosexuality as equally dangerous).

Something similar can be observed in extract 17.

17. Porque vincular la comisión de delitos o la eventual comisión de delitos con determinada orientación sexual implicaba no solo discriminar, sino también caer en una profunda injusticia. Quiero ser muy claro al respecto: en ciertos debates, se tiende a generar la sensación de que la orientación sexual está relacionada con algún tipo de delito. Y la verdad es que conductas pedófilas o la pederastia tienen más bien que ver con heterosexuales que con **homosexuales**. Por lo tanto, me parece un gran acierto haber eliminado el mencionado texto del artículo 2.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: Because connecting the committing of crimes or the eventual committing of crimes to a specific sexual orientation implied not only discrimination but also a deep injustice. I want to be very clear about it: in some

debates it would seem that there is a suggestion that sexual orientation is related to some kind of crime. And the truth is that paedophilic behaviour or pederasty have more to do with heterosexuals than with *homosexuals*. Therefore, I think it is a wise move having eliminated the aforementioned text from article 2.

4 AD_Discusion_Informe_Comision_Mixta_Senate.txt – Fulvio Rossi (PS)

In 17, the verb *discriminar* (*discrimination*) and the adjective *injusticia* (*injustice*) characterise the connection between paedophilia to a specific sexual identity as an unfounded sign of intolerance. Here, paedophilia is distanced from homosexuality to the point that it is portrayed as predominantly relating to heterosexuality, as expressed in the clause *tienen más bien que ver con heterosexuales* (*have more to do with heterosexuals*). In 17, the phrase *en ciertos debates* (*in some debates*) relates the correlation to discussions about the bill. Furthermore, the reference to an article of the bill whose removal is characterised with the phrase *un gran acierto* (*a wise move*) suggests that the correlation was considered in the wording of the law. This indicates that the link between paedophilia and homosexuality was once normalised in this context, to the point that it made it into a bill that criminalises discrimination.

7.6. Representations of gay marriage

The fourth and least frequently represented phenomenon in the PDC is gay marriage. The analysis revealed one overarching representation of gay marriage, instantiated in one representation or group of 5 concordances, which make up 1% of the lines analysed. These concordances occurred in speeches delivered in the debates of the civil-partnership bill by politicians in favour of the bill but against equal marriage, and against the bill because it was too similar to marriage.

7.6.1. Gay marriage is wrong

The representation of gay marriage in the PDC portrays it as wrong. The following section presents these findings.

7.6.1.1. Gay marriage is not marriage

In the PDC, 5 concordances that occur in four different debates represent gay marriage as wrong. Here, 4 concordances convey this meaning by referring to marriage as intended for heterosexual couples only. This representation is instantiated in ways that suggest the current marriage law cannot be modified. A way in which this is justified is with reference to procreation, as illustrated in extract 18.

18. Señora Presidenta, voy a votar en contra en lo que contribuye a legalizar el matrimonio de parejas **homosexuales**. Desde las perspectivas ética y valórica, creo que se atenta contra la institución del matrimonio y la familia. Porque la familia, desde el punto de vista de su naturaleza, es entre un hombre y una mujer, por lo que el matrimonio heterosexual es el eslabón fundamental de los procesos reproductivos para la mantención de la especie humana y el sustrato seguro para la formación de los hijos.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: Madame President, I am going to vote against what contributes to legalise **homosexual** marriage. From the ethical and principles perspective, I think that it threatens the institution of marriage and the family. Because the family, from the point of view of its nature, is between a man and a woman, making heterosexual marriage the fundamental link of the reproductive processes that maintain the human species and the safe basis for the development of the children.

3 AUC_Discussion_Particular_Senate.txt – Iván Moreira (UDI)

In 18, the clause *contribuye a legalizar* (*contributes to legalise*) portrays the civil-partnership bill as facilitating gay marriage, which is characterised as harmful to marriage and the family with the clause *se atenta* (*it threatens*). Here, the phrase *su naturaleza* (*its nature*) naturalises opposite-sex families, characterising them as the norm, a moral evaluation legitimisation. Additionally, the phrase *eslabón fundamental de los procesos reproductivos* (*fundamental link of the reproductive processes*) characterises opposite-sex marriage as essential for human existence, which implies gay marriage is not, thus threatening human existence by implication. Similarly, the phrase *estrato seguro para la formación de los hijos* (*safe basis for the development of the children*) characterises heterosexual marriage, while implying same-sex

partnerships are not safe for raising children, being dangerous to them. Endangered children is a minority representation in the PDC, but it is a dominant one in the Evangelical corpus (section 5.3.3), and has already been found in other studies, such as van der Bom et al. (2015). In this study, van de Bom et al. (2015) found that marriage was defined as an essentially heterosexual institution due to gender complementarity and its relation to procreation, where the implication is that same-sex marriage would threaten civilisation. As in 18, Turner et al. (2018) also found that same-sex marriage was represented as having the potential to devalue the institution of marriage, which was traditionally defined as involving a man and a woman. In the PDC, gay marriage is also represented as not being marriage in extract 19, where it is characterised as unnecessary.

19. Cada uno puede pensar libremente, manifestar su orientación sexual y decir hacia dónde quiere ir, pero no se necesita una ley de matrimonio *homosexual*, porque eso no es un matrimonio: es, como bien dijeron varios diputados, una unión civil. Ahora, este puede ser el primer paso en esa línea, porque es posible que se aprovechen de él y después pidan que se les reconozca el derecho a adoptar hijos, a contraer matrimonio.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION: Everyone can think freely, express their sexual orientation and say how far they want to go, but a *homosexual* marriage law is not necessary, because that is not a marriage: it is, as several congress members said, a civil-partnership. Now, this can be the first step in that direction, because it is possible that advantage will be taken and then they ask for the recognition of the right to adopt children, to get married.

1 AUC_Discusion_Unica_Chamber_of_Deputies.txt – René Manuel García (RN)

In 19, the clause *este puede ser el primer paso en esa línea* (*this can be the first step in that direction*) characterises the civil-partnership law as facilitating adoption and gay marriage. This is a slippery slope argument, which intends to support opposition to the law. Additionally, the clause *se aprovechen de él* (*advantage will be taken*) represents the civil-partnership law as threatening, and those promoting it as dishonest, intending to misuse the law. Also, the clause *eso no es un matrimonio* (*that*

is not a marriage) invalidates gay marriage. This representation is legitimated with the clause *como bien dijeron varios diputados* (*as several congress members said*), an authority of conformity legitimation strategy, which suggests the rejection of gay marriage does not represent a minority.

7.7. Conclusion

Since the PDC includes both supporting and opposing stances, it is not possible to draw an overall picture from the majority representations identified, as these are sometimes contradictory due to the nature of the corpus rather than inconsistencies in the text producers. Considering this, I will start by summarising the minority representations identified, which characterise discrimination, gay people, homosexuality, the churches, the laws, and marriage.

Regarding discrimination, it is characterised as real and ongoing, causing fear and mental instability on gay people and potentially leading to suicide, particularly in teenagers. Although discrimination is negatively evaluated, it is represented as sometimes justified when it is characterised as arbitrary, which implies that in some cases it is not. A way in which discrimination materialises is in the absence of laws, which explains the identification of majority representations of gay partnerships (hence people) as not being legally recognised, protected or regulated. The need to recognise, regulate and protect is acknowledged throughout the findings, while gay people are represented as entitled to protection, having their rights recognised, and experiencing their sexual identity. These representations portray gay and heterosexual people as equals, while questioning this equality is represented as inhumane. The analysis also revealed a representation of equality as unnecessary, false, not achieved with equal laws, and a deceitful political strategy. This represents those who promote it as dishonest, as their objective is to achieve other goals. Furthermore, gay and

heterosexual people are also represented as different, particularly with references to procreation, which characterise gay parents/families as unnatural. Additionally, they are represented as dangerous to children by implication, when heterosexual parents are represented as providing a safe environment for the children. However, children are also represented as endangered by politicians who oppose LGBTQ+ laws.

Concerning gay people, they are represented as contributing to society and following their instincts, as suggested in church quotes. Additionally, they are discussed in relation to paedophilia, identified as not being paedophiles. The opposite belief is contested in the analysis, being represented as unfounded, unfair, and discriminatory.

Concerning homosexuality, it is portrayed as not being the norm, but also as a natural phenomenon. Additionally, homosexuality is represented as a choice, therefore impermanent, which coincides with representations identified in the previous chapters.

Regarding the churches, these are represented as accepting and modern in this data set. Additionally, the Catholic Church is portrayed as a universal authority and having a say in politics and the discussion about future laws. Regarding the Evangelical churches, they are less frequently mentioned but similarly identified as accepting, as well as unfairly believed to be intolerant.

Regarding the laws, the anti-discrimination bill is portrayed as enabling child molestation, which rests on the homophobic belief that paedophile people are gay. On the other hand, the civil-partnership law is portrayed facilitating gay marriage and adoption, which is characterised as dangerous. This meaning is conveyed when gay marriage is represented as harming the heterosexual family and marriage, which are characterised as essential to society and human existence. This acts as support for having differentiating laws and the rejection of gay marriage. However, portrayals of gay and heterosexual people as different also provide support to these matters. Still,

these representations are contested, since having differentiating laws is represented as discriminatory.

Concerning marriage, references to procreation portray it as suitable only for heterosexual couples, hence being unsuitable for same-sex ones. However, these representations are contested when the existence of different understandings of marriage is mentioned in the analysis, which suggests the current institution is not unmodifiable.

Since the concordances analysed in this chapter occur in debates of either the anti-discrimination, civil-partnership, or both laws, they can help identify sites of opposition to the passing of these laws. For instance, the concordances that represent homosexuality as different from paedophilia occur in debates about the anti-discrimination law only, which suggests paedophilia was used as an argument to oppose the bill, thus needing to be contested with the representation identified in 7.5. Similarly, since the concordances that represent the churches occurred in debates about both laws, the representation of the churches as accepting indicates these organisations behaved intolerantly during the discussions of these two bills, which indicates they were relevant opponents to their passing.

