IDENTITY AND REPRESENTATION
WITHIN THE CONTEMPORARY BRAZILIAN LGBT MOVEMENT
By
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Jacob Reed Longaker

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Chairperson Gary M. Reich

_____

Alesha E. Doan

_____

Donald P. Haider-Markel

_____

John J. Kennedy

_____

Elizabeth A. Kuznesof

Date Defended: August 19, 2016

The Dissertation Committee for Jacob Reed Longaker
certifies that this is the approved version of the following dissertation:

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Chairperson Gary M. Reich

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ABSTRACT

Social movements engage in processes of identity work to construct and reconstruct collective identities. Within movements characterized by identity differences, such as contemporary LGBT movements, demands for representation of individual identities challenge the collective movement to perform hard identity work. What strategies do trans activists utilize to achieve representation within the collective Brazilian LGBT movement? This research argues that processes of movement institutionalization within the State condition opportunities and strategies for conducting hard identity work. At the meso-level, institutionalization within State-apparatus of participatory governance provide new opportunities and strategies for the LGBT movement to negotiate representation. At the micro-level, institutionalization within State-sponsored public policy leads to innovative discursive strategies for contending and negotiating representation. Together, meso and micro level processes offer important strategies for the collective LGBT movement to address some of its most divisive internal conflicts in productive ways. This research employs a multi-method research approach through analysis of quantitative policy measurements, archival policy data, semi-structured interviews, and participant-observation during the 2014 calendar year.

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I started my journey at the University of Kansas as an undergraduate intending to major in Political Science and East Asian Studies. A summer trip to Brazil before the fall semester changed those plans definitively. Thank you to Dovis Pollock, my first instructor of Portuguese, for allowing me to enroll in classes at the last minute. Thank you to Sérgio Duarte and Lais Waltenberg for exceptional instruction in Brazil.

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As a junior, I studied abroad in São Paulo, Brazil for over a year. It is impossible to express in text how much this experience changed my life. At the very least, it deepened

often goes unrecognized. Thank you Betty Jo, Connie Leonard, and Sue Lorenz for administrative and organizational support throughout the years.

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Thank you Rodney Reed Longaker and Donna Lee Longaker for pushing me to excel. Thank you Kelcie Lee Longaker for being a wonderful sister. And thank you to Margaret Longaker and Doris Schloo for giving me all the grandmotherly love a grandson could ever want.

Amar sem Temer

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABGLT   *Associação Brasileira de Gays, Lésbicas, Bissexuais, Travestis, e Transexuais* (Brazilian Association of Gays, Lesbians, Bisexuals, *Travestis,* and *Transexuais*)

APOGLBT   *Associação da Parada de Orgulho GLBT de São Paulo* (Association of the GLBT Pride Parade of São Paulo

ASTRAL   *Associação de Travestis e Liberados* (Association of *Travestis* and Liberateds)

BSH   *Brasil Sem Homofobia* (Brazil Without Homofobia)

CFL   Coletivo de Lésbicas-Feministas (CFL; Collective of Lesbian-Feminists

CMADS   *Conselho Municipal de Atenção à Diversidade Sexual* (Municipal Council for Attention to Sexual Diversity)

CNCD-LGBT   *Conselho Nacional de Combate à Discriminação e Promoção dos Direitos de Lésbicas, Gays, Bissexuais, Travestis e Transexuais* (National Council for Combating Discrimination and Promotion of the Rights of Lesbians, Gays, Bisexuals, Travestis and Transexuals.

EGHO   *Encontro de Grupos Homossexuais Organizados (*Encounter of Organized Homosexual Groups)

IBGE   *Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística* (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics)

IBRAT   Instituto Brasileiro de Transmasculinidades (Brazilian Institute of Transmasculinities)

FONATRANS   *Forúm Nacional de Pessoas Trans Negros e Negras* (National Forum of Trans Black Persons)

FONGES   *Forúm Nacional de Gestoras e Gestores LGBT* (National Forum of LGBT Public Administrators)

GGB   *Grupo Gay da Bahia* (Gay Group of Bahia)

LGGGBT   Lesbian, Gay, Gay....Gay, Bisexual and *Travesti e Transexual* Movement

MHB	*Movimento Homossexual Brasileiro* (Brazilian Homosexual Movement)
PCdoB	*Partido Comunista do Brasil* (Communist Party of Brazil)
PMDB	*Partido do Movimento Democrático Brasileiro* (Brazilian Democratic Movement Party
PSB	*Partido Socialista Brasileiro* (Brazilian Socialist Party)
PSDB	*Partido Social Democrático Brasileiro* (Brazilian Social Democratic Party)
PSOL	*Partido de Socialismo e Liberdade* (Socialism and Freedom Party)
PT	*Partido dos Trabalhadores* (Worker's Party)
PV	*Partido Verde* (Green Party)
STF	*Supremo Tribunal Federal do Brasil* (Supreme Federal Tribunal of Brazil)

NOTES ON TERMINOLOGY AND CONVENTIONS

I attempt to use consistent terminology throughout the text of this paper. When possible, I utilize terminology that is historically, politically, and culturally situated, recognizing the importance of identity terms and their shifting meaning and significance throughout the years. In general, LGBT refers to an internationally established collective identity claimed by politically mobilized lesbians, gays, bisexuals, and transgendered persons.

In the context of Brazil, the "T" currently includes three politically mobilized groups: *as travestis, as mulheres transexuais, e os homens trans* (*travestis*, transsexual women, and trans men*)*. Readers will note an absence of the term transgender throughout this text. While several prominent Brazilian activists identify as transgender, and the term appears sporadically in official documents, it is less common than the three aforementioned identities.

I hope these choices respect the identities of movement participants and maintain conceptual and analytical fidelity of specific terms. When speaking of specific segments of the movement, I provide clarification such as "the lesbian movement" or "the *travesti* and *transexual* movement". I also employ the term trans in relation to academic considerations of trans identities, though I do so with hesitation, as not all movement participants embrace this term.

Generally, I opt for *Portuguese* in italics, followed by the English translation in parentheses. Gender pronouns are maintained in Portuguese. Interview quotations are presented in English and the original text appears in Portuguese as footnotes. Fieldnote

indirect quotations are presented in English in italicized text. If a particular word or

phrase is left untranslated, it is accompanied by a definition and explanation in a

footnote. I follow the convention of inserting clarifying or missing words in [brackets] and

my own interactions in [*italicized brackets*]. All translations are by author unless

otherwise noted.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 THE PUZZLE OF LGBT MOVEMENTS

Social movements must establish a sense of collective identity in order to mobilize

on behalf of shared goals and objectives (Calhoun 1995). Many contemporary

movements, even identity movements originally thought to be primarily expressive in

nature, engage the state for instrumental ends. Movements often pursue

institutionalization within the State-apparatus and concrete public policy outcomes. As I

argue throughout this dissertation, the process of collective identity formation and

institutionalization within the State feed back upon one another in important ways.

The construction of collective identity is a difficult process. This is particularly the

case for social movements characterized by multiple conflicting and intersectional

identities, such as LGBT movements. Within these movements, individual identities often

correspond to individual interests, presenting challenges in maintaining collective

identity. As movements transition into the institutional realm, they pursue inclusion in

State apparatus and policy.

This research asks the following: how does the Brazilian LGBT movement do

identity work in the context of institutionalization? First, I argue that institutionalization

within State-apparatus conditions identity work at the meso-level by designing the

boundaries of participatory spaces. Second, I argue that institutionalization within State-

sponsored public policy conditions identity work at the micro-level by shaping the

boundaries of the discursive field. Institutionalization thus shapes the ability of the

Brazilian LGBT movement to resolve thorny internal differences related to representation and equality.

Indeed, the internal differences that characterize movements are intimately related to social position, status, and privilege (Bernstein 2008). Even the most egalitarian of movements reproduces social stratification that mirror systems of oppression. When groups move to shape agendas and goals, they tend to prioritize advantaged member-group interests before disadvantaged member-group interests (Strolovitch 2007). Thus, inequalities within movements become reflected in the policy demands and successes in the instituitonal sphere. When this principle is applied to womens' movements, white, heterosexual, middle class interests tend to be prioritized before other interests (Alexander and Mohanty 1997; Ryan 1997). When this principle is applied to organized LGBT movements, white, gay, middle class interests tend to be prioritized before other interests (Seidman 1993).

Scholarship on transgender public policy in the United States suggests that trans persons are systematically underrepresented in relation to other LGB identities (Taylor et. al. 2012; Taylor and Haider-Markel 2014). For example, one line of research compares the adoption of sexual orientation nondiscrimination policies with the adoption of gender-identity inclusive nondiscrimination policies. Gender-identity inclusive nondiscrimination policies directly protect trans persons. Sexual orientation nondiscrimination policies directly benefit gays and lesbians. Prioritization of these very similar policies speaks to differential representation of individual LGBT identities in policy.

