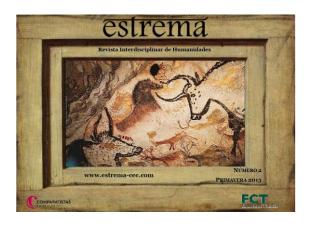


# Revista Interdisciplinar de Humanidades

# **Queer Interventions in Amália Rodrigues and António Variações** Pepe, Paulo Pires.

estrema: revista interdisciplinar de humanidades,

número 2, Primavera 2013



Um projecto do Centro de Estudos Comparatistas da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa

Para informação adicional

http://www.estrema-cec.com

# Queer Interventions in Amália Rodrigues and António Variações<sup>1</sup>

Paulo Pires Pepe

#### Resumo:

Neste artigo, oferecerei uma análise de duas canções: *O Rapaz da Camisola Verde* escrita por Pedro Homem de Mello em 1954 e cantada por Amália Rodrigues em 1965 e a *Canção do Engate* da autoria de António Variações em 1984. *O Rapaz da Camisola Verde* composta durante a ditadura de Salazar, apresenta subliminarmente uma história de um rapaz jovem, que se encontra numa esquina escura, escondido do regime ditatorial, à procura de prazer com outros homens. Dez anos depois do fim da ditadura de Salazar, a *Canção do Engate* apresenta-nos uma relação física entre dois homens, representativa de uma formação de uma identidade queer em Portugal. Oferecendo uma análise comparativa sobre o contexto histórico, o político e o pessoal destas duas músicas, chamarei a atenção para as formas em que se abriram possibilidades, para o surgimento de identidades queer na sociedade portuguesa. Estas eram baseadas igualmente em uma ruptura com um passado opressivo e na recuperação destas próprias identidades.

Palavras-chave: Amália Rodrigues, António Variações, Homosexualidade, Salazar, Música

### **Abstract:**

In this article I will offer an analysis of two songs: *O Rapaz da Camisola Verde*, written by Pedro Homem de Mello in 1954 and sung by Amália Rodrigues in 1965 and *Canção* do *Engate* written and performed by António Variações from 1984. *O Rapaz da Camisola Verde*, produced during Salazar's dictatorship, subliminally presents the story of a humble young boy, who sells his body in a dark corner, hiding from the regime. Ten years after the end of the dictatorship, *Canção do Engate* presents explicitly a physical relationship between two gay men, which represents the formation of a Portuguese queer identity. Offering a comparative analysis on the historical, the political and the personal context of these two songs, I will draw attention to the ways in which, after the end of the Portuguese dictatorial regime, possibilities opened up to the appearance of queer identities in the Portuguese

<sup>.</sup> 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> PEPE, Paulo Pires. 2013. Queer Interventions in Amália Rodrigues and António Variações. *estrema: Revista Interdisciplinar de Humanidades* 2, www.estrema-cec.com.

society. These were based both on a rupture with an oppressive past and on the recuperation of these same identities.

Keywords: Amália Rodrigues, António Variações, Homosexuality, Salazar, Music

Throughout the twentieth century, several changes took place in representations of gender in the Portuguese culture and some of them are of particular interest to this article, namely representations of queerness. However, it is essential to note that these changes began to stand out during the 1970s, as a clear result of political changes in Portugal. Portugal was for decades under Salazar's dictatorship, and only after the Carnation Revolution (1974), a greater sexual expression in the arts became possibly in the country. During Salazar's dictatorial regime, homosexuality could only be articulated in cultural representations hidden from the censorship. As Antonio Fernando Cascais argues: "As artes estavam sujeitas a uma censura férrea e os homossexuais era onde mais ferozmente incidia a censura, isto desde que a expressão artística não estivesse ligada ao regime" (Almeida 2009, 134). In some extreme cases, these representations of non-normative identities could lead to persecution. Such were the cases of António Botto or Judith Teixeira. During this time, it was considered crime to have an opinion as if it were a public crime, insofar as the "individuals left themselves are not free, nor enlightened and far less rational and good. They are slaves of passions, instincts, of demagogues" (Barreto 2009, 391).