The analysis also showed that the majority of the representations are instantiated in speeches about the civil-partnership bill delivered by politicians who support the bill or oppose parts of it, particularly the inclusion of heterosexual couples. Although less frequently, opposition was grounded on the belief that the bill would benefit gay people only, thus not being democratic, or because it was considered to be too similar to marriage, and as such it would weaken it. Based on these findings it is possible to assert that opposition, as it is expressed in the concordances analysed, is not based on an explicit rejection of gay people or homosexuality. As the analysis showed, it is

either based on an aspect of the bill, or what could potentially result from it. However, the fact that some of the representations identified (e.g. *the churches are accepting of gay people*, and *homosexuality is not paedophilia*) contest representations that were not identified, suggests that opposition based on a rejection of homosexuality/gay people did exist, despite its absence from the findings. Additionally, the use of mitigation by those who were against the new law suggests awareness that this stance would be interpreted as homophobic, being an example of implicit homophobia. Therefore, it could be argued that in the PDC rejection of homosexuality/gay people is subtle, hidden or absent, but can be inferred from representations that contest others. Furthermore, the analysis showed that supporting a bill does not entail supporting full LGBTQ⁺ equality, as often politicians were in favour of a law, but against equal marriage or adoption. As this stance was identified in concordances of the majority of the representations (except in 7.5.1.1 and 7.3.1.4), it could be argued that gay and heterosexual people are represented as different throughout the analysis, since rejecting equal marriage indirectly portrays gay people and their partnerships as deviating from the norm. This meaning is also conveyed when a same-sex civil-partnership law is supported, which was frequently stated in speeches which supported the passing of this law.

Considering legitimisation strategies, the analysis revealed occurrences of authority legitimations, such as the impersonal, expert, personal and conformity ones. Another type of legitimisation used were moral evaluations, identified whenever nature was mentioned to validate representations. Among the linguistic strategies that help to instantiate representations or legitimate them there were othering strategies, generalisations, disclaimers of homophobia, rhetorical questions, and passivation. Compared to the analyses in the previous chapters, disclaimers of homophobia and

passivation are an addition. Additionally, scare quotes were not identified in the concordances of the PDC analysed, although this is most likely due to the fact that the debates were spoken rather than written, with transcription carried out by an external party. Similarly, the analysis did not reveal stylistic legitimations such as hypophora or capitalisation for emphasis, which in the PDC was conveyed with standard exclamation marks. Another difference between the PDC and the church corpora is that scientific theoretical rationalisation legitimations were not identified in the concordances analysed from the PDC, with the majority of the extracts containing personal opinions, showing that the politicians do not consider it necessary to base their rejection or opposition on something other than their own personal standpoints, which is suggestive of their power in the congressional context.

Regarding the legitimating function of the representations proper, due to the stance-inclusive nature of the PDC, these representations both legitimate and delegitimize gay people. They are legitimized when represented as vulnerable, since in the parliamentary context this entails the laws should be passed. They are also legitimized when represented as unexceptional, which suggests they are entitled to the same rights. Conversely, they are delegitimized when represented as uncommon, which conveys the opposite meaning of lack of entitlement. Other representations with a legitimating function in this corpus pertain to the churches and homosexuality. The former are legitimized when portrayed as tolerant, and the latter when it is represented as harmless to children. Finally, gay marriage is also delegitimized in this data set when it is represented as not being real marriage. However, this representation is the least recurrent in the data set. If we consider frequency, the most legitimized are gay people when portrayed as vulnerable, then the overarching representation would be that LGBTQ⁺ laws have to be passed.

The representations around homosexuality in the Chilean government are therefore more positive than in either the Evangelical or Catholic church discourse, sometimes directly countering negative representations identified in the previous two chapters, although politicians also took care to represent the churches in positive ways too. Not all the representations around homosexuality were uniformly positive, although it is notable that the negative ones were often strongly mitigated with various strategies.

In the following concluding Chapter, I refer to the similarities and/or differences among the three corpora in more detail, considering the influence and implications of the wider social context.

Chapter 8. Conclusion

8.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I summarise the findings of this study in relation to the research questions. In section 8.2, I address research question 1 (RQ1), while in 8.3 I compare the findings and explain them in relation to their social context so as to answer research question 2 (RQ2). In section 8.4, I reflect on the methodological approach in order to address research questions 3 (RQ3). After this, in section 8.5, I critically reflect upon the contribution of the study. Then, in section 8.6, I reflect on some shortcomings encountered in carrying out this study, pointing out its limitations. In section 8.7, I reflect about my identity in relation to the interpretation of the findings and then provide suggestions for future research in section 8.8. To finish, I include some concluding remarks in section 8.9, where I offer some final thoughts about this study and the Chilean context.

8.2. Summary of findings

In this thesis, I identified representations around homosexuality in Chilean church and parliamentary discourse between 2005 and 2015, both years inclusive. This reflects the Overarching Research Question (ORQ), which was answered by means of RQ1 and its sub-questions (*1.a*, *1.b* and *1.c*), that outlined my methodological approach (section 4.2). The analyses that answer these questions are included in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, which considered the Evangelical Churches, Catholic Church, and Parliamentary Debates corpora, respectively. In what follows, I summarise the findings in these three corpora as they answer RQ1 and its corresponding sub-questions, *1.a*, *1.b* and *1.c*.

8.2.1. RQ1: What does a concordance analysis reveal about the representations around homosexuality in parliamentary and Catholic and Evangelical church discourse in Chile?

The first research question in this study aimed to identify what a concordance analysis revealed about the representations around homosexuality in the three corpora analysed. To answer this question, I looked for nomination and predication strategies that instantiated representations around homosexuality in the data (*RQ1a: How are nomination and predication strategies used to instantiate the representations around homosexuality identified in each corpus?*) along with legitimation strategies that were used to justify these representations (*RQ1b: How are legitimation strategies used to justify the representations around homosexuality identified in each corpus?*). Finally, I reflect on the legitimating role of the different representations identified (*RQ1c: What is the legitimating function of the representations around homosexuality identified in each corpus?*). These questions allowed me to identify the most frequent representations around homosexuality in each data set, how they are legitimated, and the legitimating function they fulfil.

In the Evangelical Churches Corpus, the majority of the representations identified around homosexuality are negative, helping to delegitimize gay people, homosexuality, and gay marriage. The most frequently represented entity are gay people, being predominantly talked about in relation to religion and society. From a religious perspective, they are represented as immoral, sinners, and promiscuous. Also, they are considered a menace to the Evangelical churches, since they are portrayed as modifying religion. Regarding their relation to society, gay people are represented as threatening. This meaning is conveyed by being portrayed as a powerful minority that is getting legal recognition, which implies they constitute a menace to democracy and the majority non-gay population. Additionally, they are represented as

a menace to children, due to an alleged influence on them from a sexual, and ideological perspective. Finally, they are represented as abnormal by being portrayed as mentally unstable. This meaning is conveyed in representations that characterise them as troubled, prone to psychological disorders, and their sexual identity as a trauma resulting from sexual abuse.

The second entity that is most frequently represented in the Evangelical corpus is homosexuality, which is portrayed as abnormal or a deviation, as well as an impermanent feature of a person's identity rather than an inherent one. Another phenomenon represented in this corpus is gay marriage, which is portrayed as wrong by means of concordances that describe equal marriage laws as being rejected. Finally, the last representation identified in this corpus pertains to the Evangelical churches, which are represented as rejecting equality through their opposition to LGBTQ+ rights. Although this representation can be regarded as negative, it positively evaluates, since the data are produced for like-minded Evangelical people. As such, it aims at legitimating the churches by portraying them as defending the interests of Evangelical people and the alleged majority of the population.

As in the previous corpus, the majority of the representations identified around homosexuality in the Catholic Church Corpus are also negative, helping to delegitimize homosexuality. The analysis of the concordances of this corpus did not reveal representations of gay people that were recurrent enough to make it to the main group of representations identified (see section 6.2). However, there are enough concordances to instantiate representations of homosexuality, same-sex relationships, and the Catholic Church. In this corpus, homosexuality is the most recurrently represented phenomenon, being portrayed as a tendency, a behaviour, and having (preventable) causes, which characterises it as an impermanent feature of a person's

identity. Additionally, it is represented as problematic. Similarly, same-sex relationships are represented as wrong, being mentioned as pertaining to their legalisation in marriage or a civil-partnership law. In these concordances, gay relationships are represented as unnatural and their legalisation as wrong. As in the Evangelical corpus, positive representations pertain to the church. In the Catholic corpus, the church is portrayed as tolerant by means of its characterisation as non-discriminatory, accompanying, accepting, and respecting gay people. Nonetheless, these representations of a tolerant church clash with the negative representations of homosexuality and gay relationships identified.

Concerning the Parliamentary Debates Corpus, it is necessary to consider the stances of the politicians in the different representations identified in order to better understand the findings. These stances include being in favour of the LGBTQ⁺ bills discussed, in favour of the civil-partnership bill but against equal marriage or adoption, in favour of the civil-partnership bill and equal marriage, against the civil-partnership bill, against an equal civil-partnership bill (but in favour of a same-sex one), or against the civil-partnership bill because it was too similar to marriage.

Considering these stances, the analysis revealed that representations cannot always be correlated with acceptance of LGBTQ⁺ rights, as stances that both acknowledge and deny rights can be found in the majority of the representations identified, even in those intended positively. This was found in representations of gay people as vulnerable, uncommon, the churches as accepting and gay marriage as wrong. As the analysis showed, gay people are portrayed as vulnerable when they are represented as discriminated, their partnerships unprotected, unregulated, and unrecognised. These representations are predominantly instantiated by those in favour of the bills, but also by politicians who are in favour of the civil-partnership bill but not of equal marriage

or adoption, who are against the equal civil-partnership bill or are against the civil-partnership bill because it was deemed too similar to marriage. Similarly, gay people are represented as different (uncommon) by those against an equal and same-sex civil-partnership bill, and also by politicians in favour of the bill and against equal marriage. Regarding the churches, they were represented as accepting of gay people in speeches by politicians in favour of both laws, and also by those in favour of civil-partnership but against marriage. Concerning gay marriage, it was portrayed as wrong, not being real marriage, in the speeches of politicians who were against the civil-partnership law without further explanation, against it because it was too similar to marriage, and in favour of the law but against equal marriage.

Concerning entirely supporting stances, two representations were identified, which portray homosexuality as unrelated to paedophilia and gay people as unexceptional. The representation of homosexuality was instantiated by those in favour of the anti-discrimination bill and challenges a representation that was not identified in this corpus, i.e. that gay people are paedophiles. However, the need to instantiate it suggests the belief that gay people are paedophiles played a role in the debates, thus having to be challenged, despite not being recurrently addressed in this data set (note that this representation *was* found in the Evangelical corpus). Similarly, a representation of gay people as unexceptional, instantiated in the speeches by politicians in favour of the civil-partnership bill and also of equal marriage, is intended to challenge the representation of gay people as uncommon which appeared in this data set. Finally, it should be noted that the concordances that represent the churches as accepting mention the Catholic and Evangelical denominations, a representation that was identified in the Catholic corpus, but not in the Evangelical churches one.

