

# Caught in the wave?

## Sexual harassment, sexual violence, and the #MeToo movement in Portugal

By Ana Prata

### Abstract

The reception of the international #MeToo movement in Portugal has been complex and controversial. Issues of injustice regarding sexual harassment and sexual violence were always central to feminist organizations in Portugal, but the salience of these issues increased when women started to share their personal stories under #MeToo, the country's favorite soccer star was accused of rape, and after some polemic court rulings. This paper uses a Black Feminist Thought approach and content analysis of newspaper data, to trace the political process feminist movements engaged in regarding gender-based violence. It also analyzes how #MeToo movement contributed to the visibility and framing of the issues, what collective actions were pursued, and what outcomes were achieved. The findings show that the globalized #MeToo movement has contributed to revitalize the Portuguese feminist movement. New, younger, and more diverse members have joined its ranks, new feminist organizations were created, new frames were applied, and several collective actions organized, mostly in protesting court decisions. This vitality led to a more inclusive and intersectional activism, but also to an increasing awareness of sexual harassment and sexual violence as targets of personal, collective, and institutional change.

**KEYWORDS:** #MeToo movement, sexual harassment, sexual violence, Portuguese feminist movement, black feminist thought.

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## Introduction

The #MeToo movement has had a far reaching impact in addressing the legacy of injustice regarding sexual harassment and sexual violence.<sup>1</sup> But the movement has not been immune to criticisms and it has been perceived, and received, very differently across the world. In Europe, several countries have adopted the #MeToo by directly translating it to the country's language (Spain's *#YoTambién*) or creating their own hashtag, such as, France's *#BalanceTonPorc* (DenounceYourPig). Underlying this hashtag activism are processes of adaptation, modification, expansion, and innovation of the #MeToo movement (Jouët 2018; Mendes, Ringrose, and Keller 2018), that expand beyond the # and where activists utilize specific tactics to bring visibility to gender violence in their own way, and in their own country.

In Portugal, the reception of the international #MeToo movement has been complex, controversial, and has evolved considerably since 2017. Two focusing events mark how the #MeToo movement unfolded in the country. The first one, was Cristiano Ronaldo's accusation of rape by Kathryn Mayorga, the second one, a court trial and its sentencing in Gaia. Both focusing events, led public discussion on the #MeToo movement and on gender-based violence to gain an unprecedented salience in the country.

The use of #MeToo is to date one of the most prominent examples of digital feminist activism in the country, but what makes Portugal an interesting case to analyze is that while the reception by the public and by the media to the #MeToo movement was significant, politically the movement did not garner much support (Garraio et al. 2020), it did not produce mass mobilizations, and it did not help create new legislation. Nonetheless, important political outcomes were still derived from the #MeToo movement in the country. Mostly, its impact on feminist movement organizations and an increasing awareness of sexual harassment and sexual violence as gender inequality issues.

This paper aims at tracing the political process that feminist movement organizations engaged regarding gender-based violence since the

#MeToo. It also analyzes how the international #MeToo movement contributed to the visibility and framing of the issues, what collective actions were pursued, and what outcomes were achieved. I draw on data from newspaper articles focusing on the #MeToo movement in Portugal, to better understand the political process in which the movement unfolded. Therefore, I ask how is the discourse about the #MeToo movement being constructed, re-interpreted, and evolving in Portugal? What specific collective actions seemed connected to the movement? And finally, what was the reception and the impact of the #MeToo movement in feminist organizations in Portugal?

## The #MeToo Movement

The origins of the #MeToo movement are connected to its founder, Tarana Burke, who in 2006 launched MeToo, a non-profit that provided a space for women to talk about their sexual assault and rape experiences. Burke called it a movement of "empowerment through empathy" (Hill 2017). A decade later, on October of 2017, the MeToo hashtag began trending on social media. The #MeToo gained widespread attention when actress Alyssa Milano used it as a Twitter hashtag in connection to allegations of sexual assault by Hollywood producer Harvey Weinstein. Milano asked the public to join in order to demonstrate the pervasiveness of the problem of sexual violence and sexual harassment. The hashtag captured both public and media attention and was used 12 million times in the first 24 hours and trended in at least 85 countries (Mendes, Ringrose, and Keller 2018; Choo et al. 2019). While the movement started by Burke focused mostly on supporting survivors, it has become increasingly multifaceted. Including, sharing personal accounts of gender violence on social media platforms, outing the actions of perpetrators (Jaffe 2018), and even making demands for legislation in several industries. Overall, the #Me Too movement has been able to "mobilize millions of people around the world" (Rottenberg 2019) and has been described as a 'watershed moment' for sexual violence (Gill and

Orgad 2018; Cobb and Horeck 2018; Jaffe 2018). Still, the movement has been amply criticized.

Some of the criticisms to the #MeToo movement are regarding the dangers of curtailing due process and personal and sexual freedoms, as well as the struggle with transforming itself from a movement of personal stories (shared on social media) to an effective political action movement. The movement has also been problematic because it has espoused and reinforced inequities in power dynamics related to race, gender, class, and sexuality (Fileborn and Loney-Howes 2019; Onwuachi-Willig 2018; Jaffe 2018). An example of this is how the movement initially failed women of color, by vastly ignoring their specific experiences with sexual harassment and sexual violence, which deemed the movement's original audience - women of color, almost invisible (Onwuachi-Willig 2018; Andersen 2018; Leung and Williams 2019). According to Leung and Williams the movement has nonetheless, made some gains and it has "evolved to address intersectionality as part of its overall goal to combat sexual assault and harassment." (2019, 349). For that to occur, the movement also needs to incorporate religion, ethnicity, disability, sexual orientation and economic status, since these 'intersect' in a multidimensional way, making someone more or less vulnerable to sexual harassment and sexual violence (Crenshaw 1989). Furthermore, others have argued that the movement has been fairly accommodating of existing power structures and not, at all, disruptive. Gill and Ogard argue that the corporate policies produced by the #MeToo movement have been so far "capitalism, neoliberalism and patriarchy friendly" (2018, 1320). Overall, one can agree that #MeToo movement has led to both complex and contradictory developments, but the movement has also presented a unique opportunity for advancing anti-sexual violence activism, and to be a transnational consciousness-raising movement (Ghadery 2019).

The emerging literature on the #MeToo movement is recent but very prolific, and it addresses some of the contradictory developments mentioned above. It mentions the need for the movement to be more inclusive of racial minorities,

intersectionality, and men, and it also covers the movement's legal and practical repercussions on specific sectors, such as, medical, educational, corporate, etc (Mendes, Ringrose, and Keller 2018; Choo et al. 2019; Fileborn and Loney-Howes 2019; Onwuachi-Willig 2018; Jaffe 2018; Rodino-Colocino 2018; Rottemberg 2019; Tippet 2018).