In the U.S., gender-identity inclusive nondiscrimination policies are more likely to be adopted in racially diverse, educated, and liberal communities (Colvin 2008). Trans

activists strategically target communities that previously supported gay and lesbian issues (Colvin 2008). Even so, states are not more likely to include gender-identity protections if they had previously adopted sexual orientation only nondiscrimination policies, hate crime laws, or same-sex partnership recognition laws (Taylor et. al. 2012). However, neighborhood diffusion effects exert significant influence on the likelihood a state will adopt gender-identity inclusive nondiscrimination policy, but not similar coverage for sexual orientation (Taylor et al. 2012).

The role of conflicting identities within groups may explain the differences observed in the adoption of these nondiscrimination policies. Empirical studies positively assess the mobilization capacity of trans organizations as independent groups (Nownes 2010), especially during the 1990s. However, the growth of trans groups during the same time also witnessed the expansion of dominant LGB groups who chose to "add the T" (Nownes 2014). LGB groups included trans persons into their mission statements to expand the boundaries of their organization and increase the pool of potential members and donors (Nownes 2014).

From the 1990s onward, trans persons were included nominally in the mission statements of US LGBT organizations. Yet this change was not accompanied by equal changes in movement goals and resources to reflect the demands of a new constituency. Rather, trans demands were positioned secondary to gay and lesbian demands and were subject to bargaining during instances of political conflict (Taylor and Lewis 2014). In Maryland, for example, the relative impasse over nondiscrimination policy resulted in a bill that dropped gender-identity protections from its final form. At the national level, politicians sympathetic to gay and lesbian issues, such as Representative Barney Frank

(RI-D), and leaders of LGBT groups, such as the Human Rights Campaign, have historically prioritized gay and lesbian protections before trans protections (Nownes 2014).

We observe a similar trend in Latin America. Sexual orientation protections are more common than gender-identity protections (Corrales and Pecheny 2010; Longaker and Haider-Markel 2014). For example, Longaker and Haider-Markel (2014) failed to identify a single case where a state adopted nondiscrimination protections for gender-identity before sexual orientation. At best, Uruguay and Chile adopted comprehensive protections (gender-identity and sexual orientation) through legislation in 2004 and 2012, respectively (Paoli Itaborahy and Zhu 2012). In Ecuador and Bolivia, protections were adopted through constitutional referenda in 2008 and 2009, respectively. In El Salvador, protections were adopted by presidential decree in 2010 (Paoli Itaborahy and Zhu 2012).

Along with discrimination protections, comprehensive gender-identity legislation is an important demand of contemporary trans movements. This legislation typically allows for trans persons to rectify gender and name markers on state-issued identification documents. A number of Latin American states possess gender-identity legislation.

In Argentina, the LGBT movement strategically chose to pursue same-sex partnership recognition before gender-identity legislation (Bimbi 2010; Encarnación 2016). The *Federación Argentina de Lesbianas, Gays, Bisexuales, y Trans* (FALGBT; Argentine LGBT Federation) was founded based upon five policy priorities. The first of these was marriage equality. By 2009, the campaign for marriage equality was in full swing. By 2010, national news media was inundated with coverage related to marriage equality (Bimbi 2010). After achieving marriage equality, activists promised to return for

gender-identity legislation. This promise was fulfilled in 2012 with the passage of the *Ley de Identidade de Género* (Gender-Identity Law). At the time, it was the most progressive gender-identity law in the world, and the only that did not pathologize trans identities as part of the rights granting process (Longaker and Haider-Markel 2014).

In Uruguay, trans persons have been able to change name and sex on documents since 2009. Activists chose to pursue gender-identity legislation before marriage equality, citing trans vulnerability and lack of legal protections as a reason for their decision (Estadão 2012). In Bolivia, gender-identity legislation was approved by the legislature in 2015 and signed into law in 2016 (Washington Blade 2015).

In sum, empirical work on trans public policy suggests that LGBT movements do not prioritize trans demands. Instead, movements first pursue measures that reflect the demands of gays and lesbians. In the case of nondiscrimination protections, sexual orientation is generally pursued prior to gender-identity, both in the US and Latin America. A similar trend is observed in Brazil.

I argue that the Brazilian LGBT movement prioritizes the demands of gays and lesbians before *travestis e transexuais*. At the national level, policy successes include same-sex partnership recognition and fomenting public debate to the issue of *homofobia* (homophobia). Gender-identity legislation for *travestis e transexuais* is a far reality. At the municipal level, policies combating *homofobia* are far more common than policies that specifically benefit *travestis e transexuais*. In the following section, I detail the state of LGBT policy at the federal and municipal level.

The Brazilian state is widely recognized as engaging questions of LGBT public policy (beyond the HIV/AIDS response) with the start of the program *Brasil sem*

Homofobia (BSH; Brasil Without Homofobia) in 2004. The document, issued during the Lula government, offered a number of directives that municipal, state, and federal governments should follow to combat homophobia in the country. In turn, municipal and state governments were encouraged to adopt similar policy programs to combat homophobia.

Additionally, the Brazilian state incorporated the LGBT movement into the architecture of participatory democracy. For example, participatory LGBT conferences convene members of civil society and alongside policymakers. In 2008, the federal government convened the first national conference for LGBT public policy. In 2011, the second round of conferences was held. In 2015 and 2016, the third round of conferences was held. In all instances, municipal and state governments hosted earlier conferences in order to identify grass-roots demands of the LGBT movement and pass these demands up the ladder of federalism.

The first national conference sedimented several of the institutional goals of the LGBT movement, referred to as the *tripé* (tripod): the implementation of the national policy program to combat homophobia, the creation of a governmental department to promote LGBT rights, and the establishment of participatory LGBT Councils to guarantee popular control and oversight of the initiatives. Since 2008, these initiatives have subsequently been pursued at municipal, state, and federal levels of government.

Movement activists pursued same-sex partnership recognition through the 2000s. Initial successes were made at the state level, with the Southeastern states of Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul leading the way. Activists strategically pressed for partnership recognition in the form of same-sex stable unions (união estavel). They found

important allies in jurists, such as Maria Berenice Dias, who were sympathetic to demands of gays and lesbians. Berenice Dias argued forcefully in favor of the recognition of *relações homoafetivas* (homoaffective relationships), essentially constructing a new legal category through discursive innovations by which the Brazilian state could (and should) honor same-sex relationships. These relationships are defined primarily by the existence of durable affective ties between loving companions over the years.

The work of Berenice Dias contributed to a considerable body of jurisprudence on the issue of same-sex partnership recognition. This established the judiciary as a strategic venue for progressive policy change. While the movement was divided, a segment of primarily gay activists pursued the issue at the national level. On May 05, 2011, their activism was rewarded: the *Supremo Tribunal Federal do Brasil* (STF; Supreme Federal Tribunal), the highest court of the land, declared that homoaffective stable unions would be recognized as the legal equivalent of heterosexual stable unions. As the Brazilian Constitution allows for stable unions (and other familial arrangements) to later receive marital status, the STF decision opened up the opportunity for same-sex couples to pursue full civil marriage. Two years later, on May 14, 2013, the court ordered that all federal clerks authorize civil marriages and transform homoaffective stable unions into civil marriages upon request.

Events surrounding same-sex partnership recognition are illustrative of LGBT politics in Brazil. National level advances mostly occur through the executive and judiciary branches, as in the case of BSH (executive) and same-sex partnership recognition (judiciary). The legislature has largely been immune to pressures from activists, due to resistance from conservatives, traditional Catholics, and the rise of

evangelical representatives. In fact, as early as 1995, then Worker's Party federal deputy

Marta Suplicy (PT-SP) introduced to the Chamber of Deputies PL1151/95, a bill that would

recognize same-sex civil unions. A second version introduced in 2001 by Roberto

Jefferson, PL5252/01, proposed a special recognition system for same-sex couples

similar to France. Neither of these bills reached the floor for a vote.

A similar fate has befallen attempts to pass federal hate-crime and non-

discrimination legislation. Criminalization of homophobia is – and has been – a primary

demand of the Brazilian LGBT movement for the past decade. Indeed, from 2006 to

2013, the São Paulo *Parada de Orgulho LGBT* (LGBT Pride Parade, or *Parada*) the largest

of any event worldwide, featured the term "homophobia" in every year's annual theme. In

2006, Federal Deputy Iara Bernardi (PT-SP) introduced PLC122/06, legislation that would

effectively criminalize discrimination based on sexual orientation or gender-identity, as

was already the case for racism. Once again, the bill suffered several iterations

throughout the years and, in 2013, the Brazilian Senate declared that any decision on the

criminalization of homophobia would first require the alteration of the Penal Code. Thus,

PLC122 was appended to discussions of reforming the Penal Code; in short, once again

the Brazilian legislature refused to engage the demands of LGBTs.