Considering legitimation strategies, the concordances of the Evangelical corpus analysed in Chapter 5 contained a range of legitimations, including authority legitimations of the personal, expert, and conformity kind; moral legitimations of the evaluation, and negative comparison kinds; and rationalisation legitimations of the scientific theoretical, and experiential kind. This suggests these churches intend to rationalise their representations around homosexuality, supporting them with references to science and experiential knowledge. Similarly, some representations are validated with the opinions of purported experts, which include references to the European context. Also, they consider conformity when they include references to what is happening elsewhere. Additionally, the Evangelical churches justify some representations from a moral perspective through reference to nature. Finally, they allude to personal authorities such as church and religious leaders, whose authority can be contested by lay people, and less likely to be contested ones such as gay people.

In the analysis of the Catholic corpus in Chapter 6, it was possible to identify rationalisation, authority, and moral legitimations. These include scientific theoretical rationalisation legitimations, which provide scientific support for the representations, thus appearing objective. Additionally, there were personal, expert and impersonal authority legitimations, which validate representations with references to status, knowledge, and inanimate entities such as newspapers. As in the Evangelical corpus, personal authority references can be contested by lay people, as they nominate church and religious leaders. On the other hand, expert and impersonal authority references attempt to legitimate from an allegedly objective standpoint. Regarding moral legitimations, these are conveyed by means of evaluation and, as in the Evangelical corpus, they are instances where nature is mentioned.

Regarding the Debates corpus, the legitimations identified in the analysis in Chapter 7 include moral and authority ones. As in the previous corpora, moral legitimations appear as evaluations when nature is mentioned. Regarding authority legitimations, these are the personal, conformity, expert, and impersonal kinds. Here, they aim to validate by alluding to membership (including gay people, church leaders and followers), the majority, Europe, and the law, respectively.

Regarding the legitimating function of the representations around homosexuality identified, the analysis revealed that in the Evangelical corpus delegitimizing representations of gay people and homosexuality help to legitimate the representation of the Evangelical churches as opposing LGBTQ⁺ rights, particularly gay marriage, which is represented as wrong, thus being delegitimated as well. The (de)legitimizing functions of the representations identified help to convey an overarching representation of the Evangelical churches as protecting, particularly children, from the danger that gay people and homosexuality allegedly pose. The directive that results from this is that gay people should be denied certain rights, particularly gay marriage, as indicated by its representation in the corpus. Similarly, in the Catholic corpus, delegitimizations of homosexuality and same-sex relationships help to position the Catholic Church as a benevolent actor. This overarching representation of the Church is mainly achieved through a series of legitimating representations which portray it as tolerant in relation to gay people. Also, delegitimizing representations of homosexuality and same-sex relationships result in the directive that gay people should not be allowed to get married, in the same way that it was suggested in the Evangelical corpus, namely via representations of same-sex relationships or marriage. In fact, gay marriage is delegitimated in the three corpora, by means of representations of same-sex relationships, and equal marriage. In the Debates corpus, gay marriage is

delegitimated when it is portrayed as wrong. Additionally, gay people are delegitimated when they are represented as different, which implies they do not deserve the same rights as the majority (in this case marriage). However, as this corpus contains both opposing and supporting stances, there are also legitimating representations of gay people and homosexuality in the findings, as opposed to the Evangelical and Catholic corpora. In the Debates corpus, gay people are legitimated when they are represented as equal to heterosexual people, and also when they are portrayed as needing the protection of laws. Although this meaning is conveyed via representations of vulnerability, they are legitimating due to the context in which they appear, as it is in the parliament where laws are passed. Other positive, thus legitimating representations in the Debates corpus pertain to homosexuality, which is represented as unthreatening to children. This shows an interdiscursive relation between the corpora, as the opposite representation of gay people was instantiated in the Evangelical corpus. As opposed to the other corpora, representations which legitimate gay people in the Debates corpus result in the directive that they should be protected.

8.3. Comparison and explanation of findings considering the social context

8.3.1. RQ2: How are the representations around homosexuality influenced by the social context within which they are instantiated?

RQ2 aimed at elucidating the ways in which the representations around homosexuality are influenced by the social context in which they are instantiated. With that aim, I focused on the ways in which the representations revealed by the analysis are similar and/or different in the three corpora (*RQ2a: How are the representations around homosexuality similar and/or different in the three corpora?*) and the reasons for these similarities or differences (*RQ2b: Why are the representations in the three data sets*

similar and/or different?). Also, I considered the implications of the representations in their social context (*RQ2c: What are the implications of the representations identified in the wider social context where they take place?*).

The analysis of the concordances of the ten search terms considered in this study revealed that the same entities or phenomena are represented in the Evangelical Churches and Parliamentary Debates corpora. These are gay people, homosexuality, gay marriage/same-sex relationships and the churches. The majority of these entities are also represented in the Catholic corpus, with the exception of gay people, as there were not enough concordances to make up representations of them in the data analysed.

In the Evangelical and Debates corpora, gay people are the most frequently represented entity. As previously mentioned, in the Debates corpus there are representations of gay people that contest each other, portraying them as uncommon and unexceptional. These hint at arguments used in favour and against gay people in the discussions of the civil-partnership bill, which is a consequence of the Debates corpus including both supporting and opposing stances about the bills discussed. Representations of gay people in the Debates corpus portray them as vulnerable, particularly in relation to their legal status, or lack thereof. These representations show empathy towards them, being consistent with the context where they occur, as they refer to legal protection, recognition, and discrimination, problems that the debates aim to solve with laws. However, representations of vulnerability are instantiated in speeches of a variety of stances. These support the civil-partnership bill but reject equal marriage or adoption, are against an equal civil-partnership bill, or reject the bill because it is considered to be too similar to marriage. The variety of stances is a feature of the Debates corpus, not present in the other corpora considered in this study.

Also, representations that contest others which were not identified in this corpus suggest that there is opposition to the passing of the bills that is not being explicitly addressed in this corpus, or recurrently enough in the concordances scrutinised. Additionally, the fact that politicians with both supporting and opposing stances instantiate the same representations when expressing their support or rejection of the bills (or parts of them) indicates that opposition is sometimes based on something different from discrimination and intolerance. For instance, politicians recognise that protection is needed but deny it, nonetheless, based on an aspect of the bill, such as the inclusion of heterosexual couples in the case of the civil-partnership one. This could be a strategy that intends to protect politicians from being accused of homophobic behaviour while allowing them to deny rights to LGBTQ+ people. This is in fact suggested in a speech⁷², and can be explained by considering production, distribution, and consumption, particularly in reference to audience. Since parliamentary debates in Chile are broadcast live, members of the public can be present, thus resembling face-to-face interaction. Also, the debates are reported in the (social) media, where the names of speakers and parts of speeches are provided. Due to this, politicians know that what they say can have a wider reach and they will be held accountable for their opinions, or even protested by human rights groups, churches, the media, and the wider population. Also, their performance is constantly being assessed, as they need to be re-elected to keep their position. Due to this, politicians in parliamentary debates may be more careful about what they express and how they do it, which may result in

⁷² In one of the debates about the civil-partnership bill, Ricardo Lagos MP stated: “Señor Presidente, esta indicación constituye, a mi parecer, la última defensa que, legítimamente, tratan de levantar quienes en el fondo se oponen a regular en Chile las relaciones entre personas homosexuales. Ahora dan vuelta el argumento: “Este instrumento legal debe ser solo para gente del mismo sexo”. ¿Dónde estamos, entonces? ¿Por qué no se votó a favor de esa postura en su momento?” (*Mr. President, this modification is, I believe, the last defence that are legitimately trying to build up those who are deep down against regulating the relationships between homosexual people in Chile. Now they turn the argument around: “This bill has to be only for people of the same sex”. Where are we, then? Why wasn’t that voted for before?*).

homophobic stances or opinions appearing subtler or carefully hidden. In contrast, the texts from the two churches were taken from websites, and they did not include the names of their individual authors. Also, they are produced to be consumed primarily by members of the churches, who are less likely to challenge the views expressed in them. Considering this and the less central role churches allegedly play in politics, these sites are expected to be given less publicity and attention than the televised political debates, making this a somewhat 'safer' discursive space. Also, the website texts are 'monologic' discourse (i.e. constituting a single authorial voice who does not have to directly engage with interruptions from another social actor), while the political debates are by their very nature 'dialogic' in that they occurred with other speakers present, who had the opportunity to question or contradict. This helps to explain why the political texts contained cases of mitigation on both sides of the debate, as well as subtler and covert homophobic views. However, it does not fully explain why the Catholic Church contained more mitigation than the Evangelical Church, a point that will be addressed below.

In the Evangelical corpus gay people are consistently represented in ways that negatively evaluate them, which delegitimizes gay people's campaign for equality in a more straightforwardly overt manner. As indicated in the previous section, in the Evangelical corpus, gay people are portrayed as immoral and a menace. This intends to create a sense of fear about them to encourage their rejection. These representations of gay people consider them in relation to sex with references to promiscuity and sexual abuses (of which they are presented as both victims and perpetrators), their alleged power to modify religion and influence the passing of laws (a minority against a majority anti-democracy threat) and the supposedly internal features that make them unhealthy. In portraying gay people so negatively, the Evangelical churches' stance

about LGBTQ⁺ matters appears to be reasonable. As opposed to the Debates corpus, in the Evangelical one the churches do not attempt to show or promote empathy towards gay people. Due to this, they are likely to be perceived by those supporting LGBTQ⁺ equality as harsh, totally rejecting gay people and homosexuality.

Regarding the Catholic corpus, the absence of representations of gay people can be regarded as the result of a change of focus rather than a lack of acknowledgement. In this corpus, gay people are mentioned predominantly in relation to the ways in which this church behaves towards them, the focus being on its actions. Due to this, it can be argued that their representations are indirectly instantiated by implication through the representations of this church. In this way, when the church is described as accompanying, accepting, and being respectful towards gay people, they are indirectly characterised as lonely, rejected, and disrespected.

Differences in the representations instantiated by the churches can also be explained considering historical reputation and status. The fact the Catholic Church focuses on itself suggests it desires to be careful about the image it projects. This is likely to be the result of actions taken by the Catholic Church over the centuries that have resulted in strong criticisms, particularly in recent years. In this way, the Catholic Church's historical reputation seems to have impacted on the way that it conducts itself in the present day, as well as making it highly concerned about its image. Conversely, the Evangelical churches are smaller and newer, their popularity and acceptance being also relatively new. This allows them to be more straightforward, as they are less experienced and do not have to address criticism for past actions (yet). I discuss these matters again later below.