Since its inception the #MeToo movement has also contributed to discussions of hashtag activism and cyber activism (PettyJohn et al. 2018; Manikonda et al. 2018; Lindgren 2019). Most of this literature has highlighted the conflicting ways in which the viral sharing campaign contributed to help (or hinder) the movement and feminist politics. While the movement has struggled to keep its momentum after its initial impact, and "noise, antagonism, and sloganization" have crept into the campaign (Lindgren 2019, 418), other studies have shown that such expression of digital feminism has been able to create community, connections, and solidarity (Mendes, Ringrose, and Keller 2018, 244; Dejmanee et al. 2020; PettyJohn et al. 2018). These communities are supportive of feminist views by clarifying the pervasiveness of sexual violence within patriarchal culture and contribute to feminist "personalized politics" (Dejmanee et al. 2020; Andersen 2018). This personalization of politics and mobilizing practices have been part of feminist history and theory even prior to digital activism (Munro 2013). The second wave feminists introduced "the personal is political", and as Andersen points out, the phrase emphasizes sexual freedom over women's bodies and how "patriarchy and sexism influence all aspects of women's lives, both private and public" (2018, 22). There is a continuity of the fourth wave of digital feminism with the second wave, since the "personalization is politicized" and becomes an integral part of protest, online and offline. Women are aware in their hashtag posts and conversations on social media that they are engaging in a "call to action". They connect their feelings to the use of specific hashtags, validate their own experiences of harassment or violence with one another, make claims for political and social justice outcomes, and envision the value of their participation as a way to facilitate political action and social support

(Dejmanee et al. 2020; PettyJohn et al. 2018; Andersen 2018).

So far, the research on the #MeToo movement in Portugal is still incipient. A few examples are Pinto-Coelho's (2018) study of opinion makers, Almeida's master thesis on media coverage of the movement (2019), Garraio's et al. (2020) case study of Ronaldo as the "unimaginable rapist", and studies on feminism and sexual harassment legislation that only briefly mention the #MeToo movement (Brunsdon 2018; Marques 2018). Pinto-Coelho's study (2018) on opinion makers shows that discourse on the movement had an elitist character, constructed mostly by those with a frequent presence in the media, thus contributing to the invisibility of activists and their preferred frames. From Almeida's research (2019), we find that media coverage on sexual violence spiked after October 2017, connected to coverage of #MeToo movement, and continued for about a year. Almeida also shows that news coverage was mostly focused on international cases and the only exceptions were, Ronaldo's rape case, and a couple of courts cases in the north of Portugal. The most recent study is from Garraio et al. (2020) and focuses on Ronaldo's rape accusation case, showing some of the dynamics at play with the media coverage and the reception of the movement within the country. The authors main argument is that Ronaldo is seen as "*the* role model" of the country, and the key bond that exists between Portuguese society and its soccer star is an expression, and a performance, of "banal nationalism". This contributed to sideline the discussion of the key issues of the #MeToo movement<sup>2</sup>, and led instead to the "dismissal of hashtag feminism and to the activation of pervasive rape myths" (Garraio et al. 2020, 37).

Also lacking in the #The MeToo movement literature are theoretical perspectives that could be useful in explaining the emergence and development of this particular movement. Suovilla et al. make an important contribution in this area by using Habermas concept of public sphere, deliberative democracy, and rational communication to see how the Habermasian ideals of public debate are realized in the age of digital media when

applied to #MeToo movement. One of their main findings is that while the public sphere became more inclusive, "digital media has also made public debate and political discussion more polarized and antagonistic of the movement" (Suovilla et al. 2020, 213). While this approach has its merits it still focuses mostly on outcomes, and it is theoretically less pertinent to grasp the processes of emergence and development of the movement. On this regard, I propose using Patricia Hill Collins black feminist thought approach to understand how the movement developed.

Hill Collins argues "Black feminist thought consists of ideas produced by Black women that clarify a standpoint of and for Black women" (1986, 16). I assert that the same approach can be applicable to understand both the emergence and development of the MeToo movement. Firstly, underlying Hill Collins working definition is the fact that the structure and thematic content of thought is directly connected to the lives of its producers. The #MeToo movement emerged and developed directly linked to the lives and experiences of the producers of that thought - victims, mostly women, accounting for their *own* experiences of sexual harassment and sexual violence. Secondly, Hill Collins's definition assumes that "Black women possess a unique standpoint on, or perspective of, their experiences and that there will be certain commonalities of perception shared by Black women as a group" (1986, 16). Victims/survivors that experienced sexual harassment and sexual violence also have a unique standpoint on their experiences, and the "commonalities of perceptions" are found, and become "profound", in the sharing of those experiences with one another, leading women to see themselves as a group, and as a "metoo". Lastly, Hill Collins argues that despite the commonalities of outlook produced by living a life as Black women, there is still diversity of class, age, sexuality, etc, and that diversity shapes those lives, those experiences, and results in "different expressions of these common themes." (1986, 16). This is relevant for discussions of intersectionality within the #MeToo movement where universal themes (toxic masculinity, women's empowerment, etc) included in the standpoint of

victims, are experienced and expressed differently by distinct groups of victims/survivors.

Hill Collins asserts that “People experience and resist oppression on three levels: the level of personal biography; the group or community level of the cultural context created by race, class, and gender; and the systemic level of social institutions. Black feminist thought emphasizes all three levels as sites of domination and as potential sites of resistance” (1990, 557). I argue that Collins’ work fits particularly well with the #MeToo movement because the movement represents and reflects both oppression and resistance, and such duality has been expressed in the movement since its beginning. In fact, expressing oppression can become an instance of resistance. First, the movement has used personal biographies in social media platforms under #MeToo to show the vast personal cases of sexual harassment and sexual violence, and sharing these stories is both an expression of oppression and resistance. Second, the movement was started by women and for women, and the movement has used gender both as community and as a communal expression of women’s experiences of sexual harassment and sexual violence. The movement has also made claims, since its emergence, that social institutions perpetuate the domination and oppression of women, and therefore resistance needs to happen beyond the individual level, but also at the systemic, institutional level. Examples of that are the challenges made in Portugal to the whole judicial system, following specific court rulings deemed as unfair by women and feminists alike. Feminist institutionalists have long recognized how courts, as formal institutions, are gendered and reflect in various ways gender norms and “patriarchal practices” (Krook, M., and Mackay 2011, 2).