Same-sex partnership recognition and criminalization of homophobia are policy

demands of primarily gays and lesbians. Same-sex partnership recognition is a logical

extension of gay lesbian identity, which is founded upon sexual orientation and objects

of desire. Criminalization of homophobia privileges, through its nomenclature, acts of

violence and discrimination against homosexuals, effectively leaving lesbians, bisexuals,

travestis, and *transexuals* invisible within these demands and protections. While both of

these policy areas may benefit *travestis e transexuais*, they are by no means the

protagonists of these efforts, nor are they the primary targets of either policy area.

Rather, the *travesti e transexual* community has pressed for national gender-

identity legislation. Gender-identity legislation generally includes measures for *travestis e*

transexuais to amend the name and sex/gender markers assigned at birth on official

documents in accordance with *nome social* (social name) and gender identity. In Brazil,

national legislation to address this issue has been introduced at least six times since the

first PL70/95 in 1995, not counting one instance of negative backlash in 2005 (Longaker

and Haider-Markel 2014).

The most recent effort to achieve gender-identity legislation is PL5002/2013

introduced 2013. Known widely as the João W. Nery law, for the male trans (homem

trans) activist, the proposal was introduced in the Chamber of Deputies by Jean Wyllys

(PSOL-RJ) and Erika Kokay (PT-DF). The bill mirrors similar legislation passed in Argentina

in 2013; indeed, the author of the bill, a congressional aid to Jean Wyllys, was the

Argentine Bruno Bimbi, an activist involved in the Brazilian same-sex partnership

recognition movement. The João W. Nery law would allow for rectification of name and

sex on identity documents without undergoing hormone therapy, sex-reassignment

surgery, judicial approval, or psychological or medical treatment. As part of the

international movement to depathologize trans identities, the legislation is consistent in

its refusal to authorize third parties with the power to evaluate and diagnose individuals

as trans before they can exercise their rights. Earlier proposals related to gender-identity

included a variety of restrictive requirements designed to make the legislation less

inclusive and more difficult to access (Longaker and Haider-Markel 2014).

Even the most positive assessments of the João W. Nery law do not predict much

success for its future. The political scenario in contemporary Brasilia is by and large

hostile to LGBT issues: the National Congress elected in 2013 is the most conservative

since 1964 (Estadão 2014). In 2015, Congressional conservatives and evangelicals

handed a serious defeat to the LGBT community with the removal of any mention of

gender (including gender-identity) from the Ministry of Education's 2015 *Plano Nacional*

de Educação (PNE 2015; National Education Plan). Opponents argue against what they

see as an "ideology of gender" (ideologia de gênero); while the term is vague, it has

come to symbolize a fight against progressive policies that would promote sexual

diversity and LGBT citizenship.

Overall, the most significant successes in LGBT public policy at the national level

have occurred through the judiciary and the executive. The legislature has, at best,

avoided these issues, and, at worst, kept these issues off of the institutional agenda.

Moreover, same-sex partnership recognition, arguably the most significant achievement

of the Brazilian LGBT movement to date, primarily serves and represents the interests

and demands of gays and lesbians. Gender-identity legislation, which would specifically

target *travestis e transexuais*, has been introduced six times since 1995 with little

success.

While national level LGBT public policy has been relatively stagnant in Brazil,

municipal level policy is quite active. In 2009, 2011, and 2014, the IBGE conducted an

annual survey of all 5,565 Brazilian municipalities on a variety of measures on LGBT

public policy.[1] While there is inconsistency in the items surveyed, the data proves

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[1] The number of municipalities increased to 5,570 in the 2014 data.

valuable in understanding the relative prioritization of interests of individual identities within the movement. [2]

The data include the following measures for State-sponsored public policy. In 2009: 1) legislation that recognizes the rights of LGBTs and 2) program, plan, or action for LGBTs.[3] In 2011: 1) legislation that addresses discrimination against LGBTs; 2) legislation that recognizes the rights of LGBTs; 3) legislation that recognizes the *nome social* (social name) of *travestis e transexuais*; 4) programs or actions for confronting violence against LGBTs; 5) programs and actions to maintain LGBTs in school. In 2014: 1) legislation that protects the rights of LGBTs; 2) legislation that recognizes the *nome social* of *travestis e transexuais*; 3) program, plan, or action that promotes the rights of LGBTs.

The data include the following measures of State-apparatus. In 2009: 1) an administrative organ responsible for human rights is also responsible for executing programs and actions for LGBTs; 2) an administrative organ responsible for policy for women is also responsible for executing programs and actions for LGBTs; 3) a policy Council for the rights of LGBTs; 4) a resource center specialized for the population of LGBTs. In 2011: 1) an administrative organ responsible for human rights is also responsible for executing programs and actions for LGBTs; 2) a policy Council for the rights of LGBTs. In 2014: 1) an administrative organ of human rights executes programs and actions for LGBTs; 2) a policy Council for the rights of LGBTs.

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[2] During my fieldwork, I mentioned to one activist that the IBGE had not surveyed LGBT issues since 2014. He showed me a letter from IBGE stating that, according to the 2010 census, the LGBT population was not large enough for further surveying.

[3] The IBGE questionnaire uses the extended form of LGBT: lesbians, gays, bisexuals, *travestis e transexuais*.

Table 1.1 Municipal LGBT State-sponsored Public Policy			
	2009	2011	2014
Rights*	92	99	32
Programs/Plans	126	-	346
Discrimination*	-	79	-
Social Name*	-	54	29
Violence	-	486	-
School	-	440	-
Source: IBGE, * indicates legislation			

Table 1.2 Municipal LGBT State-apparatus			
	2009	2011	2014
Human Rights	130	383	431
Women's	138	-	-
Policy Council	2	8	18
Resource Center	24	24	-
Source: IBGE			

State-sponsored public policy for LGBTs has become more expansive over time. As of 2009, only 202 cities had at least one policy. By 2011, 707 cities had at least one policy. This coincides with substantial variation in policy coverage from 2009 to 2011, where the number of cities with two policies increased from 8 to 120. In 2014, this number had constricted slightly to 346 cities. This decrease is likely due to a smaller number of policy areas on the questionnaire.

State-apparatus for LGBTs has also been on the rise. In 2009, 2011, and 2014, the number of municipalities with an administrative organ of human rights that was

responsible for LGBT policy was 130, 383, and 431, respectively. And in the 2009 survey, 138 municipalities nested such responsibilities within a women's agency. As I explore in more detail in Chapter 4, the number of LGBT councils increased from 2, 8, and 18 over the same period of time.[4]

An important measure of trans specific demands appears in 2011 and 2014. This item – legislation that recognizes the *nome social* of *travestis e transexuais* – is considered an important goal in the absence of a national gender-identity law. Municipal legislation can not modify the national identification card, but it can stipulate that social names be recognized in public services, provide alternative identification cards, and/or assess administrative penalties for infractions.[5] In 2014, the number of cities with legislation recognizing the social names of *travestis e transexuais* was only 29. This represents less than 0.5% of Brazilian municipalities.

The data suggest difficulties in enacting policy through the legislature, rather than the executive or bureaucracy. For example, in 2014, only 32 municipalities had legislation protecting LGBTs, while 346 cities had plans/programs to promote the rights of LGBTs.

An important measure of trans specific demands appears in 2011 and 2014. This item – legislation that recognizes the *nome social* of *travestis e transexuais* – is considered an important goal in the absence of a national gender-identity law. Municipal legislation can not modify the national identification card, but it can stipulate that social names be recognized in public services, provide alternative identification cards, and/or

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[4] This number is adjusted based on my own data collection.
[5] Similar initiatives are pursued at the State level through bureaucratic organs, such as the *Secretaria de Segurança Pública* (Secretary of Public Security) in São Paulo (Fieldnotes).

assess administrative penalties for infractions.[6] In 2014, the number of cities with

legislation recognizing the social names of *travestis e transexuais* was only 29. This

represents less than 0.5% of Brazilian municipalities.

In contrast, policies that broadly cover LGBTs are more common. In 2011, 486

municipalities had a policy in place to combat violence against LGBTs. Similarly, 346

municipalities had general plans or programs for LGBTs in 2014. These policies likely

focus on combating *homofobia*, a demand of gay men, such as *Belo Horizonte sem*

Homofobia (Belo Horizonte without Homophobia). If this is the case, the data suggest an

inequality in policy coverage for trans identities compared to gay identities.