Regarding homosexuality, it was represented in the three corpora, being the second most represented phenomenon in the Evangelical and Catholic corpora, and third in

the Debates corpus. Both the Evangelical and Catholic corpora portray homosexuality as not being part of a person's identity but something impermanent that can be changed. In the Evangelical corpus, this meaning is conveyed when it is portrayed as transitory, being a choice and potentially overcome with references to it being curable, which introduces a medicalisation discourse. In the Catholic corpus, homosexuality is also portrayed as temporary when it is represented as a tendency, an activity, and something that can be provoked, which also medicalises it. All these representations downplay the importance of homosexuality, implying it should not be taken seriously. Additionally, there are differences in the ways the three corpora represent homosexuality. In the Evangelical corpus, it is represented as abnormal, a meaning that is conveyed in relation to gay people in the Debates corpus when they are portrayed as uncommon. On the other hand, the Catholic corpus portrays homosexuality as a problematic matter, which reveals it complicates this church, perhaps due to its stance being unclear or covert. This also hints at the self-centredness of this church. Similarly, when homosexuality is represented as a tendency and behaviour in the Catholic corpus it is mainly described in relation to the church, since the vast majority of the concordances that make up these representations refer to the ordainment of allegedly gay priests. Also, when homosexuality is identified as a problem it is always in relation to discussions within the Catholic Church occurring in association with other matters that are important to it, such as abortion or euthanasia. Conversely, the representations of homosexuality in the Evangelical corpus have a clearer delegitimising aim which pertains to homosexuality proper, as they concentrate on portraying it as abnormal - its most frequent representation - or as something that is reversible thus should not be taken too seriously. Considering this, differences between the churches may also be attributed to different foci, where the Evangelical

churches are more invested in delegitimizing gay people and homosexuality, while the Catholic Church is more concerned about its identity and self-image. This difference also relates to the historical reputation of the churches mentioned above.

In the Debates corpus, homosexuality is represented as not dangerous for children when gay people are portrayed as not being paedophiles. This representation is instantiated by those in favour of the anti-discrimination law and contests a negative representation that was not identified in this corpus. It does, however, appear in the Evangelical one, showing an interdiscursive relationship between the corpora. The references to paedophilia in the Debates corpus suggest it may have been considered in the arguments of those opposing the passing of the anti-discrimination law. However, the absence of a representation such as *gay people are paedophiles* indicates that the politicians are not overtly discussing this matter probably to avoid appearing prejudiced against gay people or homosexuality. In this way, representations instantiated in the Debates corpus are also influenced by the different stances in this data set, as well as matters related to production, distribution, and consumption discussed above.

The third and fourth most represented phenomenon in the Evangelical and Debates corpora, respectively, is gay marriage. In the Evangelical corpus, gay marriage is represented as wrong when equal marriage laws are characterised as being rejected elsewhere, which is positively evaluated in the concordances. On the other hand, gay marriage is represented as wrong in the Debates corpus when it is characterised as not being marriage. Even when the overarching representation of gay marriage as wrong is present in these two corpora, the representations that instantiate it are different, showing how the different actors delegitimize equal marriage. In the Evangelical corpus, this is done by referring to the rejection of equal marriage in various regions,

which aims to validate the Evangelical churches' stance by comparing it to that of others. The reason why the churches may need to legitimate their stance in this way could be the result of a lack of confidence due to the acceptance of these churches being newer, as opposed to other churches or institutions. Conversely, in the Debates Corpus, equal marriage is delegitimated by referring to its alleged essential features, which the concordances show to pertain to procreation. A similar representation is instantiated in the Catholic corpus, where it is not gay marriage but same-sex relationships that are represented, as the lines that make up the representation refer to gay marriage, the civil-partnership law, or both. In the Catholic corpus, procreation is not explicitly mentioned when same-sex relationships are characterised, but nature, which characterises these relationships as unnatural. However, as explained in section 2.5, Christian references to nature when marriage is concerned allude to procreation. Considering this, the fact the Debates and Catholic corpora mention or allude to procreation to invalidate gay marriage shows there is an intertextual relation between the political and religious context, where arguments are transferred from one context to the other. As discussed in section 2.10.2, this is due to the close ties between religion and politics in Chile. Additionally, the Catholic corpus represents the legalisation of same-sex relationships as wrong, a meaning that is conveyed with references to church representatives' dissatisfaction about laws being passed elsewhere, by characterising the legalisation of these relationships as wrong and a mistake, and by mentioning the impossibility of using the term marriage to refer to gay partnerships. These references show the confidence of the Catholic Church in the legitimacy of its leaders' opinions and stances.

The last entity represented in the corpora are churches, which are the second most recurrently represented entities in the Catholic and Debates corpora and the less

frequently represented ones in the Evangelical corpus. In the Evangelical corpus, representations of the churches concern the Evangelical churches, in the Catholic corpus the Catholic Church, and in the Debates corpus both. In the Evangelical corpus, the churches positively self-represent as opposing equality, which they have delegitimated by negatively representing gay people and homosexuality, thus portraying their opposition as reasonable. On the other hand, the Catholic Church self-represents as non-discriminatory and embracing gay people, even when they have denied gay people the right to get their relationships legally recognised and have suggested they should be celibate. The fact the Catholic Church frequently self-represents (in 35 concordances vs the 42 where they represent homosexuality) is consistent with the desire to be viewed positively that was previously mentioned and attributed to its historical reputation. Moreover, a representation of the Catholic Church as tolerant also occurs in the representation of the churches instantiated in the Debates corpus. Here, the Evangelical churches are also portrayed this way, even when these churches do not self-represent as such in their own representations. The fact the churches are represented in the Debates corpus also reflects the power of these organisations and the relevance of their opinions in the Chilean political context, despite the separation between Church and State in 1925 (see section 2.3.1.1). This confirms Lagos' (2005) hypothesis that the separation is not yet completed (see section 2.3.1.1), which is likely the result of the most represented parties in congress having close ties with the Catholic Church (see section 2.10.2). It can also be argued that a representation of the churches in the Debates corpus contests an opposite, albeit absent, representation of the churches as intolerant. This supports my hypothesis that there are matters which are not being explicitly addressed in the discussions but are recognised as relevant enough to be contested by some politicians involved in the

debates. More importantly, the fact churches are represented in the three corpora constitutes one of the most telling findings of this study, as this clearly shows the relation between church and State as it materialises in the passing (or rejection) of laws. This not only provides justification for the inclusion of both church and parliamentary discourse in this study, but points at the future direction of the churches and politics in Chile in relation to the achievement of full sexual equality. As is to be expected, this will not be exempted from difficulties due to the interference of religious organisations in politics that is still taking place in the country.

As can be seen, there are similarities in terms of the entities represented in the three corpora, the majority of which coincide among them. Additionally, the ways in which these entities are represented correspond with previously identified representations of or discourses about gay people and homosexuality. For example, in an analysis of tabloid press, Baker (2005) identified similar representations of gay people wanting access to children, associated with violence, promiscuity, their relationships being unimportant, and their sexual identity a practice rather than an aspect of their identity. Also, representations of gay people as promiscuous, paedophiles, and abnormal are commonly used homophobic discourses, while references to their alleged power can be correlated to references to a gay agenda and the gay lobby, which have been used in other contexts to portray them as scheming. However, the representations identified in my analyses vary across the corpora. This variation includes the degree of intolerance expressed in them, where the Evangelical corpus appears as the most overtly homophobic of the three, which is likely to be a consequence of its relative anonymity, while the Catholic and Debates corpora appear to be less so, thus also being less overtly homophobic. I argue that these differences around the extent of negative representations can be best viewed as strategic, aimed at attracting (or not alienating)

the different types of audience members who are likely to access these messages and act upon them in various ways. Also, a less overtly homophobic stance may be the result of experience, as the Catholic Church and the Chilean congress have been legitimated institutions for longer than the Evangelical churches, experiencing a certain amount of prestige up to now, and being more invested in appearing progressive, as this has allowed them to maintain their relevance and power throughout changing times. Also, the Catholic church may want to be more careful when referring to gay people due to its history, the need to comply with the official stance of the Vatican, or even the vulnerable position in which it currently is due to the controversies in which it has been involved in the last years. These include the sexual abuses that have been reported as committed by priests, whom the Church has implied to be gay. As explained in section 2.4, these events are not recognised as the main reason why the Catholic Church has lost followers, but it has affected its credibility which may have resulted in it being more careful when discussing matters that it considers controversial and less harsh due to its own mistakes. Additionally, as explained in relation to the changing religious trends in section 2.4, power dynamics between these two churches are being modified. Historically, the Catholic Church was the dominant religion, but this role is being lost to Evangelicalism. Moreover, the fact Evangelical churches are the most conservative alternative of the two suggests the Catholic Church may be failing to uphold its role as the moral leader. This can be the result of the more tolerant but contradicting stance this church has been showing (e.g. through comments made by Pope Francis or the apparent embracing of gay people through pastoral care) in what could be an attempt to avoid criticism from progressive Catholics, while trying not to alienate the more conservative ones. This contradicting stance was also identified in the analysis, where the Church often self-represents as

accepting and willing to help, while subtly suggesting gay people are not normal.

This has the effect of leading audiences to believe that it is possible to accept something or someone without actually doing so.

Conversely, the acceptance and relative prestige of the Evangelical churches is newer.

However, their increasing power may have given them more confidence to express their intolerant opinions, as these have not made them lose followers. Although this

could also be a strategy to attract more followers, as we cannot know for sure if all Evangelical leaders believe what they say about gay people. Even when we cannot

ascertain why their intolerant stance has not diminished their popularity, we can

hypothesise that their outspokenness may be appreciated by those who agree with it, as

this allows them to think and behave in a similar way. In this way, they could be

offering an alternative for the conservative people who no longer feel represented by

the Catholic Church. Evangelical churches are thus establishing themselves in Chile

by offering a different 'brand' of religious doctrine to the Catholic one, moving in to

occupy the more intolerant stance that was once the province of the Catholic Church.

As Valenzuela et al. (2013) suggest (see section 2.4), the main reason for the decline

of Catholicism is the rise of Pentecostalism, which entails there is a migration process

taking place across denominations. Possibly, the message of intolerance is convincing

some members of the Catholic Church who feel betrayed by its concessions to equal

rights movements or its associated scandals to switch allegiance. This could also

explain why the representations instantiated in the Evangelical corpus are the ones

with the least amount of mitigation in the three corpora, despite being the smallest

corpus in this study. The Evangelical religion, small as its reach currently is, is

unlikely to be in a position to be the majority religion in Chile, particularly with the

country gradually moving towards secularisation and more liberal 'humanist' politics,

as evidenced by some of the trends around religious belief and attitudes towards homosexuality referred to in Chapter 2. However, by presenting an alternative to the weaker and somewhat conflicted critique of homosexuality within Catholicism, it may still be able to grow significantly.