In terms of resistance, Hill Collins argues that black feminist thought “speaks to the importance that knowledge plays in empowering oppressed people... its insistence that both the changed consciousness of individuals and the social transformation of political and economic institutions constitute essential ingredients for social change.”(1990, 553). Resistance in the #MeToo movement has happened first at the level of

individual consciousness. For example, according to the German magazine *Der Spiegel*, which broke the Cristiano Ronaldo alleged rape case, Kathryn Mayorga spent hours in front of the computer reading testimonies of other women who had been sexually abused by celebrities, which motivated her to move forward with her story.<sup>3</sup> Other victims have also underscored that coming forward about their abuse resulted from the knowledge of other personal stories and individual cases (Dejmanee et al. 2020, 3952). This can change victims/survivor’s self-definition and empower them. Hill Collins states that “Offering subordinate groups new knowledge about their own experiences can be empowering. But revealing new ways of knowing that allow subordinate groups to define their own reality has far greater implications.” (1990, 553). At this level, the #MeToo movement has already produced both individual and social change, in which, the site of domination (the abuse) has now also become a site of resistance (the posting, the sharing). Personal stories about “sexual abuse, shame, victim blaming, social injustice, sense of empowerment, and resistance” (Dejmanee et al. 2020, 3952) gained visibility, and with that comes a level of individual consciousness and new knowledge. As Hill Collins points out, traditional accounts of power, that take domination as operating from the top down, fail at explaining the sustained ways victim’s resist. But black feminist thought highlights the power of ‘self-definition’ and ‘consciousness’ as spheres of freedom and power to resist oppression (i.e. not silencing the abuse) (Hill Collins 1990).

In the #MeToo movement, the resistance at the individual level also becomes intertwined with the cultural context. Hill Collins argues, “each individual biography is rooted on several overlapping cultural contexts - for example, groups defined by race, social class, age, gender, religion, and sexual orientation.” (1990, 557). These cultural components, as interlocking systems, give meaning to experiences of oppression and resistance. For women that experienced sexual harassment and sexual violence, the #MeToo community exposes the overlapping context of gender, formed through experiences shared with other women, in which

meanings are created through group membership. But the overlapping cultural context of race (as it intersects with gender), has also been part of the #MeToo movement from its beginning. These cultural components are what Hill Collins defines as “thought models” used in the acquisition of knowledge and as standards to evaluate thoughts and behavior (1990). This women’s culture of resistance, or subjugated knowledges to use Hill Collins terminology, are women’s accounts of sexual harassment and violence that have been developed in intersecting cultural contexts and are, nevertheless, controlled by them, the oppressed group: minority women. Hill Collins asserts in referencing Black Women’s culture, but also applicable to the #MeToo movement: “While efforts to influence this dimension of an oppressed group’s experiences can be partially successful this level is more difficult to control than dominant groups would have us believe.” (Collins 1990, 558). While dominant groups might want to replace the subjugated knowledge of women with their own specialized thought in order to exert control, the voices of victims/survivors on social media platforms attest to a culture of resistance, sustained by voicing their experiences, and the difficulty in eliminating the intersecting cultural contexts as a fundamental site of resistance. The voices on social media also show the lack of control of dominant groups over that subjugated knowledge that the oppressed group creates and spreads.

Finally, the third level of domination and resistance occurs at the social institutional level. When domination is experienced at work, in school, in courts, in parliament, or in other formal organizations, it is controlled by the dominant group. According to Hill Collins, these institutions expose individuals to the specialized thought corresponding to the dominant group standpoint and interests and tend to involve the passivity of the oppressed group in those institutions (1990, 558). The #MeToo movement has challenged such passivity by having victims voicing their experiences and expose how certain social institutions operate. Feminist institutionalists have also looked at the way’s institutions are structured to see how they contribute to violence against women.

In institutions, rules, procedures, norms, and expectations are gendered, and understanding that is an essential step in tackling issues of violence against women (Collier and Raney 2018, 448). For example, in British politics, female politicians, staff members, and journalists have challenged passivity and compliance by voicing their own experiences, which led to the resignation and party suspension of male Cabinet ministers and Members of Parliament (Krook 2018, 65). Collier and Raney assert “As women around the world continue to document their experiences of violence in political workplaces, multi-dimensional strategies will be required that can tackle patriarchal attitudes about women and gender relations societally, and the institutional contexts that reinforce the perception that women do not belong in male-dominated workplaces.” (2018, 450). This means challenging the passivity and the climate of silence or toxic masculinity that exists in institutions, which led to underreporting of sexual harassment and the existence of non-disclosure agreements (NDA’s).

In conclusion, empowerment within the movement implies rejecting the dimensions of personal, cultural, and institutional knowledge that perpetuates the dehumanization and silencing of victims/survivors, but uses self-definition and consciousness to carve their own spaces of, and for, resistance.

## Contextualizing the issues in Portugal

By 2017, Portugal had already bounced back from the economic recession that hit the country. During the 2008-2014 crisis, women reported much more than men that the economic crisis had a negative impact on them (Karamessini and Rubery 2013; Durbin et al. 2017). The term ‘She-Austerity’ was crafted to convey that it was among Southern European women that most of the severe impacts of the crisis were felt (Alcañiz and Monteiro 2016). Some of these impacts, with implications to the #MeToo movement’ agendas, were an increase in violence towards women, more precariousness in the labor market, and an overall greater compliance with traditional gender roles (Prata, Freire and

Serra-Silva 2020). The legacy of the crisis was one of increased gender violence and inequality, but the new center-left coalition government seemed to favor more gender-friendly policies and programs (Monteiro and Ferreira 2016).<sup>4</sup>

Another political development that could influence the reception of the #MeeToo movement, is the resurgence of nationalism and populism throughout Europe. So far, Portugal has been mostly immune to these movements (Salgado 2019; Lisi, Llamazares, and Tsakatika 2019), but it could still be reproducing some of the anti-genderism discourse seen in other countries. As Suovilla et al. (2020) research shows, the public debate of the #MeToo movement happening in the digital media, has led to an increasing polarization and antagonism towards the movement. In Europe, this antagonism includes anti-gender movements and complex networks of actors targeting gender and sexual equality. Those include far-right groups, anti-abortion groups, nationalists, religious groups, and others (Kuhar and Paternotte 2017, 259; Lilja and Johansson 2018, 84). Portugal might not be immune to *all* of these potential influences; therefore some degree of anti-genderism could be occurring in the reception of the #MeToo movement in Portugal. For example, Garraio et al. (2020) research mentions that one of the most shared newspapers articles about the #MeToo movement, was written by a center-right politician, stating that the movement was a “forum for sexual misunderstandings and the persecution of sexuality”. For Garraio et al. (2020), this was a clear sign of a backlash against the #MeToo movement, following the construction of a ‘narrative of immunity’ for Ronaldo that unfolded both in traditional and social media.

In terms of the two key issues within the #MeToo movement - sexual harassment and sexual violence, we find that legally Portugal had criminalized those before the #MeToo movement, and since then no legal developments have occurred. The most serious forms of street harassment were criminalized in 2015 in the aftermath of the Istanbul Convention<sup>5</sup>, through the Law No. 83/2015 of Article 170 of the Criminal Code.<sup>6</sup> In Portugal it is also illegal to sexually harass or intimidate a

person, and violation of the law is punishable by up to one year in prison or with a fine up to 120 days, and this punishment increases to three years if the victim of harassment is younger than 14 years (Brunsdon 2018, 50). What is less clear from the literature is how the laws are being implemented, how complaints are being processed, and what credibility is given to victims denouncing situations involving gender-based violence.