The above discussion of policy demands and policy successes by LGBT

movements suggests that these movements struggle with the hard identity work of

representation. In Brazil, trans activists are acutely aware of these inequalities, frequently

accusing the collective LGBT movement of being "GGG" – gay, gay, and gayer. How do

trans activists achieve representation within these movements? I believe solutions exist

at the intersection of processes of institutionalization and identity work.

1.2 IDENTITY WORK AND REPRESENTATION WITHIN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

The rise of new social movements organized around identity challenged the

structural basis of claim-making in political process theory (Goodwin and Jasper 2004;

Polletta and Jasper 2001), the incentive based logic of mobilization and strategic choice

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[6] Similar initiatives are pursued at the State level through bureaucratic organs, such as the *Secretaria de Segurança Pública* (Secretary of Public Security) in São Paulo (Fieldnotes).

in variants of rational choice theory (Lichbach 1995). New social movements organize

marginalized groups around a shared identity with the goal to alter social practices or

systems of power relations (Alvarez 1990; Escobar and Alvarez 1992; Molyneux 1998;

Weldon 2011).

      The nature of these movements sparked research utilizing constructivist

perspectives, particularly a focus on discourse, in order to understand how movements

advocate counter-cultural ideas and serve as repositories of new symbolic codes and

centers of collective identity making (Diani 1995; Edelman 1971; Melucci 1980; Melucci

1985; Melucci 1988; Melucci 1995). Similarly, research on framing explores the process by

which social movements craft their demands in accordance with dominant cultural codes,

or in direct contention with dominant cultural codes (Snow et al. 1986; Benford and Snow

2000; McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald 1996). In crafting such claims, social movements

face the challenge of developing and maintaining a collective identity that serves as an

alternative foundation for grievances, demand making, participation, and mobilization.

      Indeed, identity has been termed a "pivotal concept" by scholars of social

movements (Snow and McAdam 2000) due in part to its importance and prominence in

contemporary literature. The role of identity has been explored in all facets of social

movement research, spanning from the emergence of movements (Melucci 1988; Pfaff

1996), to participation (Taylor and Whittier 1992), strategic choices (Bernstein 1997), and

success (Einwohner 1999). Still more research focuses on how movement activities,

organizations, and interactions with broader political contexts reflexively shape activist

identity (Gamson 1991; Reger 2002; Einwohner 2006).

In spite of the breadth of research on identity and social movements, some areas of inquiry remain acutely under researched. David A. Snow (2013) identifies a series of "identity dilemmas" that continue to confound scholars and challenge social movement activists: identity multiplicity, salience, pervasiveness, and the dilemma of discursive fields and identity work. Generally, these dilemmas refer to the competition and intersection of individual identities with other individual or collective identities.

At the heart of these dilemmas is the ephemeral and ambivalent nature of identity (Gamson 1995). While scholars and activists point to identity as a core concept in the mobilization of social movements based upon collective identity, it is also a significant source of fragmentation and disintegration. Research establishes that self-identification as part of a collective identity increases the likelihood of one's participation in social movements (Simon et. al. 1998; Snow 2013). However, the multiplicity of identities in contemporary society, and concomitant claims for recognition, inclusion, and equality within the political system, pose challenges to collective identity as a stable mobilizing factor (Bernstein 2005; Snow 2013). Indeed, some authors question whether identity is sufficient, or necessary, grounds for collective action, at all (Rootes 2013). Others have suggested that queer identity movements are inherently unstable, as individuals grapple with the paradoxical goals of norm deconstruction and identity construction (Gamson 1995).

These observations are well made. Individuals often claim multiple personal identities, at local, national, or even transnational levels, that compete for time and attention (Snow 2013). Additionally, multiple identities are ordered in hierarchical fashion unique to any individual, leading to problems of identity salience (Bernstein 2005; Snow

2013). Together, these challenges lead activists to exercise double militancy, as they balance work in different locations and on behalf of different identities (Beckwith 2000). Finally, pervasive identities, like those claimed by religious or fundamentalist movements, are more generalized and thus demand significant time and energy of movement participants (Snow 2013).

The aforementioned challenges are exacerbated in moments of collective action. As social actors interact, they are situated as subjective beings by claiming or being assigned identities (Snow 2013). This process is relational and involves placing identities within socially understandable categories. When claims compete for limited public goods, the number of actors and identities expands, leading to the contestation of meaning, identity, and signifiers. This process occurs within a *discursive field*, defined as the "field in which the contested issues are debated and discussed, via such meaning-making processes as framing and narration, among various sets of interests and actors (Snow 2013, 273; see also Snow 2004; Snow 2008).

When individuals and movements adjudicate these claims, they engage in *identity work*. Identity work was originally introduced in the literature as "the range of activities individuals engage in to create, present, and sustain personal identities that are congruent with and supportive of the self-concept" (Snow and Anderson 1987, 1348). Subsequent research expanded identity work to the collective (group) level, as well (Schwalbe and Mason-Schrock 1996). Thus, in this research, I define identity work as the process of constructing, negotiating, and maintaining collective identity, as undertaken by individual actors and collective movements (Snow 2013; Snow and McAdam 2000; Snow and Anderson 1987). Since identity is conceptualized as a product of social

interaction, a principal component of its construction occurs through discourse within

discursive fields.

Identity work is a strategic process undertaken by individual actors and collective

social movements (Einwohner, Reger, and Myers 2008). Actors and movements account

for both internal and external considerations when performing identity work (Meyer

2002). At the external level, they are attentive to external audiences, political contexts,

and sociopolitical fields. At the internal level, they are attentive to audiences inside of the

movement. Additionally, scholars identify the role of sameness and difference in shaping

identity work (Einwohner, Reger, and Myers 2008). That is, sometimes movements

highlight *both* sameness and differences when engaging the same audience, or choose

to focus on sameness for internal audiences and difference for external audiences, or

vice versa. The strategic choice to emphasize either category for different audiences

produces modes of identity work that become progressively more difficult as they

overlap.

Identity work can be relatively simple *easy work* or challenging *hard work*. For

example, *easy work* includes individual entrance to and participation in a social

movement based upon shared identity (sameness); this provides satisfaction and a sense

of fulfillment to actors now situated within a collective. In contrast, *hard work* includes the

construction and negotiation of collective identity among a diverse (difference) group of

actors with diverse sets of interests and diverse sets of identities and social positions. As

Einwohner, Reger, and Myers (2008, 2-3) make clear, identity work is a difficult process,

in part from the identity dilemmas described above, that "can be fraught with

contradiction and controversy" and may "even alienat[e] participants or fragmen[t] the

movement."

Hard identity work is the focus of this project. The hard work of identity work

primarily occurs inside of the social movements. Hard work encapsulates ontological

discussions of collective identity – who we are, who we want to be, and who we should

be – that make visible the lines of fragmentation and difference that permeate social

movements (Bystydzienski and Schacht 2001; Gamson 1997). Hard identity work also

occurs because of questions of representation and equality within movements - who is

included and contemplated, and who is excluded and marginalized. These

disagreements recreate processes of us vs. them and self vs. other as actors and

movements attempt to (re)establish boundaries of individual and collective identities.

Indeed, Gamson (1995) famously observed these processes in queer movements

in the 1990s:

> "We are certainly witnessing a process of boundary-construction and identity negotiation: as contests over membership and over naming, these debates are part of an ongoing project of delineating the "we" whose rights and freedoms are at stake in the movements" (393).

Additionally, hard identity work stems from differences in preferences for

strategies and tactics, an additional layer considered constitutive of identity (Polletta and

Jasper 2001). Actors within a social movement possess multiple, distinct individual

identities that are differentiated based upon strategic preferences (Gamson 1991; Haines

2006; Jasper 1997). For example, actors claim broad "activist identities" that refer to

political mobilization outside of social movements, or "organizational identities" that place

actors squarely within a smaller subgroup (Jasper 1997).

Sosa (2013) finds that Brazilian LGBT activists in São Paulo divide into two strategic camps: independents and multipliers. Independents are proud of their disassociation from institutionalized politics, while multipliers see their position as firmly embedded in a broader political and social project. These differences in strategic preferences shape activist identity through alternative forms of political subjectivity. Similarly, US LGBT movements include "beneficiary" and "ally" identities that distinguish between members who directly benefit from collective action and those who do not (Myers 2008).