Finally, it is necessary to consider the potential effect that some of the representations identified in the analysis may have on those consuming them. In terms of the churches, I believe that having religious institutions expressing opposition and rejection of gay people in such an overt manner may have a negative effect on people's behaviour in that those who agree with them could feel free to convey their opposition in similar ways, without fear of the negative consequences intolerant opinions have on those targeted by them. Additionally, many of the representations identified in the analysis are problematic since they help to maintain historical homophobic beliefs about gay people and homosexuality, thus negatively influencing people's attitudes towards gay people and this sexual identity. These homophobic beliefs include the idea that homosexuality is not permanent but an immature stage, similar to an illness or trauma that can be cured or reversed, and representations of gay people as manipulators, troubled or paedophiles. Although these representations are not original or new, they help to maintain prejudiced ideas regarding LGBTQ⁺ people, thus hindering progress in relation to equality. And more importantly, they are inconsistent with the promotion of values such as love and acceptance that religious institutions are expected to promote, while providing grounds for the rejection of laws based on dated understandings of what being gay is.

8.4. Reflection on the method

8.4.1. RQ3: What is the most appropriate method of analysis to answer RQ1 and RQ2?

In this section, I offer some insights on the methodological choices made throughout the thesis. I do this in order to provide an answer to RQ3, which aimed at identifying the most appropriate method of analysis to answer RQ1 and RQ2. In Chapter 4, I went into detail about how the small specialised corpora included in this study influenced the methodological approach followed (*RQ3a: How can working with small specialised corpora influence the methodological approach undertaken?*). As indicated in Chapter 4, I found that when corpora are small, consisting of less than 250,000 words, a purely qualitative type of analysis may be better suited than a corpus-based methodological approach, as the former can help to identify a wider set of representations than collocation or keyword analyses of small data sets where frequency counts are not too high. I came up with this conclusion after analysing the data in various ways. First, I identified representations through collocation analysis, then I obtained the keywords of the data sets and, finally, I conducted concordance analysis of all the lines of my search term. This last methodological approach resulted in the identification of a broader set of representations, which allowed me to better appreciate the relationships between the three data sets. Due to this, I decided to analyse all the concordances of the ten search terms included in the study, and I would recommend this approach when working with similar specialised corpora, provided the data retrieved are manageable within a reasonable time frame.

Regarding the contextual analysis, in this study I considered levels two and three of Fairclough's (1989; 1992) three-dimensional framework, which I integrated with the fourth dimension of context of Reisigl and Wodak's (2016) DHA. Using Fairclough's (1989; 1992) model was deemed appropriate for this kind of analysis because levels

two and three can be easily applied to the interpretation and explanation of findings in studies that consider larger samples of data than a couple of articles, such as corpus studies, since this model clearly delimits the processes involved in the discursive practice and considers the most relevant aspects of the social practice as well.

On the other hand, the fourth dimension of context of the DHA allowed me to take into account relevant features of the Chilean historical context in the interpretation and explanation of any similarities and/or differences among the three corpora, as this level allows researchers to trace any discursive relations that may be present in the findings. Additionally, considering the historical context is relevant for the analysis of representations in a study that considers institutions that have had a historical and changing degree of impact on the context under investigation.

Regarding the analysis proper, the comparison and explanation of findings carried out in section 8.3 suggests that the forms of contextual analysis that can better help to explain research findings (*RQ3b: What forms of contextual analysis are more relevant in explaining the research findings?*) should consider the processes of production, distribution, and consumption, as well as the socio-historical context, that is the discursive and social practices. In the analysis conducted in this thesis, the analysis of the discursive practice was particularly relevant to understand variations in the representations instantiated in the parliamentary debates when compared to the church corpora. Although discursive and social practices played a role in both types of discourse, the manner in which representations were instantiated (i.e. overtly or covertly) in the parliamentary debates seems to have been more strongly influenced by the production process resembling face to face interactions, as well as the wide exposure resulting from the distribution processes of parliamentary debates, which, in turn, determine its consumption by a larger audience. On the other hand, different

findings in the churches corpora are better understood by considering the social practice and historical context. This includes aspects such as the past history of the churches, their prestige and (perceived) power, the length of time they have enjoyed a certain prestige, and their current status in terms of adherents. These features of the churches played an important role in the manner in which the representations were instantiated, but also in the ‘selection’ of the entity represented (e.g. the church instead of gay people in the Catholic corpus). Additionally, the social and historical contexts were also instrumental in understanding interdiscursive and intertextual relations both within a corpus (e.g. contesting representations within the debates), and across corpora (e.g. religious arguments used in parliamentary debates).

8.5. Contribution of the research

This study was designed with the purpose of expanding the current body of research on language and sexuality. Although this thesis did not intend to establish a new academic field, there are some aspects of this study that can be regarded as original contributions. One of these concerns the choice of data. To date, there are not many linguistic studies that have analysed church discourse, and those which have done it have focused on official church documents. Due to this, the selection of church website articles intends to contribute by elucidating the ways in which religious organisations publicly address their followers, in a context different from the religious or official one (such as mass or church documents) and how they communicate their stance when doing so.

Another original contribution relates to the context of the data analysed, as no language and sexuality study such as this one has been conducted in the Chilean context to date. To the best of my knowledge, language and sexuality is a virtually unexplored area of linguistic enquiry in the country, even within CDS.

Furthermore, this thesis intends to contribute from a methodological perspective, as it presents a detailed account of the methodological development of the research project from its early stages. This provides insights into the process of undertaking discourse analytical research using small specialised corpora, and illustrates the process of identification of the most suitable methodological approach, considering the problems and difficulties this entails. This aims to contribute for future researchers undertaking similar research projects, by way of providing a transparent and reflective account of the research process.

Finally, this study intends to contribute by encouraging more research in the area with the purpose of promoting social change, thus having a practical objective. As this is the first analysis of its kind within the Chilean context, I hope that this study will stimulate further and more varied research in the field of language and sexuality in Chile. Additionally, I intend to make the findings of this study known beyond the field of linguistics through my work as a teacher, teacher trainer and my involvement with LGBTQ+ organisations in Chile. The purpose of this is to encourage further reflection and discussion about the implications of the representations and various strategies used when churches and politicians discuss LGBTQ+ matters, as well as the development of strategies to counteract them.

8.6. Reflecting on the study

In selecting the data for my corpora, I came across some difficulties which had an influence in the final design of my research project and thesis. When I first started my PhD, I intended to work with newspaper articles that I would collect online, as it had been done in similar studies in the field. However, this proved an extremely difficult task, as I was not able to obtain relatively easy (or reasonably priced) access to a database which would allow me to obtain a varied and representative sample of

Chilean newspaper data. This forced me to find alternatives to the newspaper corpora, resulting in the decision to include church discourse I could access online.

The collection of church corpora was not without difficulties either, particularly when dealing with the Evangelical churches. As the Catholic Church is highly institutionalised, being clearly represented both in Chile and worldwide from its headquarters in Vatican City, it is easy to get access to official documents discussing a range of topics which reflect this church's perspective. However, the Evangelical churches are newer, with fewer resources and not united under one leadership, making it difficult to obtain access to a single (or any) official stance about various matters. I tried to get in touch with some Evangelical churches in Chile, getting a reply from only one of them, who were not willing to provide the information I needed. Due to this, I had to create my corpora with what I could obtain online, considering I was not in Chile, which restricted the source of my two church corpora to online data.

The fact the Evangelical churches are not centralised, presented me with another problem. This pertains to data representation, as a lack of centralisation entails that there are several different independent churches. In my search for data, I found one website where the majority of the data was obtained. Because of this, I feared that the (strongly negative) ways in which this particular data set depicted gay people would provide a biased picture of the Evangelical churches. However, the fact there are many Evangelical churches means there is not a single Evangelical stance, which means that this aspect should not constitute a problem, so I resolved to include this source and all the ones I could obtain, as this would constitute a representative sample of this denomination.

Another shortcoming I identified pertains to using website data, as it can sometimes disappear. Long after I had collected the churches corpora, I needed to obtain more

contextual information of one of the websites but found that this website was no longer available. Fortunately, there are sources such as the Wayback Machine website⁷³ where it is possible to get access to old webpages, although that information may not necessarily satisfy one's needs as it is mainly snapshots. This is something that has to be considered when working with online data, so as to avoid problems resulting from potential website unavailability.

Another problem faced during the development of this study pertains to the variety of data that is readily available online. As I undertook my studies away from Chile, online sources of data were preferred as they would allow me more flexibility. During the early stages of development of this study, I was forced to find more sources of data since I needed to slightly redesign my study, but I found that the choices available were very limited. For instance, I considered working with LGBTQ+ forums in order to obtain an in-group perspective of the events taking place in Chile during the years this study considers, but I was not able to find any. This, as well as the unavailability of a newspaper database that included a significant variety of Chilean newspapers, made me realise the different contexts may offer different possibilities. My initial design was based on studies I was familiar with, but the Chilean context was more restricted than the European or North American one in terms of access to the Internet or the ways people interact on it. Because of this, I think it is important that potential contextual differences that may have an influence on the sources of data available are anticipated and borne in mind when conducting studies in different areas of the world, as dealing with these difficulties in order to replicate studies conducted elsewhere may be time consuming, although not insurmountable.

⁷³ The Wayback Machine Internet Archive is available at <https://archive.org/web/>

8.7. Reflecting on the researcher's positionality

As I mentioned in the introduction, it is important to reflect on how my own position regarding the matters related to this thesis may have an impact on my interpretation of the data. I believe that due to the fact that I am an atheist I am more critical in regard to the importance of the Bible and the role of religion in society. Consequently, I do not agree with those who intend to impose their beliefs on people who do not consider this book or religion to be standards of authority. However, I do not think this has a negative effect on my interpretations, but it mainly influences how critical I am regarding the intervention of religious organisations in matters that pertain to the broader population irrespective of their creed.

In terms of my political stance, I believe that it plays a role in my understanding of the institution of marriage, which I do not consider to be untouchable or unmodifiable.

Additionally, I do not necessarily see marriage as related to love, but I do understand how important it is that anyone can have access to it in terms of equality. Due to this, I am aware of the implications of denying people the right to legalise their partnerships and, consequently, I am sensitive to any stances that intend to do so.