Regarding sexual violence, Portugal still lacks basic rights for victims, as some of the controversial court rulings of the last few years have shown. One of the most notorious was the ruling by Porto’s Court of Appeal in 2018, regarding a victim raped while unconscious at a club. The sentencing of both perpetrators did not include any jail time, which raised protests in the streets and caused a wave of indignation. At the core of this indignation was the reasoning presented by the Court for the suspension of the sentence. The judges alleged that “the guilt of the defendants is mild, it happened at the end of a night with too much alcoholic beverages” and in an “environment of mutual seduction”, thus considering that the unlawfulness of the acts was not “high”.<sup>7</sup> Feminist movement organizations took the lead in the public indignation and organized several protests following the sentencing (Garraio et al. 2020).

Despite controversial court rulings, as the one illustrated, there are signs that the Ministry of Justice intends to follow the recommendations of the Istanbul Convention and has proposed amendments to the Criminal Code regarding sexual offenses. The police (GNR) has also organized several “awareness-raising actions regarding violence against women, which aim to alert society to the various cases of violence, namely cases of sexual abuse or harassment, physical and psychological abuse.”<sup>8</sup> Moreover, three care centers have been set up in the last couple of years for victims of sexual violence, but activists have pointed out that the number of care centers are still insufficient to meet the demands.<sup>9</sup> Also underway is a project with public administration professionals dealing with victims/survivors in order to understand the perceptions on sexual violence in intimacy relationships, and to raise awareness about

the stereotypes that undermine a correct case evaluation.<sup>10</sup>

Feminist movement organizations have had many political actions both in creating awareness regarding issues of sexual violence, in contesting court rulings, and in demanding change. An example of that, was a Sunday March organized on the 25th of November in several cities in the country. The goal was “to eliminate all forms of violence against women” and the backdrop were “fears of setbacks in women’s rights with the rise of the extreme right in the world”<sup>11</sup>, thus showing the concern of feminist movement organizations with anti-genderism creeping into the country.

## Methodology and Data

The methodological approach starts with the assumption that researching mainstream news media is still relevant in today’s hybrid mediascape (Askanius and Artley 2019), since it reflects diverse discussions about social movements organizations, reveals the political process of how issues unfolded, and how discourses were framed. The approach draws attention to the importance of timing and sequencing, enabling the identification of key points of change and key actors. In analyzing feminist movement organizations, the research draws specifically on the political process approach (Goodwin and Jasper 1999) and a multi-institutional politics approach, which is shown to be particularly helpful in explaining the rise of new transnational consciousness-raising movements (Armstrong and Bernstein 2008; Ghadery 2019). The focus is “on how power works across a variety of institutions; how activists interpret, negotiate, and understand power; and how and why activists choose strategies and goals.” (Armstrong and Bernstein 2008, 93).

The study draws on a qualitative content analysis of 53 articles regarding the #MeToo movement in Portugal, for over a year, and gathered from four newspapers. The news media selected were: *Público*, *Diário de Notícias*, *Observador*, and *Expresso*. These four newspapers (print and online) are considered references in the national

mediascape, covering a broad spectrum in political ideology (from center-right to center-left), and include three dailies and one weekly. The period chosen for the qualitative analysis extends from October 2017 to December 2018. I decided to explore the media coverage over a 15-month period, to see how coverage evolved over time.

It is important to note that #MeToo is often discussed as a general movement with many actors involved, but my sample was selected in order to include articles mentioning social movement activity around the #MeToo movement and the issues of sexual harassment and sexual violence. For that, I devised a coding framework that addresses references to #MeToo movement in Portugal. I searched news articles for key search terms: #MeToo, sexual harassment, sexual violence, demonstrations, protest, activists, feminists, women’s organizations, and feminist organizations. A sample of 53 articles was selected, including news articles, interviews with academics and activists, and a few opinion pieces. The sample was coded for genre, source, main themes, and language, focus of the article, main issues addressed (diagnosis), and the types of solutions offered (prognosis). This allowed me to gain a better insight regarding the collective actions’ activists engage in and the political process of which they are part. The coding was established through the researcher’s subjective perception of the texts and all translations from Portuguese to English were done by the author. The content analysis was done by thematic categories extracted directly from the data related to the issues and actors which were given precedence in the coverage. The second level consisted of conducting a discourse analysis by examining the content with respect to the concept of ‘framing’ of the issues.

## #MeToo Movement – Hashtag-activism, Court Rulings, and the Ronaldo Case

The international #MeToo movement was received in Portugal with a mix of support and concern, in



media, in politics, and by the public. The initial reception to the #MeToo movement was characterized mostly by hashtag-activism and the news media focus on international cases surrounding the movement. Portugal, like other countries, had recently embraced feminism into the mainstream culture (Rottenberg 2019), which helps contextualize most of the initial positive reception of the #MeToo within the country. Portuguese women vastly shared their personal stories of abuse under the #MeToo on social media. And although there are no specific figures regarding how many posts on sexual harassment, sexual violence, or gender discrimination were shared under the specific hashtag, traditional media pointed out that Portuguese women did catch the wave of the movement both in posting, in sharing, and in liking.

Regarding digital activism in the country, Professor Ines Amaral mentions how there is much more solidarity than just information sharing. Such solidarity has been able to establish links also with feminist struggles in Spain and Latin America, where the contours of violence against women have cultural similarities (#NiUnaMenos, #JustiçaPatriarcal).<sup>12</sup> While hashtag feminism as a tool to denounce social injustice is still weak in Portugal, there are signs that it is gaining some traction. An example of that is the campaign started by Marcella Castellano, a University of Lisbon student and survivor of gender-based violence, who set up posters with the inscription #WhyIDidn'tReport in university bathrooms. Marcella wanted to encourage victims of sexual violence to share their testimonies, which she later transcribed and shared anonymously on Twitter.<sup>13</sup> Although, this campaign was localized, it is an example of victims/survivors taking the reins in voicing the abuse, giving it visibility, and by doing that, generating empathy online and expressing women's subjugated knowledges.

By 2018, two main focusing events changed the impact of the #MeToo movement in Portugal: the rape allegation against Cristiano Ronaldo by Kathryn Mayorga and the Court Trial of a rape case in Gaia (Porto district). While the rape allegations against Ronaldo corresponded to "the peak of public engagement with the #MeToo in Portugal"

(Garraio et al. 2020), the Court Trial in Gaia and the sentencing that followed, represented a unique moment of mobilization for feminist organizations. Several researchers have highlighted the importance of sudden, attention-grabbing "focusing events" that can generate increased attention to public problems (Baumgartner and Jones 1993; Birkland 1998). The suddenness of such focusing events can create conditions that give less powerful groups in society an opportunity, or an "important advantage," in driving these issues into the public arena (Birkland 1998). Both focusing events contributed to increase the political saliency of gender-based violence in Portugal. However, the trial in Gaia and the sentencing that followed, created a unique opportunity for feminist movement organizations to mobilize, recruit new members, and put forward new framing strategies based on what was perceived as a Draconian sentencing. The Gaia trial grabbed the attention of movement actors, news media, judges, and the public, to the problem of gender-based violence and to the judicial system as a misogynist institution.<sup>14</sup>

The Gaia protests coincided with the #MeToo movement and with a series of similar protests that had occurred in Spain following similar court rulings that angered feminists on both sides of the border. Garraio et al., remind us of the "feminist outcry at some controversial verdicts involving rape and domestic violence were informed by the international context of empathy with victims of sexual violence and condemnation of sexism that was encouraged by the #MeToo" (2020). There was undoubtedly a renewed visibility and empathy paving the way for feminist protest, and potentially for a feminist agenda on sexual harassment and sexual violence. However, focusing just on the increased visibility of the issues can also be problematic. There were signs even before 2017 that sexual violence and sexual harassment had gained some salience in legislation and within the collective actions of Portuguese feminist organizations.