O Rapaz da Camisola Verde, written by Pedro Homem de Mello in 1954, was censured by the dictatorship. Pedro Homem de Mello's original poem subliminally presents the story of physical desire between two men. In 1965, Amália Rodrigues produced the song adapted from Pedro Homem de Mello's poem. Amália was born in 1920 and became internationally known as the "Queen of Fado". Amalia's internationalization was helped by her participation in 1950 in a performance in support of the Marshall Plan. Years later, Amália Rodrigues became a Portuguese gay icon with many drag queens impersonating her and appropriating her image and style.

In 1984, another Portuguese gay icon, António Variações, wrote and composed *Canção do Engate* which presents explicitly a physical relationship between two gay men, which represents the formation of a visible Portuguese queer identity. In this article, I offer a comparative analysis on the historical, the political and the personal context of these two songs, and I draw attention to the ways in which, after the end of the Portuguese dictatorial

regime, possibilities opened up to the appearance of queer identities in the Portuguese society, based on a rupture with an oppressive past.

O Rapaz da Camisola Verde was then adapted into a song sung by Amália Rodrigues, with some significant changes, since the original poem was censored. As it can be seen in the version of the song of Amália, the poem begins with the second block of the original poem. Although the first block of the original version of the poem does not introduce directly a homoerotic theme, the poet starts to affirm that it is during the night and in a corner that he found the boy in the green jumper, which means that homosexuals would have to meet in secret places and specially during the night. So, in order to avoid this sexual behavior this block was cut from the original song.

In addition to this, in another censored stanza of the poem, once could read: "Quem o visse, ao passar, talvez não desse, Pelo seu ar de príncipe, exilado / Na esquina, alí, de camisola verde", in english ("Whoever saw him, passing, maybe did not realise, For his air of Prince, exiled / In that corner, there, the boy of the green jumper)". In these two verses, the poet describes this boy as a prince in order to enhance the beauty of this boy hiding in the corner. Yet, in my opinion, what is most important is the word "exilado". The word "exilado" represents the situation in which homosexuals lived during this time, when they did not have any place within the Portuguese society, when the medical community, the Catholic Church and even the State considered these individuals as "sick" and for this reason they did not have any functionality within the society. Due to this, homosexuals were forced to "live in the dark". Thus in order to experience their sexuality, homosexuals would have to do it in the dark. Considering homosexuality a pathology, the New State, following the medical studies of the time, carried out detentions with the purpose of curing these individuals. In addition, the New State began to institutionalize homosexuals, "removing" them from society, where they were not totally included in the first place, in order to shape the perfect Portuguese society, according to the New State's code of sociability. As Susana Pereira Bastos points out:

[a]dmitting such individuals in institutions, exiling them from the public space, the regime, was also exorcising some fears, hiding its imperfections at the national and foreign eye. Taking further the metaphor of sacrifice ritual, also the violence of this closure was necessary and justified as a function of regeneration of the victim and subsequently renovation of a moral Portuguese cosmos. (Bastos 1997, 59)

Finally, in the last stanza of the poem which was also censored, one can read: "Ali ficou... E eu cínico, deixei-o, Entregue à noite, aos homens, ao pecado", in English ("He stayed there... And I cynical, I left him, Delivered at night, at men, at sin"). These verses were the key of the

representation of the homoerotism in this poem, since the poet is aware that he left this boy in that night, on the corner waiting for men to have sexual experiences with him.

Music is a form of expression, which may change our behaviour and affect our lives. Music, as any art, invites us to embark upon an emotional and physical expedition. In modern society, music is even more present: it is used to entertain us, to promote consumerism, and sometimes it is used to pacified angry crowds. While music is used for these and other purposes: "one of the primary functions of music lies in establishing and developing an individual's sense of identity" (Dibben 2002, 5). Music is exclusively a temporal art form. Music exists in time, it is dynamic, energetic and it is in constant movement. It is created over time and explores the combinations of sounds and rhythms, which are united to form a single work that is coherent and understandable. However, this work can be reinterpreted, remixed or performed several times, so it is never a full representation of a particular moment in time, but the result of various times and changing times. These qualities of music share a striking resemblance to the qualities of queer identities, since as music, they also are dynamic and constantly moving. But more important, music is a device of communication particularly important to express what it demands an object, what allows us to build new identities and transform those that already exist. Raymond MacDonald argues:

Music can be used increasingly as a mean by which we formulate and express our individual identities. We use it not only to regulate our own everyday moods and behaviours, but also to present ourselves to others in the way we prefer. Our musical tastes and preferences can form an important statement of our values and attitudes, and composers and performers use to express their own distinctive views of the world. (Dibben 2002, 1)