Finally, since I consider myself to be a feminist, I believe that all people are equal. In relation to this study, this means that I do not believe gender or sexual identity are a reason to deny people of their rights and, more importantly, that no gender or sexual identity is superior to other(s). Due to this, I reject any suggestions of the opposite and I am sensitive to language or attitudes that can be regarded as homophobic or intolerant, being critical of these manifestations. Sometimes, these linguistic realisations or attitudes are not obvious or clear to people, and in that sense my stance can influence my interpretations in terms of my awareness to them. Since I identify as a cisgender heterosexual woman, with the privilege that that entails, I have not always

regarded these manifestations of homophobia as such right from the beginning. Throughout my life, I have come to realise that many of my own former beliefs could have been regarded as homophobic, something which I have managed to understand after a process of conscious learning and a willingness to listen to other people's experiences and the reasons why they may feel threatened or discriminated against by certain language, discourses and/or attitudes. Because of this, what I have identified as homophobic throughout the analyses is not the result of my own positionality in relation to the study but the consequence of an informed and empathetic approach to the phenomenon under investigation, which is a requirement of any critical study such as this one.

8.8. Further research

The main objective of this thesis was the identification of representations in church and parliamentary discourse in the Chilean context. However, I believe that further similar research would benefit from including media and social media discourse. Media discourse has been considered in similar studies in the field of language and sexuality, but not in the Chilean context, while social media such as Twitter would contribute by revealing the ways that different people interact with the representations around homosexuality that are being produced around them. The texts examined in this thesis have almost exclusively been created by people who do not (openly) identify as LGBTQ⁺ and are thus ostensibly representations of 'the other'. A complementary approach would be to analyse texts from people in Chile who do identify as LGBTQ⁺ in order to compare my findings with self-representations of homosexuality. I would be interested in seeing, for example, how religious identity is incorporated into such self-representations (or not) and also how national identity is

indexed (considering the numerous references to European countries as models in the current texts I analysed).

Of course, studies using larger corpora would have to reconsider the analytical approach, as a corpus-based research design may be more suitable for managing it. Additionally, considering how important and influential religion still is in the Latin American context, further research would benefit from analysing church discourse in other countries in the region. This would involve considering the most important religions in these countries, and then comparing new findings to those of studies such as this one. The same can be applied to parliamentary discourse in these countries, allowing for the identification of how the Latin American context as a whole differentiates from most researched ones such as the European or North American contexts.

Finally, I feel that an important task for me as a future researcher in Chile is to apply the knowledge and research experience I have gained throughout my PhD and help to establish a research group in language and sexuality in my country, forming ties with researchers that have similar interests in the region. To the best of my knowledge, this does not exist to date, and I believe it will be a good contribution to the field, as it will allow for more research on language and sexuality to be conducted in a geographical area that has not been as productive as Europe or North America. Ideally, this will be extended to other disciplines and will incorporate other types of discourse.

8.9. Concluding comments

Since the anti-discrimination and civil-partnership laws were passed in 2012 and 2015, respectively, there have been signs of further progress towards LGBTQ⁺ equality in Chile. A gender identity law that recognises and grants transgender people the right to change their legal sex and name has been passed in the country at the time of writing

this thesis. Similarly, an equal marriage bill was introduced in September 2017, currently being at the first stages of its progress to law. However, the legal age of consent is still discriminatory, at 14 for heterosexual couples and 18 for gay ones. Although the future looks fairly promising, the intrusion of the churches was and still is a deterring force whose influence needs to be challenged so equality can be reached more quickly. Another promising aspect is the changes Evangelical churches are undergoing as a result of the influence of the new generations of Evangelicals (see section 2.3.2.1). Ideally, this will bring about changes in the stances of these churches about a range of topics, including LGBTQ+ matters. This could also happen in the Catholic Church which, despite being against laws that will fully equate opposite to same-sex partnerships, has shown a certain openness to LGBTQ+ matters by not being against other kinds of regulations of these relationships. Additionally, Pope Francis may play a role in this in the future, as he has shown a more accepting stance about gay people (see section 2.5.1), despite its inconsistencies. Also, as the results of surveys discussed in section 2.8 have suggested, the decrease in religious adherence suggests that the Chilean population is more advanced in terms of laity than the State, having the potential to influence change from the grassroots level. This is quite relevant since it reveals that even when negative beliefs around homosexuality are still present at the various levels of society, they are not accepted by a considerable part of population

My thesis has shown the different representations used by three powerful social actors in Chile, including the two most important churches, the ways in which these representations are legitimated and used by them in more or less strategic ways, as well as these representations' own legitimating functions. The analysis carried out in these pages has shown that even when some representations appear harsher than

others, the less notorious ones can also be harmful as they too aim to hinder sexual equality. The tone of the message might be different, but the intended outcome is the same. Also, there are contradicting messages being conveyed by the actors involved in this study, which may have a detrimental effect on the recipients of these messages, helping to legitimate intolerance and reproducing it.

However, the less negative messages, especially within the Catholic Church texts may also be indicative of signs of change and internal struggles within the institutions or among their leaders, thus being an indication that change can happen, albeit slowly and not without any setbacks or discrepancies along the way. We should not view any institution as monolithic. They are made up of hundreds of social actors, individuals who may appear to speak with one voice in public but may be in conflict behind the scenes. I hope that my thesis can be used to raise awareness about the points that I have summarised in this chapter, and encourage conversation about the overt, covert, and strategic ways in which homophobic representations around homosexuality operate, but also about the possibilities that they present. I believe this thesis should be disseminated to a wider audience. Personally, I intend to apply the knowledge I have gained from it by getting involved with the relevant social actors in my country. I intend to do this through collaboration with LGBTQ+ organisations in Chile that may be interested in the insights revealed by the analyses that I have carried out in these pages. I think these insights will be specially relevant when the media start reporting on the equal marriage law once the bill that intends to create it starts to be discussed in congress, since they will allow those in favour of sexual equality to devise strategies to counter the arguments used to oppose it. Additionally, I intend to disseminate its insights through my practice as a teacher, teacher trainer and researcher by means of activities that raise awareness on these matters, the research projects I supervise in the

future, and the research projects that I undertake within the field of language, gender and sexuality.

Appendix I

Categorised collocates of *homosexual** in the Evangelical Churches Corpus data set.

	CATEGORY	COLLOCATES	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
1	Gender & Sexual Identity (114)	lesbianas (16), gay (5), as (5), hombres (8), los (80)	lesbians, gay, -as (feminine pl. suffix), men, the (pl. object)
2	Relationships (110)	parejas (19), adopción (9), matrimonio (52), al (30)	couples, adoption, marriage, to the
3	Killing (12)	aborto (12)	abortion
4	Similarity (37)	también (9), como (28),	also, such as/like
5	State (109)	condición (6), están (7), es (53), son (12), está (8), ser (11), esta (12)	being, are (3 rd p. pl.), is (3 rd p. sing.), are (3 rd p. pl.), is (3 rd p. sing.), to be, is (3 rd p. sing.)
6	Age (9)	niños (9)	children
7	Sex (10)	promiscuidad (5), sexual (5)	promiscuity, sexual
8	Stance (100)	según (6), aunque (6), pero (11), sí (5), contra (10), no (48), si (14)	according to, although, but, yes/certainly, against, no, yes/certainly ⁷⁴
9	Coordination (26)	o (26)	or
10	Politics (28)	liberación (5), integración (5), movimiento (10), movilh (8)	liberation, integration, movement, movilh ⁷⁵
11	Time (19)	ahora (7), hasta (7), hoy (5)	now, until, today
12	Existential Process (10)	sido (5), habían (5)	been, there were
13	Verbal Process (10)	dice (5), decir (5)	says (3 rd p. sing.), to say
14	Legislation (7)	acuerdo (7)	agreement ⁷⁶
15	Origin (6)	nace (6)	is born/originates
16	Religion (6)	biblia (6)	bible
17	Immorality (5)	pecado (5)	sin
18	Normality (5)	normal (5)	normal
19	Manner (5)	así (5)	this way

⁷⁴ The collocate *si* included some misspelt instances of the adverb *sí* which can be translated as *yes/certainly*.

⁷⁵ The acronym stands for *Movimiento por la Integración y Liberación Homosexual* (the Chilean ‘Movement for Homosexual Integration and Liberation’).

⁷⁶ The collocate *acuerdo* refers to the name of the Chilean civil partnership law, that is, ‘Acuerdo de Vida en Pareja’ or AVP.

Appendix II

Top 150 Keywords from the Catholic Church Corpus

RANK	FREQ	KEYNESS	KEYWORD	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
1	144	124.189	papa	Pope
2	4635	95.129	la	the (sing. f. det.)
3	100	93.166	mons	Mons**
4	147	82.289	yo	I
5	85	79.191	cardenal	cardinal
6	85	79.191	sínodo	synod (noun)
7	186	76.321	me	me
8	120	67.754	pastoral	pastoral (sing. adj. or noun)
9	103	65.348	monseñor	monsignor
10	80	59.679	arzobispo	archbishop
11	64	59.627	sacerdotes	priests
12	178	55.402	muy	very
13	53	49.378	goic	Goic*
14	141	47.892	eso	that
15	85	46.821	usted	you (2 nd pers. sing. pron. Formal)
16	46	42.857	benedicto	Benedict*
17	132	42.084	persona	person
18	69	41.177	ezzati	Ezzati*
19	471	40.348	iglesia	church
20	106	37.7	qué	what (interrogative)
21	73	37.401	obispos	bishops
22	40	37.267	méxico	Mexico
23	58	36.04	sacerdote	priest
24	100	35.9	jesús	Jesus
25	52	35.289	católicos	Catholic(s) (pl. m. adj. or noun)
26	92	35.034	santiago	Santiago***
27	76	33.777	episcopal	episcopal
28	83	33.6	católica	catholic (sing. f. adj.)
29	67	32.798	francisco	Francis*
30	119	32.219	tema	topic
31	66	32.039	ahí	there
32	33	30.745	xvi	XVI
33	141	30.329	fe	faith
34	40	29.84	congregación	congregation
35	97	29.809	educación	education
36	58	28.986	diálogo	dialogue
37	176	28.309	hay	there is/are

38	56	27.459	dignidad	dignity
39	51	26.747	encuentro	meeting
40	89	26.738	padre	father
41	28	26.087	diócesis	diocese
42	49	25.192	misión	mission
43	26	24.223	contreras	Contreras*
44	26	24.223	eucaristía	eucharist
45	33	23.698	vicario	vicar
46	25	23.292	homilía	homily
47	25	23.292	misa	mass
48	45	22.119	situaciones	situations
49	23	21.428	decía	said (3 rd pers. sing. verb)
50	44	21.36	cosa	thing/matter
51	22	20.497	discernimiento	discernment
52	22	20.497	gracia	grace
53	29	20.225	sé	know (1 st pers. sing. verb)
54	21	19.565	brasil	Brazil
55	33	19.364	laicos	secular (pl. m. adj. or noun)
56	45	19.295	santa	holy/saint (sing. f. adj.)
57	93	19.213	mundo	world
58	48	18.9	vivir	to live
59	273	18.881	sobre	about/on
60	64	18.826	va	goes
61	20	18.633	cech	CECH (Episcopal Conference of Chile)
62	20	18.633	divorciados	divorced (pl. m. adj. or noun)
63	233	18.571	también	also/too
64	27	18.502	misericordia	mercy
65	278	18.44	ha	has (auxiliary verb)
66	19	17.702	sacerdotal	priestly
67	26	17.645	maría	Mary
68	26	17.645	vaticano	Vatican
69	91	16.838	siempre	always
70	18	16.77	acompañamiento	accompaniment
71	18	16.77	clero	clergy
72	18	16.77	confesión	confession
73	18	16.77	parroquia	parish
74	18	16.77	ramos	palm (Sunday)
75	18	16.77	rancagua	Rancagua***
76	18	16.77	sinodales	synod (pl. adj.)
77	96	16.759	jóvenes	teenagers
78	186	16.076	todos	everyone/all