Sociologist Anália Torres, one of the authors of the study on 'Sexual and Moral Harassment in the Workplace in Portugal',<sup>15</sup> stresses that when the #MeToo appeared, it contributed to the

understanding of the issue of harassment at work, but this change was one that was already underway. The law on occupational harassment (sexual and moral) was amended in the summer of 2017, and both their study and the law had a great weight to circumvent those still reluctant to recognize the problem. Torres argues, "When a person changes the law, it affects people's lives", but as important, is the effective implementation of the law, the obligation to "create more respectful environments".<sup>16</sup> The #MeToo movement contribution in raising awareness regarding the ubiquity of gender-based violence and the need for empathy and empowerment through its victims/survivors, could have contributed to have more of these "respectful environments". In a similar way, Nora Kiss, the president of the *Portuguese Youth Network for Equal Opportunities for Women and Men* (REDE), argued that there were already signs of the political salience of sexual harassment and sexual violence before #MeToo movement. In June 2016, there were protests regarding the case of a Brazilian adolescent victim of a collective rape. And as early as 2011, Portugal joined the *Slutwalk* ('*Marcha das Galdérias*'), to fight against street sexual harassment, sexual violence, and victim blaming. Nora Kiss alludes to the potential influence of the #MeToo movement in Portugal:

*"It had relevance and great visibility practically all over the world, and it influenced the way we talk about these matters... but ...in Portugal, the effect was not as visible as in other countries. The fight in the streets against sexual harassment and violence was in no way dormant here. In recent years, in addition to the usual gatherings on symbolic days of struggle for women's rights, there have been several demonstrations of solidarity with women who were victims..."*<sup>17</sup>

Nora Kiss is referencing the demonstrations in the north of the country that gathered feminist organizations in joint actions to protest some of court judgments of rape cases. These protests were organized to show solidarity with victims/survivors and challenge the justice system. The feminist

organization *Union of Alternative and Responsive Women* (UMAR) took the lead in organizing several feminists' groups and engaging in collective actions in Porto, Coimbra and Lisbon, following the Gaia trial.<sup>18</sup>

While one can argue that the debate on social and print media on sexual harassment and sexual violence gained considerable visibility with the #MeToo movement, Maria José Magalhães - a researcher at the University of Porto and the leader of UMAR, cautions that such visibility might not necessarily translate into more reporting of these crimes or an increase politicization of the issues by activists. Magalhães argues,

*"Speaking in your own voice is not a habit in Portugal... the dimension of reporting crimes may not have been appropriated in the same way in Portugal [as in other countries]. To begin with, here - even on issues such as domestic violence, where the recognition of the problem is widespread - it is rare for victims to go public..."*<sup>19</sup>

Besides the issue of under-reporting, both Nora Kiss and Magalhães have alluded to the difficulty of a movement with the contours of #MeToo movement to gain strength in Portugal. Magalhães stated that only a few activists like to publicly speak about the causes they defend, "many women do not like public exposure, even if they are not victims."<sup>20</sup> Overall, there seems to be an acknowledgment that the reception of #MeToo movement in Portugal could have been stronger, as expressed by activists, journalists, and researchers. Garraio et al. (2020) mention that the impact of the movement in Portugal varied from "incipient" at first, to a "strong backlash" after the Ronaldo scandal. Illustrating this point is also Paula Cosme Pinto, a journalist, and an opinion maker of the most read weekly newspaper in the country. She referenced a national television debate addressing the #MeToo movement and the Ronaldo scandal.

*"Portugal is a country where machismo, prejudice and lack of empathy for the pain of others are deeply rooted. (...) it was so*

*painful to watch the debate...We are wrong, for example, when we claim that the #MeToo movement draws attention away from class struggles, which are considered more important. And we are in a bad place because this signals that we do not want to understand that all of this crosses over: gender violence, in this case sexual violence, are both intrinsically linked to economic disparities and to access to power. To minimize the importance of one fight over the other, when in fact they are linked, and both can help one another by increasing visibility, it reveals a lack of ability to look at the problem as a whole.”<sup>21</sup>*

Pinto mentions some of the reasons why the #MeToo movement reception was not favorable, namely machismo, prejudice against victims, but more significantly a reluctance from certain sectors of society to see the #MeToo movement through an intersectional lens. The main problem, as the journalist highlights, is how the movement was accused of distracting from “class struggles”, as if focusing on gender and sexual violence implied the exclusion of a conversation about the unequal distribution of economic resources and power, when in fact these issues intersect.

Additionally, the #MeToo movement in Portugal also had challenges into transforming online support into a sustained mobilization offline. Inês Amaral, a professor at the University of Coimbra, argues that “online mobilization is much greater than offline”, in part, because the “collectives that go to the street are more politicized, and that still keeps some people away.”<sup>22</sup> Using Collins approach we see that expressing oppression and resistance at the personal and group-level online seems to happen more often than at the systemic level of challenging institutions or protesting in person. Both Magalhães and Amaral mention the reluctance of some Portuguese women to be involved more politically but highlight the dimension of the personal and group-level resistance online. Regarding the latter, Amaral says “online women create membership not just hashtags, there is much more solidarity”.<sup>23</sup> This solidarity being created online is part of an awareness of a

group-level oppression based on common gender and cultural standpoints, and acknowledging this, is in itself, resistance.

*“[women online] create bridges with the struggles in Spain and Latin America, where the contours of violence against women have cultural similarities. #NiUnaMenos, #JustiçaPatriarcal, #ViolênciaMachista, #LaManadaSomosNosotras and #YoTeCreo, these are slogans of indignation can be read on posters of both the gigantic Spanish and Argentine demonstrations as well as the small Portuguese ones.”<sup>24</sup>*

While Portugal might not have seen the mass mobilizations other countries experienced, one cannot neglect that the feminist movement in the country still saw a revival in vitality and mobilization after 2017. Almeida argues that while the #MeToo movement in Portugal did not lead to a wave of denunciations as seen elsewhere, “the impact of the movement should not be delegitimized” (2019, 54). Likewise, activist Patrícia Martins<sup>25</sup> describes it as a “Feminist Spring” and activist Luísa Barateiro<sup>26</sup> recognizes that the #MeToo movement contributed to bring visibility to the Portuguese feminist movement and its collective actions.<sup>27</sup> While some activists highlight how the #MeToo movement contributed to revitalize the feminist movement, other activists see the influence of #MeToo more as negligible. What seems to be more consensual, is how the visibility of the issues contributed to changes in recruitment of its members. When thinking about the evolution of the feminist movement in the country, activist Lúcia Furtado from the *Djass - Association of Afro-descendants*, underscores the “plurality of movements” that are emerging, as well as, the more cultural and racial diversity of the Portuguese feminist movement.