Therefore, music not only result in the creation and performance of sounds, but also in the creation of subjectivities as such, for it provides the opportunity to compose and performance a multiplicity of identities, identities that can be found outside the realm of heterosexuality. Moreover, over decades and cultures, music has been associated with sexual desires, the inversion of gender, sexual suspicious and these characteristics are visible on Amália's song. Even without the censored stanzas, the homoerotism is still visible in Amália's song, though in a subliminal way, as when Amália sings: "Perguntei quem era, ele me disse: Sou do Monte Senhor! E seu criado..." or: "Porque me assaltam turvos pensamentos? Na minha frente estava um condenado!", ("I asked him who he was, and he told me: I am from the countryside, my Lord! And your servant. Why assault me these bleary thoughts? In front of me there was a condemned!"). As we can see in these stanzas the homoerotism prevails since

the boy is there waiting for other men to have sex with him. Amália turned this poem into a lyric of a Fado song.

Fado is considered one of the most important Portuguese music styles. It is also considered an element of the Lusitanian culture and one of the most authentic ways of expressing the Portuguese soul. Like popular music, Fado also builds identities, throughout emotions and words. Maria de São José Côrte-Real says: "One of the powers of music, visible on fado performance, is its potential to link intimate and public spheres of identity" (Côrte-Real 2010, 3).

Furthermore, when Amália's sings: "Soube depois, ali, que se perdera... Esse que, eu só, pudera ter salvado! ("I found out later, that there, he got lost... The only one I could have saved!"). These lines from the lyrics allude to the difference between those who could afford to pay for the free expression of their sexuality in opposition to those who did not have money and were persecuted. Double standards, such as these, are examined by Michel Foucault, who argues that:

[t]hese are the characteristic features attributed to repression, which serve to distinguish it from the prohibitions maintained by penal law: repression operated as a sentence to disappear, but also as an injunction to silence, an affirmation of nonexistence, and, by implication, an admission that there was nothing to say about such things, nothing to see, and nothing to know. Such was the hypocrisy of our bourgeois societies with its halting logic. (Foucault 1976, 419)

This duplicity was well managed during the regime in the most absolute silence, a silence with the force of what is not said, only known and perceived. Under Salazar's regime, the Portuguese society had a very well defined hierarchical social structure, and this was also visible in relation to homosexuality. As Octávio Gameiro argues:

[i]n male homosexuality, during the Estado Novo, there were two different worlds, there was the world of the high society, [...] the festivities of the private houses, the bars and the clubs, and the world [...] of the cruising in the urinals, in the gardens and in the docks and stations, this was the homosexuality of the basfond. There still were many homosexual individuals who climbed to the world of the gay elite, with the protection of a master, who [...] took them to places, opened doors. (Almeida 2010, 31)

In relation to *O Rapaz da Camisola Verde*, only the lyrical subject could have saved the boy: "Esse que, eu só, pudera ter salvado! ("The only I could have saved!"). This defined hierarchical social structure in relation to homosexuality in Portuguese society also contributes to establish a definition of the homosexual individual during Salazar's regime. Was the homosexual simply considered to be suffering from a pathology or was he/her a sodomite? Being homosexual was just that: being sexuality determined by a political power. Thus, the homosexuals did not share an identity with others, since there was not a public

space for these people, and because of the Salazar's regime homosexual's were restraining for this political power and were not allowed to experience their sexual desire. As Octávio Gameiro argues:

havia um comportamento e um desejo mas não uma identidade [...]. A identidade dependia dos recursos das pessoas, [...] A identidade só pode surgir quando existem condições históricas, sociais e quando um tem autonomia e estatuto social, o que significa que, dentro das condições modernas se pode ser autodeterminado e não ser determinado. (Almeida 2010, 32)

Still regarding Amália, this performer was considered a diva and also a gay icon, mainly because she had an attitude that gay people identified with. This happened because of the characteristics portrayed in her singing, namely vulnerability mixed with defiance. The diva effect also has some hold upon exclusively straight audiences; and when it does occur, it is often imbued with camp elements of excess and style associated with homosexuals. Bohlman says:

The identity of music is the sacred issue, [...] That women, working-class labourers, gays and lesbians, blacks, religious or ethnic communities, or anyone else should identify music in some other way or imagine music to embody completely different and differentiated cultural spaces, that becomes blasphemy against "what MUSIC is". Imagined in this way it may not be MUSIC anymore. (Bohlman 1993, 417)

Amália Rodrigues was represented as a drag-queen by other men as a way to pay homage to her. Also, António Variações was a big fan of Amália. Once he said, in the *Journal Sete*: "Estou a vê-la neste momento, estou a ouvi-la... é a minha janela." Furthermore, Variações also paid homage to Amália Rodrigues, since he sung *Povo que lavas no rio*, an Amália Rodrigues's song and also written by Pedro Homem de Mello.

With the Carnation Revolution on the 25<sup>th</sup> of April 1974, Portugal underwent changes in the cultural representations of gender, although this was, and still is, a very slow process, and one can argue that, in terms of experiences of homosexuality, 1974 did not indeed bring sexual freedom. For example, the MAHR (acronym for Movimento de Acção dos Homossexuais Revolucionários, (Movement of Action of Revolutionary Homosexuals) which was created soon in May 1974, ended shortly after publishing his manifesto in the newspapers. This was the first document in defence of "gay rights" in Portugal and raised the indignation of a member of the Conselho de Salvação Nacional, in English, Board of National Salvation, General Galvão de Melo, who said on television that the Revolution was not done for "prostitutes" and "homosexuals" (Almeida 2010, 99). In spite of recent democratic freedom, it was still almost impossible for a homosexual individual to come out of the closet. Guilherme de Melo states: "a sociedade [portuguesa] é eivada de hipocrisia e

falsidade, onde não há possibilidade de assumir frontalmente a homossexualidade a sua posição de homossexual sem se arriscar, ainda, a toda a série de consequências desagradavéis" (Melo 1982, 56). António Variações was an example of this. Despite generalised suspicion of his homosexuality, he never "came out of the closet".

António Variações was born on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of December of 1944, in Fiscal. When he was 12 years old, he went to Lisbon where he worked as a personal assistant and barber. Variações then completed his military service in Angola, and in 1975, he travelled to London and Amsterdam, where he discovered a new world which he wanted to bring to Portugal. When he arrived in Portugal he began working on the first Portuguese unisex hair salon. Years later, he started performing with the group Variações, which would eventually draw attention on him. He also gained attention for his eccentric look and for his musical style which combined several styles of music genres such as *fado*, pop, rock, among others. In 1981, he released his first single titled *Povo que Lavas no Rio*, or in English, *People who Wash in the River*, and in 1984 he launched its second album called *Dar e Receber*, in English, *Give and Take*. Variações died on the 13<sup>th</sup> of June of 1984, as an arguable victim of AIDS.

Canção do Engate represents a clear rupture with an oppressive past. In addition, when this song first came out, the law that considered homosexuality a crime had just been abolished in 1982. The song openly explores a feature which is now strongly associated with homosexuality, that is promiscuity and sexual desire: "Porque não vamos unidos, Porque não vamos ficar, Na aventura dos sentidos / [...] Ser um corpo de prazer, (Why don't we go together / Why don't we stay in the adventure of the senses. / [...] Being a body of pleasure)". This song expressed a different concept of physical relationship. Promiscuity allowed the destruction of sexual taboos and a valid, at least conceptually accepted, way of Western sexual lifestyle. Following this line of thought, promiscuity and sexual desire represent a term for democratic sexual freedom, as presented in the song. Michael Warner argues that the conflict between love and sex is to deny the lived experience of queers, and one of queer culture's greatest contribution for modernity is: "the discovery that you can have both: intimacy and casualness; long-term commitment and sex with strangers; romantic and perverse pleasure" (Warner 1999, 73).