Strategic identities may exist prior to membership in a collective movement, or may be formed within the movement itself (Ennis 1987; Whittier 1995). Importantly, strategic identities are not mutually exclusive to more primary identities. Rather, identities are accumulated by actors and presented in accordance with identity salience and identity pervasiveness (Snow 2013). Thus, activists present themselves as women, militants, eco-, cisgender, for example. Additionally, actors and movements make strategic choices in their presentation of identity in response to different audiences, leading to *identity deployment* (Bernstein 1997). For example, nonwhite activists involved in environmental politics have utilized the term people of color when speaking to the state, but employ more specific ethno-racial identities for their own proceedings (Pulido 1996).

In another example, US gay and lesbian movements oscillated between "identities of critique" and "identity for education" in their push for nondiscrimination ordinances. In identities of critique, movements celebrate gay and lesbian identity as they criticized heteronormative practices that promote discrimination; in identity for education,

movements suppressed their gay and lesbian identity as they pursued policy change through access to institutional venues. The choice of these identity deployments was determined by preferences for radical or assimilationist tactics, opponents, and access to the political system (Bernstein 1997).

Identity work is nested within what Einwohner, Reger, and Myers (2008, 8) term the *activist environment*: "the entire set of social cultural, and historical factors surrounding and shaping social movement activity." This term aggregates multiple competing concepts, such as fields and structures and contexts, within the identity literature. The activist environment houses micro, meso, and macro level processes of identity work (Einwohner, Reger, and Myers 2008).

Micro, meso, and macro level processes are inherently related and inform one another through feedback in the activist environment. Of course, each refers to a specific unit of analysis. It is useful to think of the micro level at the individual level, the meso at the group level, and the macro at the most comprehensive level of the activist environment. I explain these in more detail below.

At the micro level, identity work includes the construction of individual, and later, collective identity. Bernstein (1997, 536) terms this process *identity for empowerment*, defined as "the creation of a collective identity and the feeling that political action is feasible." Identity for empowerment challenges activists and movements to (re)define boundaries, (re)develop consciousness, and (re)negotiate symbols and values (Taylor and Whittier 1992). It is also shaped by meso and macro-level factors related to organizations

and political contexts and micro-level cultural factors related to activists themselves

(Bernstein 2008, 279).[7]

Additionally, individual perceptions and filters shape the face-to-face activity of

identity work (Hunt, Benford, and Snow 1994; Gamson 1995; Taylor and Whittier 1992).

When individuals diverge over meanings and constructions of collective identity, identity

work becomes particularly necessary. For example, contentious moments over the

selection of terms, such as queer, to designate collective identity challenge LGBT

movements (Gamson 1995). In the US, lesbian activists struggled with constructions of

identity within feminist communities (Taylor and Whittier 1992).

These divergences have real consequences for the vitality movements. As

Bernstein (2008, 291) explains:

> "The content of the identity for empowerment is critically important for social
> movements because it affects who is mobilized and what issues are deemed valid
> and pursued. Which goals are pursued, in turn, attracts others to the movement who
> have similar interests and thus affects mobilization, which feeds back on the content
> of a collective identity. Thus status identities are linked to real structural and social
> locations that influence what goals are deemed important, which then feeds back
> on the collective identity through mobilization."

At the meso level, identity work includes processes of articulation and

construction of collective identity (Einwohner, Reger, and Myers 2008). First, meso-level

identity work looks at the role of movement organizations in shaping collective identity

(Gamson 1996). Movement organizations impute logic and structure on identity. This

affixes and stabilizes understandings of individual and collective identity, but does not

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[7] Bernstein (2008, 279) writes of these micro-level cultural variables: "activists' experience,
ideology, and emotions inform the content of activists' collective identity." While I recognize the
importance of these variables and reference them at times in Chapter 2.5, they do not figure
prominently into this dissertation.

remove them from contention or debate. Rather, organizations mediate identity through a

recursive process that is seen as strategic, if not conscious (Gamson 1996). Indeed, in a

study on National Organization of Women chapters across the United States, Reger

(2002) finds that individual organizations vary culturally and geographically, with identity

shaping organizations and organizations shaping identity. Similarly, Gamson (1996)

concludes that organizations typically stop short of redefining collective identity

altogether, but they redefine identity boundaries in ways that privilege particular

constructions.

Indeed, the design of social movement organizations impacts identity work in

important ways. Notably, organizations with diverse constituencies, such as the Coalition

of Labor Union Women, distribute leadership positions throughout these constituencies

and encourage subgroups within the organization (Roth 2008). This strategy allowed for

the successful negotiation of identity and even the emergence of new "union feminism"

that links together intersectional identities.

Second, meso-level identity work looks at the role of organizations as *locations* for

the discursive reproduction of collective identity. That is, organizations offer a crucial site

for actors and movements to do identity work through *identity talk* (Hunt and Benford

1994; Lichterman 1999; Snow and Anderson 1987). Identity talk is the discursive

construction and negotiation of individual and collective identity, whereby speakers

place ontological perceptions into relief through exchange and social interaction.

In his study of queer and LGBT spaces, Lichterman (1999, 104) argues that meso-

level space may constitute a forum if "it values critically reflective discussion about

members' interests and collective identities, apart from strategizing identity and interests

to gain more members or influence." While Lichterman is interested in approximating

conditions for participation of collective identities in the public sphere, Bernstein (2008,

279) notes that identity talk "can exacerbate or mitigate tensions between identity

groups" depending on how meso-level sites "either facilitate or impede the creation of an

empowering identity that can adequately address issues of internal differences."

Where internal differences are flattened through a reductive language of

sameness, identity work leads to a bifurcated collective identity (Bernstein 2005;

Alexander and Mohanty 1997; Ward 2008).[8] On the one hand, a focus on sameness to

internal audiences creates unity. On the other hand, the negation of difference alienates

certain constituencies.

At the macro-level, identity work includes environmental factors that shape

decisions, actions, and strategic and non-strategic choices of actors and movements.

These factors include the political contexts and political opportunities mentioned earlier

in the chapter. For example, identity work in repressive contexts calls for parallel

strategies of celebrating and suppressing identity (Einwohner 2006). In the Jim Crow

South, macro-level factors influenced the salience of multiple intersectional identities

within womens' movements, leading Black women to identify primarily with race and

white women to identify primarily with gender (Robnett 1997). This shaped micro-level

individual activists' preferences for goals of combating racism and sexism, respectively.

The literature on identity and identity work offers numerous insights into the

processes of the construction of individual and collective identity. In sum, we must be

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[8] Ward (2008) illustrates these phenomena at the meso-level through a study of LGBT organizations; however, the same logic would apply to micro-level interactions.

attentive to how activists and movements emphasize sameness and difference to internal and external audiences. We must also be attentive to how activists and movements create identities for empowerment through the redefinition of boundaries, consciousness, and negotiations. Finally, we must recognize that these processes occur within micro, meso, and macro level settings of the activist environment.

While substantial scholarship exists on identity work, less research accounts for processes of institutionalization of social movements and its intersection with identity work. It is likely that this gap exists due to the focus of identity work in early social movement organizing; that is, how collective identities are constructed and negotiated *prior to* engagement with the State.

Additionally, social movement theory was born out of dissatisfaction with the central role of the state in political process theory (Armstrong and Bernstein 2008). Early scholars were correct to critique dismissive notions of identity movements as purely expressive and not instrumental (Touraine 1981). Indeed, identity movements simultaneously pursue recognition and redistribution (Duyvendak and Giugni 1995). However, the state has not been fully incorporated into theories of identity work.

In contexts rich with meso-level spaces and a shared collective identity, Mary Bernstein (2008, 536) suggests that movements are more likely to pursue instrumental goals such as public policy outcomes. Movements are also likely to pursue instrumental goals such as the creation of policy machinery (see Weldon 2012; Htun and Weldon 2012). In cases like these, where engagement with the State is established and routine, we know little about how institutionalization affects identity work

1.3 ARGUMENT: INSTITUTIONALIZATION, OPPORTUNITIES, AND STRATEGIES FOR IDENTITY WORK

Scholarship on the institutionalization of social movements addresses 1) how movements move within State-apparatus and 2) how movements demand public policy outcomes. These literatures offer important insights into the role of institutions and social movements; however, neither adequately addresses how institutions condition the internal dynamics of social movements. That is, institutions are seen as exogenous forces that shape or constraint interactions with the State. This dissertation considers how institutionalization endogenously shapes the identity work of movements. I argue that research must account for the fact that movements have penetrated State-apparatus and State-sponsored public policy, and still continue to engage in internal movement dynamics of identity work.