*“The feminist movement in Portugal was very strong at the time of the decriminalization of abortion - it linked feminist associations to political parties, to individual activists. Then it was dormant. But with this ‘Feminist*

*Spring', with movements emerging in Argentina, in the United States, in Brazil, we started to see a rejuvenation of the struggle, which is bringing together many different people, and calling many young people."*<sup>28</sup>

*"[we see] a wave of young people that has come from Brazil in recent years, to study or work, they have given both the black movement and the feminist movement a huge boost, because they have a long history of activism and activism in areas that we don't have."*<sup>29</sup>

*"It was after meeting some Brazilian colleagues studying in the city that four students from the Faculty of Arts of the University of Porto (FLUP) decided to create the first Feminist Collective of the Porto Academy. Having learned that "most [Brazilian] colleges have feminist collectives, and that they are a very big factor in uniting", Carolina Alves, one of the founders... [had] the purpose of 'creating a space for discussion, reflection and debate on the issues of feminism and women'."*<sup>30</sup>

One of the most exciting outcomes of the #MeToo movement and the increasing visibility it brought to the issues of sexual violence and sexual harassment is that it opened the Portuguese feminist movement to an audience of younger members and to new movement organizations. This led to the inclusion of new groups of people into the feminist movement who were more ethnically and racially diverse. The result is a feminist movement that is more active, more international, more inclusive of African, African-descendants, and also Brazilian members. The previous quotes also show how the influx of new members to the feminist movement brought different ways of organizing and acting in distinct areas. These were welcomed changes since the feminist movement had a history of being far less diverse than Portuguese society. Ironically, this is one of the main criticisms that scholars have pointed out to the #MeToo movement in the United States, how it marginalized and excluded the experiences of

women of color, which are much more vulnerable to harassment, assault, and rape (Onwuachi-Willig 2018, 107). In Portugal, the opposite seems to have happened, on the one hand, celebrities were far less involved in the movement compared to other countries<sup>31</sup>, so the movement never had the experiences of celebrities with sexual harassment or sexual violence overshadowing the overall narrative on the issues (in detriment of recognizing the experiences of most women). On the other hand, the visibility of the court cases involving young women, some of them minorities and women of color, did contribute to ground the perception of the issues as something that affects *all* women, but impacts vulnerable groups even more. The injustices of these court case rulings were a catalyst in creating awareness and in bringing more people (and more diversity) into the movement and in creating empathy. Activist Patrícia Vassallo e Silva argues,

*"hundreds took to the streets in May following a suspected case of sexual abuse on a bus in Porto, or even the protests in October against a court ruling by the Porto Court of Appeal, in which a woman victim of domestic violence was censored and the aggressor's guilt was minimized due to the victim's extra-marital relationship. In 2018, another ruling by the same court also led to more protests. "Justice in Portugal is not following a social conscience regarding crimes of gender violence", concludes the activist."*<sup>32</sup>

The perceived unfairness of court rulings became a salient aspect in mobilizing new members into the movement, but also in framing the judicial system as one of the main institutional culprits in perpetuating gender-based violence. The sentencing of perpetrators of domestic violence, sexual harassment, and rape, had been on the radar of feminist organizations for a few years, but as the #MeToo movement unfolded in Portugal, it raised the visibility of gender-based violence and increased the empathy towards victims. Feminist organization UMAR, together with other movement organizations, saw these judgments as a

political opportunity to mobilize and to frame the courts, the judges, and the judicial system, as “promoting the re-victimization of the victims”, and their rulings as something that “legitimizes sexual violence against women...and an incentive for aggressors to harass/assault/rape because nothing will happen in court.”<sup>33</sup> The Portuguese judicial system, following the Istanbul Convention, should be harmonizing the law with the prosecution of gender-based violence cases, but these Draconian court rulings were inconsistent with that. Therefore, that created a political opportunity for feminist organizations to expose how the judicial system failed to protect victims, while protecting the perpetrators. Judges and courts were framed as oppressors that kept re-victimizing women who already had been sexually victimized, and male judges were targeted and framed by UMAR activists as misogynists.<sup>34</sup> The Association of Portuguese Union Judges came out in defense of the ruling stressing that the courts “have no political or social agendas, nor do they decide according to expectations or to please militant associations of causes”.<sup>35</sup>

The judicial system was targeted by activists as a central source for institutional change, since it was viewed as perpetuating the victimization process through its unfair rulings. UMAR claimed that such court rulings “normalize sexual violence”, place the blame on women as opposed to men, and men are still perceived as “unable to control their sexual desires”.<sup>36</sup> Feminist discursive institutionalists have shown how gender ideologies are part of both institutional discourses and institutional rules, and those are embedded in ideas about men and women, masculinity and femininity (Krook and Mackay 2011). But changes in institutions can happen internal or externally, hence change in ideas about gender relations are predicted to change institutions. Culturally, the Portuguese judicial system is increasingly at odds with what activist Vassallo e Silva describes as “the social conscience regarding crimes of gender violence”. Women in Portugal are gaining an awareness that in order to tackle gender violence, institutional change has to occur, and protesting courts decisions and questioning male judges is part of that process of awareness and

empowerment. Researcher Tatiana Mendes and activists Barreteiro and Silva also highlight this,

*“But we still have to free society from patriarchy, to change the way it is organized’ she adds. And the justice is one of the sectors that needs reform from head to toe: ‘After all, how are we going to want a boss to respect a worker if the justice [system] doesn’t respect the woman?”<sup>37</sup>*

*“When ...asked where the country continues to fail, the activist has the answer on the tip of her tongue: ‘It is in the justice system.’ ‘Society has to change. And it has already changed, in terms of sensitivity. But if the justice system supports the rapist, things will not go forward. We are not protected’ And how is this done? ‘The woman must show that she is aware of these situations, that she is not indifferent to them. And if you are outraged, you must show that you are. Without fears. That means going to the street, to the public space. But also speaking up inside your home”<sup>38</sup>*

*“Among police stations, health services, courts, there is a common denominator, pointed out by both field technicians and researchers in the area: the lack of preparation of professionals.*

*‘There is much to be done in the training of police professionals, in medical emergencies, and also in the justice system’, without this specialization, ‘it will not be possible to reduce secondary victimization’. ‘Professionals are not aware of this type of violence. There has to be an extensive work of training and specialization for there to be the necessary social change”<sup>39</sup>*