Moreover, Portugal was still in the transition from a dictatorship to a democracy, when António Variações sung this song, and there were still traces from the Salazar's regime. So Variações combined such internalization of oppression with some form of protest. As I referred on my analyses of the song, *Canção de Engate* presents a subliminal homoerotism and this was a mechanism to protect António Variações' against the repression that he could

suffer from the Portuguese society. From a different view, this mechanism enabled the weird dissociation between homosexuality and music. This mechanism described as an "open door", and its function is not to conceal the knowledge of knowledge. As a consequence it is to strengthen the binary oppositions, for example: inside / outside, heterosexuality / homosexuality, public / private, and as result consigns the homosexuality to the private sphere, always on the verge of visibility, and therefore always under surveillance as an unimaginable alternative. Also, Jack Babuscio argues that the gay subject holds a particular perception of the world, as well as all other members of minority goups political and culturally put aside from society (Babuscio 1999, 170-177). The author considers that is not possible to separate sexuality from the emotional mechanisms of the individual - that sexuality always comes up, in some way, expressed in the creative acts of these subjects. Babuscio continues his argument by stating that the gay individual has the advantage of a double vision, because, as with others who belong to minorities, he occupies a privileged place to observe from the "outside" the activities of those that are "inside", integrated in the dominant political ideology, while the opposite hardly happens" (Babuscio 1999, 177). Thus, when Variações sings: "E eu que busco quem quiser" (I am looking for who I want), he does not mention specifically if is looking for a woman or a men, but since he was homosexual, one can affirm that the lyrical subjects in his poems is looking for a male company.

Considering music as a performance art, it must occupy the public sphere, with, as it were, all its secret on display, where there is a huge extent needs to be mounted to keep these secrets from making any difference. Also, popular music frequently needs to respond in its playful, coy or disruptive tactics around the vocal as well as visual representation of sex and gender – and this is visible in the performances of Variações – to Judith's Butler notions of these supposedly natural characteristics as *performative* utterances to which subjects submit in a constraint repetition as part of entry into language and society. Judith Butler argues that the: "if a regime of sexuality mandates a compulsory performance of sex, then it may be only through that performance that the binary system of gender and the binary system of sex come to have intelligibility at all" (Butler 2007, 68).

After the Carnation Revolution, homosexuals did not have any immediate visibility. There was little reception to the homosexual movement, which at the time would come mainly from left oriented intellectuals and students and not from the older generation linked to the Communist Party. Some of these intellectuals and students were in exile abroad, where they had direct contact with the movements related to homosexuality. Simultaneously, in Portugal, there were public figures and even people which were homosexuals, who never had any

petulance in relation to homosexual emancipation. Moreover, it appears that the Portuguese society was also left out of the sidelines of the cultural revolutions that were taking place in other countries during the 60s and 70s, which had been very important to the restructuring of the European Left. António Cascais states the following:

Após a revolução, o quadro de grande atraso no desenvolvimento do país só contribuiria para afunilar a acção política no sentido de erguer um Estado social, o que quanto mais não fosse bastaria para que a margem para outro tipo de reivindicações se tornasse assim mínima e sempre precária e em permanente ameaça. As preocupações políticas eram de tal modo outras que tombavam de encontro a um muro de incompreensão os raríssimos ecos do empunhamento da emancipação homosexual pela esqueda radical no Maio de 68 em França. (Cascais 2006, 118)

However, years later when the first demonstrations concerning a gay agenda of civil rights, Portuguese homosexuals found themselves supported by leftwing parties. These demonstrations were organized primarily by individuals who identified with the values espoused by the parties of the left. Yet these individuals were dissociated from these political parties, since homosexuals had found no opportunity to express themselves. At this point, the idea of a fight for homosexuals' rights was understood as a division for this fight was to distract workers and activists of the main objectives of their struggle, thereby it would make them weaker, when compared to their opponents. This means that the struggle of homosexuals appeared thus portrayed a fight carried out by a small minority without any advantage to those fighting for greater political and social recognition. Cascais states the following:

Na pior, mas muito comum, das hipóteses, a homossexualidade é encarada como uma demonstração eloquente da decadência burguesa, e os homossexuais como inimigos de classe, e inclusive como uma prática nazi, assimilando-se perversão política a perversão sexual: caso do estereótipo aplicado aos *leather* que revela, no entanto um obstáculo intransponível à assimilação da emancipação homossexual, que é a incomensaurabilidade entre o discurso revolucionário e o léxico erótico homossexual em geral, que não apenas o *leather* ou outro qualquer. (Cascais 2003, 27)

In other words, the homosexual was considered just the opposite of what should be the proletariat, according to the revolutionary morality.

During the 1980's of the twentieth century, several groups started to fight for "gay rights". The first stable one was the Homosexual Working Group (GTH), which was linked to the Revolutionary Socialist Party (RSP), in the 1980s. However, let me now clarify that not all supporters of the PSR were militants of the GTH. This movement was based on defending the rights of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people and fight against sexism, homophobia and discrimination against sexual minorities.