79	47	15.964	creo	believe (1 st pers. sing. verb)
80	17	15.838	eclesial	ecclesiastic
81	17	15.838	invita	invites (3 rd pers. sing. verb)
82	17	15.838	miedo	fear
83	17	15.838	señala	points out (3 rd pers. sing. verb)
84	40	15.75	pastorales	pastoral (pl. adj. or noun)
85	70	15.631	san	saint (sing. m. adj.)
86	28	15.342	revista	magazine
87	32	15.265	asamblea	assembly
88	32	15.265	pobres	poor (pl. adj. or noun)
89	77	15.063	cómo	how (interrogative)
90	66	14.953	durante	during
91	16	14.907	acá	here
92	16	14.907	bioética	Bioethics
93	16	14.907	crecer	to grow
94	16	14.907	habló	spoke/talked (3 rd pers. sing. verb)
95	16	14.907	hurtado	Hurtado*
96	16	14.907	pobreza	poverty
97	16	14.907	sacerdocio	priesthood
98	45	14.667	formación	training
99	27	14.551	abusos	abuses
100	78	14.248	humana	human(e)
101	22	14.245	vocación	vocation/calling
102	15	13.975	acompañar	to accompany
103	15	13.975	auxiliar	Auxiliary**
104	15	13.975	parroquias	parishes
105	15	13.975	plenaria	plenary (session)
106	15	13.975	sagrada	sacred (sing. f. adj.)
107	15	13.975	serena	Serena***
108	30	13.771	crisis	crisis
109	26	13.765	dolor	pain
110	26	13.765	sacramento	sacrament
111	26	13.765	sede	see (noun)
112	26	13.765	visita	visit(or) (3 rd pers. sing. verb or noun)
113	37	13.688	ricardo	Ricardo*
114	21	13.405	escuchar	to listen
115	33	13.299	semana	week
116	76	13.267	mucho	a lot
117	135	13.052	bien	well
118	14	13.043	aclaró	clarified (3 rd pers. sing. verb)
119	14	13.043	casar	to wed

120	14	13.043	magisterio	magisterium
121	14	13.043	pontificio	pontifical
122	39	12.848	problema	problem
123	75	12.784	verdad	true/truth
124	32	12.6	atención	Attention/care
125	32	12.6	ii	II
126	32	12.6	ir	to go
127	24	12.209	desafíos	challenges
128	24	12.209	tarea	task/duty
129	47	12.194	documento	document
130	41	12.148	comunicación	communication
131	13	12.112	apertura	openness
132	13	12.112	curia	curia
133	13	12.112	dialogar	to talk
134	13	12.112	dimensión	dimension
135	13	12.112	latina	latin (sing. f. adj. or noun)
136	13	12.112	liturgia	liturgy
137	13	12.112	riqueza	wealth
138	13	12.112	signo	sign
139	13	12.112	verano	summer
140	19	11.737	dificultades	difficulties
141	49	11.709	padres	fathers
142	65	11.661	bueno	good
143	37	11.571	acerca	about/on
144	942	11.476	es	is
145	23	11.441	teología	theology
146	12	11.18	aprender	to learn
147	12	11.18	belleza	beauty
148	12	11.18	celibato	celibacy
149	12	11.18	educativo	educational
150	12	11.18	escucha	listens (3 rd pers. sing. verb)

* Name of religious leader

** Part of a Church hierarchy descriptor

*** Name of a place or city

Appendix III

Top 150 keywords of the Catholic Church Corpus grouped by category

CATEGORY	KEYWORD	TRANSLATION
Geographical names	méxico (40), santiago (92), brasil (21), vaticano (26), rancagua (18), serena (15), latina (13)	Mexico, Santiago, Brazil, Vatican, Rancagua, Serena, latin
Christian churches	católicos (52), católica (83)	Catholic(s) (pl. m. adj. or noun), Catholic (sing. f. adj.)
Church organizations/groups	cech (20), sínodo (85), congregación (40), curia (13), diócesis (28), clero (18), magisterio (14), iglesia (471), sacerdocio (16), pastoral (120), episcopal (76), sacerdotal (19), sinodales (18), pastorales (49)	CECH (Episcopal Conference of Chile), synod (noun), congregation, curia, diocese, clergy, magisterium, church, priesthood, pastoral (sing. adj. or n.), episcopal, priestly, synod (pl. adj.), pastoral (pl. adj. or n.)
Church leaders/actors	papa (144), mons (100), cardenal (85), monseñor (103), arzobispo (80), sacerdotes (64), obispos (73), sacerdote (58), padre (89), vicario (33), pontificio (14), goic (53), benedicto (46), ezzati (69), francisco (67), hurtado (16), contreras (26), ricardo (37), xvi (33), ii (32), maría (26)	Pope, mons, cardinal, monsignor, archbishop, priests, bishops, priest, father, vicar, pontifical, Goic, Benedict, Ezzati, Francis, Hurtado, Contreras, Ricardo, XVI, II, Mary
Biblical references	jesús (100)	Jesus
Sex	celibato (12)	celibacy
Age	jóvenes (96),	teenagers
Time	siempre (91), durante (66)	always, during
Written information	revista (28), documento (47)	magazine, document
People	persona (132), humana (78)	person, human
Trouble	abusos (27), crisis (30), dolor (26), problema (39), dificultades (19), miedo (17), desafíos (24)	abuses, crisis, pain, problem, difficulties, fear, challenges
To care for/ consider/ Attracts interest	atención (32)	attention/care
Help/Support	diálogo (58), acompañamiento (18), acompañar (15), auxiliar (15), escuchar (21), comunicación (41), dialogar (13), escucha (12)	dialogue, accompaniment, to accompany, auxiliary, to listen, communication, to talk, listens
Respect	dignidad (56)	dignity
Family	padres (49), apertura (13)	fathers, openness
Marriage	divorciados (20), casar (14)	divorced, to wed
Topics	situaciones (45), tema (119), cosa (44), dimensión (13), sobre (273), acerca (37)	situations, topic, thing/matter, dimension, about/on, about/on
Obligation	tarea (24), vocación (22), misión (49)	task/duty, vocation/calling, mission
Wealth	riqueza (13), pobres (32), pobreza (16)	wealth, poor, poverty

Positive attributes	bien (135), bueno (65), belleza (12)	well, good, beauty
Insights	discernimiento (22), verdad (75)	discernment, true/truth
Recommendation	invita (17)	invites
Representation	signo (13)	sign
Approval	gracia (22)	grace
Education	educación (97), formación (45), aprender (12), educativo (12)	education, training, to learn, educational
Church activities	ramos (18), homilía (25), misa (25), sacramento (26), liturgia (13), eucaristía (26), eclesial (17), confesión (18), semana (33)	palm (Sunday), homily, mass, sacrament, liturgy, Eucharist, ecclesiastical, confession, (Holy) week
Church buildings	parroquia (18), parroquias (15), sede (26)	parish, parishes, see (noun)
Holiness	santa (45), san (70), sagrada (15)	holy/saint (sing. f. adj.), saint (sing. m. adj.), sacred (sing. f. adj.)
Religion	teología (23)	theology
Religious virtues	fe (141), misericordia (27)	faith, mercy
Non-religious people	laicos (33)	secular
Meetings/events	verano (13), encuentro (51), asamblea (32), plenaria (15), visita (26)	summer, meeting, assembly, plenary, week, visit(or)
Ethics	bioética (16)	bioethics
Existential processes	hay (176)	there is/are
Verbal processes	decía (23), señala (17), habló (16), aclaró (14)	said, points out, spoke/talked, clarified
Mental processes	sé (29), creo (47)	know (1 st p. sing.), think/believe (1 st p. sing.)
Material processes	vivir (48), crecer (16), ir (32)	to live, to grow, to go
Relational processes	es (942)	is
Personal pronouns	yo (147), me (186), usted (85)	I, me, you (2 nd pers. sing. - formal)
Emphasis	muy (178)	very
Addition	también (233)	also/too
Location	ahí (66), acá (16)	there, here
Quantity	mundo (93), todos (186), mucho (76)	world, everyone/all, a lot
Anaphoric reference	eso (141), la (4635)	that, the (sing. f.)
Auxiliary verbs	va (64), ha (278)	goes, has (auxiliary verb)
Uncertain referent	qué (106), cómo (77)	what (interrogative), how (interrogative)

Appendix IV

Top 150 keywords from the Evangelical Churches Corpus

RANK	FREQ	KEYNESS	KEYWORD	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
1	125	111.461	homosexual	homosexual (sing. adj. or noun)
2	53	95.681	pentecostal	pentecostal
3	39	77.05	senador	senator
4	53	75.301	avp	AVP* (Chilean civil-partnership)
5	69	69.005	iglesias	churches
6	32	63.221	metodista	methodist
7	114	63.219	ley	law
8	71	59.01	niños	children
9	99	55.911	proyecto	bill
10	171	55.207	matrimonio	marriage
11	70	53.851	pastores	pastors
12	39	47.299	movilh	MOVILH (Chilean Movement for Homosexual Integration and Liberation)
13	35	47.081	as	(feminine suffix for nouns and adj.)
14	34	45.325	biblia	Bible
15	54	42.478	mayoría	majority
16	21	41.488	nambla	NAMBLA (North American Man/Boy Love Association)
17	654	40.49	por	for/by
18	19	37.537	estatutos	statutes
19	19	37.537	soto	Soto**
20	75	36.839	mujer	woman
21	22	36.169	anti	anti-
22	102	36.045	contra	against
23	70	35.988	gobierno	government
24	18	35.562	senadores	senators
25	24	35.177	antidiscriminación	antidiscrimination
26	24	35.177	evangélicas	evangelical (pl. f. adj.)
27	59	34.695	hombres	men
28	52	34.691	nuestros	our (pl. m.)
29	52	34.691	sexo	sex
30	17	33.586	roberto	Roberto**
31	25	33.118	jiménez	Jiménez**
32	62	32.98	cristianos	christian(s) (pl. m. adj. or noun)
33	30	32.419	evangélica	evangelical (sing. f. adj.)
34	20	32.404	david	David