All of these quotes share a common denominator, while there are some signs that in recent years society has become more “sensitive” to the issues of sexual harassment and sexual violence, activists highlight that we still live in a patriarchal society,

where the struggle to bring about social change involves *multiple levels* - protest in the streets, 'speaking up at home', and addressing how social institutions like the judicial system need to change. But that implies that *all* of us gain awareness of gender violence, including the professionals that deal with victims, otherwise, re-victimization occurs. These findings also seem to show that #MeToo has been able to present itself as a transnational feminist phenomenon (Ghadery 2019), which allowed feminists groups in Portugal to carve their own version of #MeToo. Journalist Pinto, nicely summarizes this point by stating that we all need to have a better understanding of victim's trauma, but also "pass an eraser on the historical distrust - both judicial and social - that falls on victims of rape for centuries".<sup>40</sup> Several activists alluded to this uphill battle when referencing Ronaldo's rape case. In the public debate, men accused women of 'a witch hunt' and the 'slut shaming' of Mayorga (Ronaldo's accuser) was common. Both Magalhães and Garraio et al. contextualize the debate within the misogynist culture of our country that tends to blame and silence victims/survivors, while protecting our "male idols". The UMAR leader argues that the path to recognize sexual violence in Portugal has been long and gradual, but she denotes a positive outcome: "when something is established, there is no going back".<sup>41</sup> It seems undeniable that this increasing awareness was driven, even if only in part, by the #MeToo movement. This is seen particularly among the youth, which tend to have a clearer understanding of sexual harassment, sexual violence, and consent. Nonetheless, gaining awareness on these issues might come at a cost. Activist Barreiteiro states,

*"With #MeToo, the feminist movement has gained visibility...But at the same time, society has become polarized. Today's sexist is more proud, and more aware. If before we had a kind of lack of knowledge - now we have people who are completely radicalized"*<sup>42</sup>

This might be signaling that some anti-genderism is creeping into the Portuguese political context. For example, in the occasion of a collective action

on November 25th to celebrate the International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women, several movement organizations declared that "We are concerned about the setbacks in the rights... of thousands of women in countries where extreme right-wing and ultra-conservative governments are gaining more and more ground. We denounce in Portugal a worrying trend towards backward, moralistic and inadmissible judicial decisions".<sup>43</sup> It is still uncertain if these early signs of polarization on gender issues and on gender violence, will change the political environment in which feminist organizations operate. Nonetheless, most signs are positive. Firstly, Portuguese women, and youth in particular, have now a greater awareness of gender-based violence, observed also in steady rises in reporting.<sup>44</sup> Secondly, the feminist movement got re-energized by the #MeToo movement and by a more diverse membership. This contributed to a clear understanding that both oppression and resistance operate on multiple levels, and that women, activists, and movement organizations, need to tackle all of these to be empowered.

## Conclusion

I argue that the now globalized #MeToo movement has helped revitalize the Portuguese feminist movement. New, younger, and more diverse members have joined its ranks, new feminist organizations were created, new frames were applied, and several collective actions were organized, mostly to protest court decisions. This has led to a more inclusive and intersectional activism within the movement. Whether these changes were an exclusive result of the #MeToo movement is harder to ascertain, as there were other internal processes occurring at the same time.

Feminist activism in Portugal has been showing signs of vitality and resilience, while still maintaining its own identity. Gains on the issues of sexual harassment and sexual violence have been very gradual, but have happened organically, from the bottom-up. In Portugal, celebrities never took over the narrative on gender-based violence, and

while some might interpret this as a lack of impact or support towards the #MeToo movement, it also allowed the feminist movement to control the narrative. In Portugal, many women had already shared their individual stories under the #MeToo, building communities online, and also joining in the wave of solidarity with young women that had been raped, had their cases on trial, or in challenging unfair court rulings.

Survivors of gender-based violence resisted online by telling their own stories, other victims recognized themselves in those stories and that created a 'thought model' and a 'group validation'.

This woman-centered perspective resists by creating a gender-based community and a 'subjugated knowledge' that is not easily controlled by dominant groups. In Portugal, not all that resistance translated easily from online into the streets, but for some, it was the indignation towards the justice system that served as the catalyst for political protest. Resisting gender-based violence in Portugal implies tackling it at the multiple levels at which it occurs: individual, cultural, and institutional. Although that process had already started, it was reinforced by the #MeToo movement.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> The term sexual harassment and sexual violence are used in this article interchangeably with the umbrella term "gender-based violence". These terms apply to cases in which most victims/survivors are women and the violence has a gender or sexual component, such as, sexual harassment, rape, sexual assault, intimate partner violence, and similar aggressions. It refers to harm, or threat of harm, perpetrated against a person based on her/his gender and it is rooted in unequal power relationships between men and women, thus women are more commonly affected (Rosario-Lebrón 2019, 5). This definition is inclusive of trans women and men, non-binary identifying individuals and others on sexual margins (Andersen 2018, 13).
- <sup>2</sup> For Garraio et al., the key issues of the #MeToo movement that needed to be addressed were sexual harassment at work, the complex reasons that discourage women from reporting, and the "gray zones" of sexual abuse (2020, 37).
- <sup>3</sup> Gomes, J., Simões, S., and Oliveira S. 2018. Acusação de violação nos EUA. 20 perguntas e respostas para perceber o que pode acontecer a Ronaldo. Observador. October 4. [Accessed 6 June 2019]. Available from: <https://observador.pt/especiais/acusacao-de-violacao-nos-eua-20-perguntas-e-respostas-para-perceber-o-que-pode-acontecer-a-ronaldo/>
- <sup>4</sup> According to Monteiro and Ferreira, in Portugal more progress was made via the center-left than the center-right parties. These confirms similar findings that show that changes "towards governments of the left constitute moments in which political opportunity structures open up and are more favorable to women's movement campaigns and state feminism" (2016, 475).
- <sup>5</sup> The Istanbul Convention, is a human rights international treaty of the Council of Europe, intended to combat domestic violence and violence against women through the protection of victims and the elimination of impunity of aggressors. It was first opened for signatures on 11 May 2011, Portugal ratified the treaty in 2013 and went into force in the country in 2014. The Council of Europe started since the 1990s to take several initiatives to promote the protection of women against violence, but it became clear over the years, for the need to set legal standards to ensure that victims anywhere could benefit from the same level of protection. Sources: <<https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list/-/conventions/treaty/210/signatures>>; <https://www.euronews.com/2020/07/27/istanbul-convention-what-is-the-domestic-violence-treaty-and-has-it-had-an-impact>>
- <sup>6</sup> It states: "anyone who harass another person by practicing before him acts of an exhibitionist nature, formulating proposals of sexual content or constraining her to sexual contact is punished with impi-