Early work conceptualized social movements as independent of State-apparatus and institutions, utilizing disruptive and contentious tactics from outside of formal politics (Tilly 1994; Snow, Soule, and Kriesei 2004). Since the 1990s, literature on institutionalization focuses on strategies of contention and engagement (Suh 2011). Recent scholarship acknowledges that social movements utilize moderate tactics and become integrated into institutions through cooperative alliances with actors, processes of professionalization, and bureaucratization (Giugni and Passy 1998).

Institutionalization is a strategic choice of joint decision making between movements and states (Giugni and Passy 1998) that occurs under conditions of international pressure, democratization, and activist perceptions of the state as a partner

(Suh 2011). Institutionalization signals a dynamic strategy of *both* protest and engagement by movements, and a recognition that access to state based institutions produces policy success (Moore 1999; Banaszak 2010). Indeed, the State opens political opportunities through which movements advocate demands and access the public agenda (McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald 1996; Meyer and Minkoff 2004).

For this work, I define *institutionalization* as the degree of social movement inclusion within State-apparatus and State-sponsored public policy.[9] Furthermore, I conceptualize institutionalization as a dynamic process, rather than an endpoint, with movements simultaneously occupying space(s) inside and outside of the State. As I discuss below, institutionalization within State-apparatus and State-sponsored public policy conditions identity work in micro and macro levels of the activist environment.

A first line of research considers the institutionalization of social movements through incorporation into the State-apparatus. Movements function from *within* state institutions without suffering "deradicalization, depoliticization, or demobilization of collective action" (Suh 2011, 444). Instead, movements balance strategies of conflict and cooperation, and contention and engagement from within institutional spaces.

The assumption that entrance into State-apparatus automatically signals the demise of protest stems from a scholarly conflation of form, content, and location (Katzenstein 1998). That is, scholarship imposes a definition of movement activity (as protest) that incorrectly limits our understanding of social movement politics as

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[9] This definition is influenced by the work of Katzenstein (1998) and Banaszak (2010) on movements and the State. I exclude from this definition processes of movement bureaucratization and NGOization that more closely relate to literature on organizational theory and civil society, respectively.

disruptive, radical, and in the street. Banaszak (2010) contends that dichotomous

categories of insider/outsider should be replaced with degrees of State

inclusion/exclusion. Insiders use both confrontational and conventional strategies, and

seek both radical or incremental goals, regardless of position relative to the State

(Banaszak 2010).

Furthermore, movements continue to *exist* within institutions. In the US, the

feminist movement penetrated the military and the Catholic church as unobtrusive

activists and utilized strategies of interest group and radical discursive politics in each,

conditioned by the macro-level activist environment (Katzenstein 1998). Additionally,

institutional activists spearheaded policy successes in pay equity for women (Santoro

and McGuire 1997) and femocrats mobilized from within US bureaucracies (Banaszak

2010). Gay and lesbian activists challenged stigma and discrimination from within

business institutions through dual strategies of sameness and difference in identity

deployment (Creed, Scully, and Austin 2002; Creed and Scully 2000). In Brazil, recent

scholarship confirms that "institutional activism" characterizes feminist presence within

the State (Abers and Tatagiba 2016).

A second line of research considers the institutionalization of social movements

through policy change. This body of work conceptualizes public policy as a successful

outcome of protest and mobilization. Policy concessions signal accommodation of

demands and the adoption of movement frames and discourse by the State.

The Black Civil Rights Movement in the United States provides a classic example

of the causal relationship of protest to policy. Tactical and strategic innovation by civil

rights activists, coupled with indigenous movement institutions and favorable public

opinion, culminated in the passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act (McAdam 1999). While

McAdam (1999) credits the turn to radical and violent tactics with the dissolution of the

movement, Fording (1997) finds that radical and violent tactics were associated with

public policy expenditures that targeted Black communities (Fording 1997).

For LGBT movements, policy demands traditionally existed in tension with broader

counter-cultural demands. As the movement approached the State through interest-

group strategies, early policy victories were achieved in the form of non-discrimination

ordinances (Haider-Markel 1996). Later, the movement pressed for same-sex partnership

recognition and marriage equality through parallel state and national campaigns. In this

example, the language of policy shifted from civil unions to same-sex marriage to

marriage equality, reshaping movement and public discourses on the same issue at

micro and macro levels of the activist environment (McCabe and Heerwig 2012).

Research points to the interdependent and dynamic relationship between the

State-apparatus, State-sponsored public policy, and social movements. Comparatively,

progressive policy change for marginalized groups is more comprehensive in States with

autonomous social movements and State-apparatus for these groups (Htun and Weldon

2012).[10] In the US, where feminist movements fracture intersectionally, independent

advocacy by these groups can result in more comprehensive policy to address the

differential needs of women (Weldon 2006; Weldon 2011).

I argue in favor of the integration of literature on identity work and the

institutionalization of movements. This approach addresses the interdependence of

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[10] Htun and Weldon (2012) conceptualize these State-apparatus as "women's policy machinery."

these processes. As I argue below, extant research does not account for endogeneity

and feedback between these processes, leaving key questions unanswered.

First, literature on institutionalization within State-apparatus sees the dynamic

between social movements and institutions as inherently one of contentious engagement

with the state. This view overlooks the role of institutionalization within the State-

apparatus in endogenously shaping internal movement dynamics (Schneiberg and

Lounsbury 2008), particularly identity work at the meso-level. How, for example, is

identity work translated into the designs of State-apparatus and how does the design

affect subsequent identity work?

Second, literature on institutionalization within State-sponsored public policy has

not accounted for feedback processes. Public policy is at once a demand and an

outcome of mobilization. Once in place, policy may sui generis stimulate its own

mobilization.[11] It then begins to function as an institution - in the sense that it establishes

norms and rules which structure interactions (North 1990), particularly identity work at the

micro-level.

This second point is an argument which merits more exploration. Public policy

selects certain demands over others, situating them inside the realm of State power and

infusing them with State sanctioned legitimacy. As part of this process, public policy

identifies target groups which are cast as deserving or undeserving of rewards or

sanctions. This process makes some political subjects visible (or legible) to the State,

while making invisible (or illegible) others.[12]

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[11] See for example Hajer 1995; Bröer and Duyvendak 2009; Bröer and Duyvendak 2012)

[12] These ideas are present in the public policy literature of social constructivism (see Schneider and Ingram 1997).

I argue that these processes have important implications for identity work within social movements. In particular, the potential of the State to legitimize demands and make legible particular identities (re)configures the conditions under which actors contend boundaries and negotiate collective identity. When policy closely links demands with target groups, it has the potential to privilege advantaged subgroups and exclude disadvantaged subgroups. The risk for this is higher in movements comprised of multiple, conflicting, and intersectional identities, such as LGBT movements.

Indeed, public policy shapes micro-level activist environment in significant ways. Public policy sends important messages about citizenship to target groups, shaping perceptions of self, others, and the State and the discursive codes available to communicate demands (Mettler and Soss 2004; Nagel 1994). We can expect policy to influence micro-level identity work and identity talk, as members of social movements interact within discursive fields conditioned by institutionalization.

These effects exist within State-apparatus at the meso-level activist environmentt. As proximity to the State increases, we should expect the influence of State-sponsored policy to increase, as well. State-apparatus condition identity work within these spaces through restructuring boundaries of identity for empowerment and renegotiating identities through appeals to the discursive power of State-sponsored public policy. This effect need not be conceptualized as negative: indeed, as I argue, the design of these spaces is an important strategy in guaranteeing the representation of multiple segments of social movements.

Thus, this dissertation argues that processes of institutionalization - defined as the degree of movement inclusion within State-apparatus and State-sponsored public policy

- provide important opportunities and shape new strategies for identity work. I theorize that the institutionalization of social movements in State-apparatus conditions identity work at the meso level. I theorize that the institutionalization of social movements in State-Sponsored public policy conditons identity work at the micro-level.

As I discuss in chapter 3, institutionalization inserts social movements within State-apparatus. These spaces, particularly those created for participatory democracy, serve as important forums for social movements to engage in identity work. Moreover, the design of these spaces has the potential to condition identity work by shaping the boundaries of identity for empowerment.

As I discuss in chapter 4, institutionalization codifies social movement demands within State-sponsored public policy. These policies include some segments of movements, while they exclude others. Policy thus becomes an important site for representation. Thus, it becomes a site for the contestation and negotiation of identity differences, conditioning these interactions at the micro-level. Social movement activists deploy discursive strategies during hard identity work, navigating a discursive field that is conditioned by State-sponsored public policy.

1.4 METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH AND REFLECTIONS

Research methods are necessarily dictated by the questions we ask. As such, this work employs primarily qualitative methods to understand the internal processes of negotiating differences within an identity based social movement. Qualitative methods offer an incredibly rich set of tools for researchers to conduct social science research.