35	28	31.905	lesbianas	lesbian(s) (pl. adj. or noun)
36	61	31.82	pastor	pastor
37	62	31.735	sexual	sexual
38	118	31.669	homosexuales	homosexual(s) (pl. adj. or noun)
39	16	31.61	senadora	senator (f.)
40	109	30.789	ya	already
41	121	30.553	nuestra	our (sing. f.)
42	94	30.318	nuestro	our (sing. m.)
43	80	29.492	e	and
44	149	28.831	entre	between/among
45	18	28.658	directorío	directoriate
46	18	28.658	escrituras	scriptures
47	40	28.546	pues	so
48	14	27.659	corporación	corporation/board
49	14	27.659	nvi	NVI (new international version)
50	40	26.926	comisión	commission
51	28	26.811	organización	organisation
52	23	26.514	población	population
53	21	26.198	gay	gay
54	61	26.1	ni	neither/nor
55	38	25.896	relaciones	relation(ship)s
56	13	25.683	categorías	categories
57	13	25.683	registro	register
58	13	25.683	romanos	Romans
59	34	25.547	favor	favour
60	16	24.936	ciento	(per)cent
61	12	23.708	ferchile	FERCHILE (Federation of Religious Entities of Chile)
62	12	23.708	jonatán	Jonathan
63	12	23.708	norma	regulation
64	12	23.708	roumat	Roumat**
65	19	22.807	aprobación	approval
66	30	21.83	podemos	can (3 rd pers. pl. verb)
67	11	21.732	nelson	Nelson**
68	11	21.732	representan	represent (3 rd pers. pl. verb)
69	11	21.732	reyes	Reyes**/Kings
70	11	21.732	sodomitas	sodomites/anal (pl. adj.)
71	20	21.613	pedofilia	paedophilia
72	179	21.485	sus	their (pl.)
73	14	21.243	arbitraria	arbitrary
74	14	21.243	pastoras	pastors (f.)
75	14	21.243	piñera	Piñera**

76	55	20.984	quienes	whom (pl.)
77	28	20.833	movimiento	movement
78	63	20.517	discriminación	discrimination
79	40	20.044	cual	which (sing.)
80	55	20.044	homosexualidad	homosexuality
81	22	19.958	evangélico	evangelical (sing. m. adj. or noun)
82	10	19.756	art	art(icle)
83	10	19.756	bíblico	biblical
84	10	19.756	contratantes	contract holders
85	10	19.756	corintios	Corinthians
86	10	19.756	hrs	hours
87	10	19.756	ilga	ILGA (International Lesbian and Gay Association)
88	10	19.756	temuco	Temuco***
89	17	19.473	diputados	deputies
90	17	19.473	rolando	Rolando**
91	13	19.41	entidades	entities
92	13	19.41	red	network
93	15	19.183	partido	party
94	141	18.544	chile	Chile
95	21	18.474	mas	more
96	83	18.198	hombre	man
97	22	17.931	cuales	which (pl.)
98	22	17.931	senado	senate
99	16	17.831	artículo	article
100	9	17.781	administración	administration
101	9	17.781	adulto	adult (sing. m. adj. or noun)
102	9	17.781	antinatural	unnatural
103	9	17.781	betel	Bethel
104	9	17.781	emiliano	Emiliano**
105	9	17.781	gays	gays (pl. adj. or noun)
106	9	17.781	rojas	Rojas**
107	256	17.669	o	or
108	12	17.588	aprobar	to approve
109	12	17.588	dejando	leaving
110	12	17.588	pro	pro
111	12	17.588	revolución	revolution
112	32	17.022	autoridades	authorities
113	20	17.012	género	gender
114	33	16.931	principios	principles
115	17	16.862	nación	nation
116	36	16.76	tipo	type

117	37	16.73	pareja	couple
118	18	16.135	organizaciones	organisations
119	29	16.07	evangélicos	evangelical (pl. m. adj. or noun)
120	30	15.958	libro	book
121	8	15.805	afeminados	effeminate
122	8	15.805	europea	European
123	8	15.805	expulsión	expulsion
124	8	15.805	israel	israel
125	8	15.805	junji	JUNJI (Chilean national association of creches)
126	8	15.805	lesbiana	lesbian (sing. adj. or noun)
127	8	15.805	monogamia	monogamy
128	8	15.805	pastora	pastor (sing. f. noun)
129	8	15.805	pastorado	pastorship
130	8	15.805	respaldo	support (noun)
131	8	15.805	rivera	Rivera**
132	8	15.805	tuma	Tuma**
133	8	15.805	varones	males
134	20	15.131	identidad	identity
135	27	15.007	iniciativa	initiative
136	346	14.918	como	how/like/as
137	17	14.662	prácticas	practices (noun)
138	14	14.61	jurídico	legal
139	10	13.986	federación	federation
140	10	13.986	minoría	minority
141	26	13.83	nuestras	our (pl. f.)
142	7	13.829	acaso	perhaps
143	7	13.829	asesinato	murder
144	7	13.829	bravo	Bravo**
145	7	13.829	bíblicos	biblical (pl. m.)
146	7	13.829	directores	directors
147	7	13.829	jardines	gardens (creches)
148	7	13.829	jueces	judges
149	7	13.829	lagos	Lagos**
150	7	13.829	líder	leader

* acronym that stands for one of the names of the civil-partnership bill

** Proper name

*** Name of a place or city

Appendix V

Top 150 keywords of the Evangelical Churches Corpus grouped by category

CATEGORY	KEYWORD	TRANSLATION
Geographical names	Temuco (10), Chile (141), Israel (8), europea (8)	Temuco, Chile, Israel, European
Christian churches	betel (9), pentecostal (53), metodista (32), evangélicas (24), cristianos (62), evangélica (30), evangélico (22), evangélicos (29)	Bethel, Pentecostal, Methodist, Evangelical (pl. f. adj.), Christians (pl. m. adj. or noun), Evangelical (sing. f. adj.), Evangelical (sing. m. adj.), Evangelical (pl. m. adj.)
Church organisations/groups	Ferchile (12), estatutos (19), directorio (18), corporación (14), organización (28), organizaciones (18), federación (10), directores (7), administración (9), iglesias (69), entidades (13)	FERCHILE (Federation of Religious Entities of Chile), statutes, directorate, corporation, organisation, organisations, federation, directors, administration, churches, entities
Church leaders/actors	pastores (70), pastor (61), pastoras (14), pastora (8), pastorado (8), Roberto (17), Rojas (9), Soto (19), Roumat (12), Nelson (11), Emiliano (9), Rivera (8), Bravo (7)	pastors, pastor, pastors (f.), pastor (n. f.), pastorship, Roberto, Rojas, Soto, Roumat, Nelson, Emiliano, Rivera, Bravo
Biblical references	biblia (34), escrituras (18), romanos (13), bíblico (10), corintios (10), bíblicos (7), nvi (14), reyes (11), david (20), jonatán (12)	Bible, scriptures, Romans, biblical (sing. m.), Corinthians, biblical (pl. m), NIV (new international version), Kings, David, Jonathan
Sex	sexo (52), sexual (62), relaciones (38), sodomitas (11), monogamia (8), prácticas (17), pedofilia (20), nambla (21)	sex, sexual, relation(ship)s, sodomites/anal, monogamy, practices, paedophilia, NAMBLA (North American Man/Boy Love Association)
Age	niños (71), adulto (9), jardines (7), junji (8)	children, adult (sing. m. adj. or noun), gardens (crèche), JUNJI (Chilean national association of creches)
Time	hrs (10), ya (109)	hours, already
Written information	libro (30)	book
People	población (23), quienes (55)	population, whom (pl.)
Sexuality	homosexual (125), lesbianas (28), homosexuales (118), gay (21), homosexualidad (55), gays (9), lesbiana (8)	homosexual (sing. adj. or noun), lesbian(s) (pl. adj. or noun), homosexual(s) (pl. adj. or noun), gay, homosexuality, gays (pl. adj. or noun), lesbian (sing. adj. or noun)

Gender	mujer (75), hombres (59), hombre (83), género (20), identidad (20), varones (8), afeminados (8), -as (35)	woman, men, man, gender, identity, males, effeminate, (feminine suffix for nouns and adj.)
Politicians	piñera (14), tuma (8), lagos (7)	Piñera, Tuma, Lagos
Politics	gobierno (70), movimiento (28), partido (15), revolución (12), autoridades (32), líder (7), red (13), representan (11), nación (17)	government, movement, party, revolution, authorities, leader, network, represent (3 rd p. pl.) nation
Legislation	senador (39), ley (114), proyecto (99), senadores (18), senadora (16), comisión (40), norma (12), diputados (17), senado (22), artículo (16), aprobar (12), art (10), contratantes (10), iniciativa (27), aprobación (19), jurídico (14), jueces (7), registro (13), matrimonio (171), arbitraria (14), antidiscriminación (24), discriminación (63), categorías (13), pareja (37), avp (53)	Senator, law, bill, senators, senator (f.), commission, regulation, deputies, senate, article, approves, art(icle), contract holders, initiative, approval, legal, judges, register, marriage, arbitrary, antidiscrimination, discrimination, categories, couple, AVP (Chilean civil partnership)
LGBT movement	movilh (39), ilga (10), jimenez (25), rolando (17), expulsión (8)	MOVILH (Chilean Movement for Homosexual Integration and Liberation), ILGA (International Lesbian and Gay Association), Rolando, expulsion
Support & opposition	respaldo (8), anti (22), favor (34), minoría (10), mayoría (54), contra (102), pro (12)	Support (noun), anti, favour, minority, majority, against, pro
Abnormal	antinatural (9)	unnatural
Killing	asesinato (7)	murder
Ability	podemos (30)	can (3 rd p. pl)
Give up	dejando (12)	leaving
Values	principios (33)	principles
Kind/variety	tipo (36)	type
Statistics	ciento (16)	(per)cent
Agency	por (654)	by
Reason/cause	pues (40), por (654)	so, for
Increase	mas (21)	more
Similarity/comparison	como (346)	how/like/as
Interaction	entre (149)	between/among
Anaphoric reference	cuales (22), cual (40)	which (pl.), which (sing.)
Coordination	e (80), o (256), ni (61)	and, or, neither/nor
Possessives	nuestros (52), nuestra (121), nuestro (94), sus (179), nuestras (26)	our (pl. m.), our (sing. f.), our (sing. m.), their (pl.), our (pl. f.)
Possibility	acaso (7)	perhaps

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