In fact, it was during the 90s that the associations in Portugal began to stand out, and consequently gained visibility. It was during these years that associations such as ILGA-Portugal<sup>2</sup> (acronym for Intervenção Lésbica, Gay, Bissexual E Transexual or in english is Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Intervention), Opus Gay<sup>3</sup>, the Festival of Gay and Lesbian Film Lisbon, among many others emerged. In addition to this, it was also during these years that the political parties of the left acknowledged the requests of the community. Moreover, the first Lisbon Pride Parade was organized in 1997. Consequently, it appears that the Portuguese associative reality was not really a quick process, as well as other cultural representations of the LGBT community, as they always faced numerous various problems such as: social, political and historical repression, among others.

In this context, when considering, in a comparative approach, Amália's song *O Rapaz da Camisola Verde* and Variações's *Canção do Engate* it is possible to identify and examine a reconfiguration of gender identities from Salazar dictatorship to the consolidation of democracy, being both songs politically, historically and socially charged. The representation of a homoerotic relation in Variações's song represents the formation of a new society in Portugal, which went from a dictatorship to a democracy, where the fear of being out of the closet begins to be less significant, where people began at a slow pace to change their mindset and be more tolerant, and mainly where the determined identity of the homosexual individual of Salazar's regime, present in *O Rapaz da Camisola Verde*, became a queer identity in *Canção do Engate*. Musical performance is a multifaceted and dynamic human phenomenon, which involves rather capricious and in these cases elaborate aesthetic, social and symbolic dimensions, challenging barriers, recuperating old identities and transforming new ones. Moreover, António Variações used to say: "Eu nasci no tempo errado", but in my opinion, even though Variações thought that he was born too early, he was crucial for his time, since he contributed to the formation of a new culture.

**Notes**: All the translations were made by the author.

.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ilga-Portugal was funded in 1995 and is a Private institution of Social Solidarity and they defend the rights of Lesbian, Gays, Bisexuals and Transgender people.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Opus-Gay is it also an association who defends the rights of the LGBT community and it was born in 1997.

## **Bibliography**

- ALMEIDA, Sao Jose. 2009. O Estado Novo Dizia Que Não Havia Homossexuais, Mas Perseguia-Os. In *Publico*
- BABUSCIO, Jack. 1999. The Cinema of Camp (Aka Camp and the Gay Sensibility). In *Camp: Queer Aesthetics and the Performing Subject*, edited by Fabio Cleto. Ann Arbor:

  University of Michigan Press, pag. 117-35.
- BARRETO, Antonio e Maria Filomena Monica. 2000. *Dicionario De Historia De Portugal*, *Vol. IX*. Lisboa: Livrarias Figueirinhas.
- BASTOS, Susana Pereira. 1997. O Estado Novo E Os Seus Vadios. Lisboa: Dom Quixote.
- BOHLMAN, P. 1993. 'Musicology as a Political Act'. Journal of Musicology 11: 411-36.
- BUTLER, Judith. 2007 [1993]. *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"*. London and New York: Routledge.
- CASCAIS, Antonio Fernando. 2003. Sexo Para Que Te Quero? Revista Online de Arte, Cultura e Tecnologia.
- \_\_\_\_. 2006. Diferente Como Só Nós. O Associativismo Glbt Português Em Três Andamentos. Revista Critica de Ciencias Sociais, pág. 109-26.
- CÔRTE-REAL, Maria de São José. 2010. Revising Citizenship: Migration and Fado in the Play of Identities in the United States. *Migrações Journal Special Issue Music and Migration*.
- DIBBEN, N. 2002. Gender identity and music. In *Musical Identities*, edited by Raymond MacDonald, David J. Hargreaves and Dorothy Miell. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pág.117-133.
- DUARTE, Pedro Rolo. *Sete*, 30/03/1983.
- FOUCAULT, Michel. 1976. The History of Sexuality: An Introduction. London: Penguin.
- MELO, Guilherme de. 1982. Ser Homossexual Em Portugal. Lisboa: Relogio d'Agua.
- WARNER, Michael. 1999. The Trouble with Normal: Sex, Politics and the Ethics of Queer Life. New York: Free Press.