- sonment for up to one year or with a fine of up to 120 days (...)”. Pires, C. 2018. O assédio sexual não é trivial nem normal: é violência! Público. August 6. [Accessed 6 June 2019]. Available from: <https://www.publico.pt/2018/08/06/p3/cronica/o-assedio-sexual-nao-e-nem-trivial-nem-normal-e-violencia-1840199>
- <sup>7</sup> Oliveira, M. 2018. Para esta vítima a condenação dos seus violadores soube-lhe a absolvição Público. October 14. [Accessed 20 June 2019]. Available from: <https://www.publico.pt/2018/10/14/sociedade/noticia/uma-condenacao-que-para-a-vitima-de-violacao-soube-a-absolvicao-1846604>
- <sup>8</sup> Salvador, J. 2018. “Dia Internacional para a Eliminação da Violência Contra as Mulheres lembrado em Portugal e no mundo”. November 25. [Accessed 4 August 2020]. Available from: <https://expresso.pt/sociedade/2018-11-25-Dia-Internacional-para-a-Eliminacao-da-Violencia-Contra-as-Mulheres-lembrado-em-Portugal-e-no-mundo>
- <sup>9</sup> Faria, N. 2018. Mais de metade dos violadores são familiares ou conhecidos das vítimas. Público. October 14. [Accessed 4 June 2019]. Available from: <https://www.publico.pt/2018/10/14/sociedade/noticia/mais-de-metade-dos-violadores-sao-familiares-ou-conhecidos-das-vitimas-1847169>.
- <sup>10</sup> Flor, A. 2018. #MeToo em Portugal? Temos “uma forma mais formiguinha” de fazer a luta. Público. October 5. [Accessed 6 June 2019]. Available from: <https://www.publico.pt/2018/10/05/sociedade/noticia/metoo-em-portugal-temos-uma-forma-mais-formiguinha-de-fazer-a-luta-1846328>
- <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>13</sup> Neves, S. 2019. Marcella colou papéis nas casas de banho da faculdade para mostrar que as vítimas de violência não estão sozinhas. Público. February 22. [Accessed 6 June 2019]. Available from: <https://www.publico.pt/2019/02/22/p3/noticia/marcella-papeis-casas-banho-faculdade-1863067>
- <sup>14</sup> Santos, N. 2018. UMAR acusa juizes de misoginia no caso de violação em Gaia Público. September 25. [Accessed 6 June 2019]. Available from: <https://www.publico.pt/2018/09/25/sociedade/noticia/umar-acusa-juizes-de-misoginia-no-caso-de-violacao-em-gaia-1845195>
- <sup>15</sup> This study is part of the Interdisciplinary Center for Gender Studies (CIEG) at the University of Lisbon.
- <sup>16</sup> Flor, A. 2018. Assédio no trabalho: “Quanto mais visível, mais casos é possível resolver”. Público. October 5. [Accessed 6 June 2019]. Available from: <https://www.publico.pt/2018/10/05/sociedade/noticia/assedio-no-trabalho-quanto-mais-for-visivel-mais-casos-e-possivel-resolver-1846280>
- <sup>17</sup> Flor, A. 2018. #MeToo em Portugal? Temos “uma forma mais formiguinha” de fazer a luta., *op. cit.*
- <sup>18</sup> Santos, N. 2018. UMAR acusa juizes de misoginia no caso de violação em Gaia, *op. cit.*
- <sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>21</sup> Pinto, P. 2018. Mas as virgens ofendidas somos nós. Expresso. [Accessed 20 June 2019]. Available from: [https://expresso.pt/blogues/bloguet\\_lifestyle/Avidadesaltosaltos/2018-10-16-Mas-as-virgens-ofendidas-somos-nos](https://expresso.pt/blogues/bloguet_lifestyle/Avidadesaltosaltos/2018-10-16-Mas-as-virgens-ofendidas-somos-nos)
- <sup>22</sup> Flor, A. 2018. #MeToo em Portugal? Temos “uma forma mais formiguinha” de fazer a luta., *op. cit.*
- <sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>25</sup> Patrícia Martins is a 30-year-old Porto activist involved in several organizations, including the *Coletiva* organization and the Porto LGBT Pride March.
- <sup>26</sup> Luísa Barateiro is 18 years old Biology student and activist from the organization of the Feminist Festival, linked to Democratic Movement of Women (MDM) and to the Union of Women Alternative and Response (UMAR).
- <sup>27</sup> Pinto, B. 2018. Um ano depois do #MeToo, como vai o feminismo português?. Público. October 4. [Accessed 6 June 2019]. Available from: <https://www.publico.pt/2018/10/04/p3/noticia/um-ano-depois-do-metoo-como-vai-o-feminismo-portugues-1846257>
- <sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*



- <sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>30</sup> Afonso, M. 2018. Porque “não está tudo feito”, elas criaram o primeiro grupo feminista da Academia do Porto. Público. May 1. [Accessed 6 June 2019]. Available from: <https://www.publico.pt/2018/05/01/p3/noticia/porque-nao-esta-tudo-feito-elas-criaram-o-primeiro-grupo-feminista-da-academia-do-porto-1815851>
- <sup>31</sup> Caetano, M. 2018. #metoo em Portugal. “Os homens têm muito a aprender”. Diário de Notícias. October 5. [Accessed 20 June 2019]. Available from: <https://www.dn.pt/pais/metoo-em-portugal-os-homens-tem-muito-a-aprender-9957750.html>.
- <sup>32</sup> Pinto, B. 2018. Um ano depois do #MeToo, como vai o feminismo português?, *op. cit.*
- <sup>33</sup> Santos, N. 2018. UMAR acusa juizes de misoginia no caso de violação em Gaia, *op. cit.*
- <sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>37</sup> Pinto, B. 2018. Um ano depois do #MeToo, como vai o feminismo português?, *op. cit.*
- <sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>39</sup> Faria, N. 2018. Mais de metade dos violadores são familiares ou conhecidos das vítimas., *op. cit.*
- <sup>40</sup> Pinto, P. 2018. Mas as virgens ofendidas somos nós, *op. cit.*
- <sup>41</sup> Magalhães argues “Although we do not have this media boom, we have a more incremental way, step by step, to solidify the groundwork. This is our fight.” Flor, *op. cit.*
- <sup>42</sup> Flor, A. 2018. #MeToo em Portugal? Temos “uma forma mais formiguinha” de fazer a luta., *op. cit.*
- <sup>43</sup> Salvador, J. 2018. Dia Internacional para a Eliminação da Violência Contra as Mulheres lembrado em Portugal e no mundo. Expresso. [Accessed 28 June 2019]. Available from: <https://expresso.pt/sociedade/2018-11-25-Dia-Internacional-para-a-Eliminacao-da-Violencia-Contra-as-Mulheres-lembrado-em-Portugal-e-no-mundo>
- <sup>44</sup> Reis, C. 2019. Aumentam as investigações por assédio sexual. Expresso. [Accessed 28 June 2019]. Available from: <https://expresso.pt/sociedade/2019-01-06-Aumentam-as-investigacoes-por-asse-dio-sexual>

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