They are especially appropriate for research questions that seek to answer questions related to process, internal dynamics, and the general "how" of social science.

This work employs multiple methods of data collection in the tradition of triangulation (Blee and Taylor 2002; Denzin 1989). Triangulation increase the validity of results in qualitative research by utilizing multiple methods of data collection, ultimately leading to a more robust and complete sample. I utilize semi-structured interviews, participant observation, and content analysis of archival documents to approach the research question. I explain the data collection process for each of these methods below.

Data for this project was collected during twelve months of ethnographic fieldwork in Brazil from January 1, 2014 to December 31, 2015. Additional observations were made during the months of May, June, July, and August of 2015. The field research was multi-sited and includes more than fourteen municipalities in the states of São Paulo, Goiás, and Distrito Federal (SP: São Paulo, Campinas, Piracicaba, São Carlos, Ribeirao Preto, Santos, Barueri, Osasco, Taboao da Serra, Araraquara, Guarulhos; Goiânia). These sites were selected for variation in terms of institutionalization of the social movement within state and municipal governments.

The tradition of ethnography, while relatively rare in political science, is well established in the social sciences. I follow the principles established by Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw (2011), whereby observation focuses on interactions, interpretations, and meanings. In this view, the researcher is intimately connected to the research process, and the separation of empirical observation from interpretation is untenable. Rather, researchers should recognize and record their own personal feelings, emotions, and responses together with field observations. I detail my fieldnote process below:

I maintained detailed fieldnotes in small, relatively discrete journals during the fieldwork process, producing extended research memos when possible. I produced digital copies of fieldnotes, organized by date and event, for secure archive on my notebook and easy consultation in writing. I maintained a daily field log that recorded the following: date, location, general notes, research notes, and a daily and weekly to do list. The research notes typically included a short summary of the day's events. The to do list often included observations of emergent categories and theories.

While Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw (2011) recommend immediately translating fieldnotes into extended prose immediately after an event, the reality is simply that this is not always possible. Meetings become delayed, events are scheduled at late hours, and often social gatherings proceed directly after. Thus, I maintained as detailed as possible fieldnotes during observation. All fieldnotes followed a similar structure with records of meeting name, date, time, and location, followed by descriptive observations of actors (including notes on the diversity of demographics), the space, and the general purpose of the event. For meetings, in general, I maintained detailed fieldnotes in chronological order of who spoke, to whom they responded, and what was said. I recorded tone and style of delivery, as well as gestures and expressions, when it diverged from the normal style of discussion and debate.

During this time, I conducted thirty-six semi-structured elite interviews using a purposive sampling of social movement activists, government officials, and members of organized civil society (Bee and Verta 2002). A full list of interview respondents and dates is presented in Appendix 1.3. All names are pseudonyms and do not bear resemblance to any persons in the study.

Interviews were conducted during the second half of fieldwork after the

establishment of rapport and access to the movement, as well as familiarity with

important events. I selected actors deliberately for their level of involvement, visibility,

and knowledge of social movement activities. My intent was to capture responses from

primary actors of the institutionalized movement, with a particular emphasis on identities

from underrepresented identities. I discuss the interview process below.

At the start of the Interview, respondents were provided an IRB approved consent

form outlining the procedures of the study and guaranteeing confidentiality and

anonymity and a business card with my contact information. A signed original copy was

kept with my fieldwork notes and a scanned copy was returned to respondents via e-mail

or Facebook message. Interviews were recorded using an audio recording device. After

the interview, I wrote debriefing memos that highlighted principal points brought up

during the discussion. These memos were consulted during fieldwork and analysis to

identify emergent theoretical categories.

I also distributed a short demographic survey at the start of the interview. The

survey collected information on the following variables: age, household income, highest

level of education completed, gender, sexual orientation, gender identity, color/race, and

party affiliation. The responses for color/race and party affiliation were self-reported,

while choices were provided for the other items.[13] The survey is presented in Appendix

2.1. The results are presented in Appendix 2.2.

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[13] The printed and distributed survey includes the gender-identity of *TransHomem*. This identity
was under active discussion by members of the community at the time of arrival. Later, the term
HomemTrans was adopted, instead.

I also gave respondents a small University fo Kansas Jayhawk pin as a token of appreciation for their time. I explained the origins of the Jayhawk and emphasized the abolitonist history of Kansas. This story was well received by activists who participate in a progressive social movement.

The interview questionnaire, available in English in Appendix 1.1 and Portuguese in Appendix 1.2, included items to measure the prioritization of agenda items from the perspective of different actors, intersectional differences within the movement, and strategies for achieving representation in policy. While I generally covered all topics in all interviews, I allowed for natural conversation and exchange, especially when discussing items of interest. I repeated some questions, and respondents, from earlier fieldwork in 2011. This step adds a temporal component and increases the generalizability and robustness of my findings.

The recorded audio time of interviews totaled over 2200 minutes. A trained Research Assistant transcribed interviews using naturalist technique to capture maximum detail of linguistic exchanges and utterances (Oliver, Serovich, and Mason 2005). When necessary, I consulted audio files to determine tone of responses.

I coded interview responses with the Computer-Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS) ATLAS.ti for Mac. I used a two step process of deductive and inductive coding techniques. First, a priori deductive codes were established via the interview questionnaire. Each segment of the interview questionnaire corresponded to a single analytical construct informed by the literature review and research questions of the project. After completing the interviews, I wrote debriefing memos in which I discussed themes and insights that were present in the interview. These memos

informed the first set of a priori codes from manifest content. An initial reading of

interview transcriptions was performed using open-coding techniques. Emergent codes

were then added to the codebook and appropriate revisions were made. A second cycle

of coding was conducted using the final codebook. The final codebook is available in

Appendix 3.0.

I also logged hundreds of hours of theory-driven participant observation in events,

meetings, demonstrations, and conferences throughout the year. Participant observation

throughout the fieldwork period allowed me to closely observe the internal dynamics and

processes related to the strategies utilized to achieve member-group representation

(della Porta and Rucht 2013; Haug, Rucht, and Teune 2013; Lichterman 2002).[14] During

the fieldwork process, I utilized a constant-comparative method of analysis (Lichterman

2002; Strauss and Corbin 1991) to conduct reflexive data collection and analysis as I

coded and observed in the field. In particular, these methods generated the initial

theoretical ideas on participatory institutions in Chapter 3 and discursive strategies

present in Chapter 4.

As a researcher, I maneuvered between both insider and outsider status in the

field. As I reflect below, my position as a gay identified male lent me insider status;

however, I ultimately attempted to remain "outside" of the realm of my observation by

limiting my involvement with the movement to professional (and not social) exchanges.

Overall, my approach favored observation to participation. I did not actively "participate"

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[14] While I was actively involved in movement activities, this work did not utilize participatory action research methods. This method integrates participants in multiple phases of the study, allowing for active participation in research design, data collection, and analysis (see Kemmis and McTaggart 2007; Whyte 1989).

during closed meetings, official proceedings, and forums where I maintained a
heightened interest in the interactions between actors. In more public moments, such as
protests and rallies, I participated in the role of activist. Near the end of my fieldwork, I
was honored to participate in the role of scholar-researcher and present talks at two
multi-day events.

Since I maintained residence in the city of São Paulo, I participated on a daily
basis in social movement and state activities. I followed particular policy initiatives,
institutional meetings, and social movement conflicts for an extended period of time. This
strategy lent continuity to my observations. Importantly, I participated in monthly
meetings, as well as extraordinary meetings, of the CMADS and the *Conselho Estadual
dos Direitos da População de Lésbicas, Gays, Bisexuais, Travestis, e Transexuais* (State
Council of the Rights of the LGBT Population). This allowed me to develop a strong
relationship with members of these institutions, in addition to frequent observation of
movement dynamics within these institutions.

I was fortunate to participate in a number of large-scale events. In March and
August, I participated in a regional and national meeting of the *Forúm Nacional de
Gestoras e Gestores LGBT* (FONGES; National Forum of LGBT Public Administrators) in
the cities of Goiania and Brasilia, respectively. In November, I participated in a state-wide
conference of the *Forúm Paulista LGBT* (Paulista Forum LGBT) that brought together
dozens of activists and state officials over a four-day period in Piracicaba, São Paulo. In
December, I participated in the *IX Encontro Regional Sudeste de Travestis e Transexuais*
(IX Southeastern Regional Meeting of *Travestis e transexuais*) in São Paulo. These

events were critical in exposing me to internal dynamics of the organized social

movement, beyond the purviews of small group settings.

For chapter 3, I utilize archival data related to the establishment of LGBT Councils

at the federal, state, and municipal level in Brazil. Municipal councils are identified

through consultation with quantitative data on municipalities collected by the *Instituto*

Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatistica (IBGE, Institute of Brazilian Geography and Statistics)

in 2009, 2011, and 2014. This data is supplemented and corrected by my own data

collection conducted as recently as May 2016. I consulted state and municipal legislative

databases, Diários Oficiais, and local activists and government representatives in certain

cases.

For chapter 4, I draw heavily on observation made in the city of São Paulo. I focus

on the events (and controversy) surrounding the 2014 São Paulo LGBT Pride Parade.

Thus, in addition to the research sites mentioned above, I also draw upon participant

observation fieldnotes related to meetings held at the *Associação da Parada de Orgulho*

GLBT de São Paulo (APOGLBT; Association of the GLBT Pride Parade of São Paulo).

These fieldnotes include open meetings sponsored by the APOGLBT to hear the

concerns of members of civil society and government sanctioned meetings by the

CMADS. They also include meetings of a closed group of *travesti e transexual* activists

who met regularly with the APOGLBT to plan for a trans exclusive car during the Parade. I

was one of two cisgender participants at these meetings (the other was a staff member

of the APOGLBT).

Additionally, this research is the fruit of fieldwork conducted in 2014. In 2014,

Brazil hosted the World Cup in June through July. This event presented a number of

logistical complications, but I do not believe it influenced observations or interview

responses. Also in 2014, Brazilians threw themselves into the Presidential Election

season from August until heading to the polls for a first time in September and a second

time in October. The latter event tinged the air with partisanship, a fact that is clearly

reflected in some of my interview responses.

As a feminist, I believe it is very important to address several questions related to

my role as a researcher. First and foremost, my position as a white, gay, male from the

United States marks my interactions with members of both the state and the social

movement in distinct ways. On one hand, these multiple axes of privilege lend a certain

degree of access and rapport, by default, with contacts. Many were extremely generous

with their time in helping me 'enter' the social movement milieu, and many were eager to

provide an interview with hopes of positive outcomes for the movement.

At the same time, my role as a researcher significantly complicated my

relationship with some, particularly members of the *travesti e transexual* segment of the

movement. The Brazilian movement is not unfamiliar to scholarly nor international

attention, especially when it comes to social science research. Unfortunately, there is a

general sense that this segment of the movement is sought out for research purposes,

treated as objects of study, and never witnesses a positive return for their contributions

to one's academic study. Thus, while I sought to oversample activists from the *travesti e*

transexual segment in my interviews, I ultimately obtained more data from participant

observation than from interviews, as even some of my closest contacts declined to sit

down for a formal conversation. According to Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw (2011), this

outcome is actually preferable in ethnography: "the distinctive procedure is to observe

and record naturally occuring talk and interaction. It may, indeed, be useful or essential

to interview members about the use and meaning of specific local terms and phrases, but

the researcher's deeper concern lies in the actual, situated use of those terms in ordinary

interaction."[15]

I would like to take a moment to reflect more on this dynamic. I would like to thank

several respondents, and even those who chose not to respond, who forced me to

confront this issue more squarely. As researchers, we often become absorbed in our

work and data collection, marching forward towards abstract/cirumcscribed goals without

sufficient pause. To those who demanded a *devolutiva* (a return): the production of this

work is at once humbling and hopeless. It is humbling because the stories and struggles

belong to you. It is hopeless because I, too, question the potential of pedantic texts and

academic degrees to solve your most urgent needs.

And those needs are very real. In a country where LGBTs face startling levels of

prejudice and violence, trans persons are particularly vulnerable. According to data

collected by the Trans Murder Monitoring Project, trans persons are targets of lethal

violence at a rate that is up to seven times higher than the US. From 2008-2014, the

organization estimates that 802 trans persons were murdered. In 2015, 113 trans persons

were murdered. In the first half of 2016, 132 trans persons were murdered. Brazil is the

most dangerous country in the world for trans persons.

I hope that this contribution, however small and insufficient, contributes to a larger

social project of acceptance, tolerance, respect, and dignity.

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[15] Digital copy, location: 564335 - 565671.

1.5 ROADMAP

Chapter 2 provides a comprehensive overview of the construction of the Brazilian

LGBT movement with attention to process of identity work and institutionalization. I begin

with a discussion of early constructions of non-normative sexuality, highlighting the

dichotomies of active and passive common to Latin America. Next, I discuss the

emergence of sexual identities that would preclude today's gay and lesbian identities.

Afterwards, I detail the process of mobilization during the first and second waves of LGBT

movement. Particular attention is paid to early experiences with organizing, State

engagement, patterns of institutionalization, and public policy. A final segment is

dedicated specifically to trans organizing, a topic underdeveloped in scholarly literature

on the Brazilian LGBT movement. Chapter 2 concludes by assessing contemporary

challenges to the movement, utilizing interview responses to support my arguments.

Chapter 3 Analyzes how institutionalization within State-apparatus provides an

important opportunity for meso-level identity work. Here, I focus on the role of

participatory policymaking institutions in Brazil. I begin with a discussion of the

theoretical and empirical arguments in favor of participatory institutions. Then, I discuss

the emergence of these institutions within the context of redemocratization. Next, I

provide empirical analysis of LGBT Councils in Brazil, presenting a new dataset of all

federal, state, and municipal councils as of May 2016. I analyze the institutional design of

these spaces and argue that strategic design choices provide opportunities for the

representation of trans identities within the LGBT movement and the State.

Chapter 4 analyzes how institutionalization of policy demands by the state and social movement complicates processes of identity work. I situate State-sponsored public within the discursive fields of identity work, arguing that institutionalization conditions micro-level activist environments. I introduce the concept of discursive strategies and tactics of negotiation and contention as identitiy work. Next, I analyze discursive through an in-depth case study of the 2014 São Paulo Parade for LGBT Pride. I argue that trans activists actively challenge discourses of homophobia through tactics of contention and negotiation with the LGBT movement.

Chapter 5 provides a conclusion to the dissertation. I summarize the main arguments and findings of the dissertation. Then, I highlight the theoretical contributions of the study to the field. I conclude with a discussion of limitations and suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 2: CONSTRUCTING THE BRAZILIAN "LGGGBT" MOVEMENT

"...Because at the beginning of this movement, who pressed "start" was the segment of gays, right? It was. So, this *machismo*, because you are gay, you don't stop being a man, right, and end up reproducing the same *machismo* outward. *[Right - behavior]* And, we had really difficult, really painful, really taxing clashes with the segment of gays - I'm talking about the lesbians. [*Historically?*] Yes, historically. So, later we had a fight, a real clash, very difficult within the segment of lesbians so that we could bring in the trans....because you have lesbians that we call 'uterus lesbians' - [imitation] 'if you don't have a pussy, you aren't a woman, man, and you won't militate in the lesbian movement'. [*Right]*. These divergences today are more subtle because it isn't politically correct to be *transfóbica* within a social movement that combats *homofobia*, or tries, anyway."[16]

A review of the history of the Brazilian LGBT movement illustrates many of the processes of collective identity formation. The movement has engaged in boundary formation, consciousness raising, and negotiation between identities and symbols from its inception.

Throughout, the movement has struggled with a multiplicity of identities and identity differences. These differences fracture primarily along the lines of gender, sexuality, and ideology. Gender and sexuality, in particular, require careful forms of hard identity work: these differences are intimately related to subject positions, divergent interests, and representation. Ideology is understood as a strategic identity: this

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[16] Translation by author; author's interview with *Regiane*, 10/15/14: "Sim, primeiro porque no começo esse movimento, quem deu start nele foi o segmento de gays né, foi isso. Então esse machismo, porque né, porque você é gay você não deixou de ser homem né, e você acaba reproduzindo o mesmo machismo por fora. [Certo, comportamento né.] Então a gente teve enfrentamentos muito difíceis, muito doloroso, muito desgastantes com o segmento de gays, eu estou falando de lésbicas. [Historicamente?] Isso historicamente. Aí depois a gente teve uma briga, um enfrentamento na verdade, muito difícil dentro do segmento de lésbicas para que trouxéssemos as trans... Porque tem lésbicas que a gente chama de lésbicas de útero, se você não tem útero, se você não tem buceta, você não é mulher, meu, não vai militar no movimento de lésbicas. [Certo.] Essas divergência hoje são mais sutis porque não é politicamente correto ser transfóbica, dentro de um movimento social que combate homofobia, ou tenta pelo menos."

difference is intimately related to preferences for strategies that include alliances with

political parties. Finally, consistent with ideas that activists' emotions and experiences

shape identity for empowerment (Bernstein 2008), personal disputes characterize the

movement as well.

In this chapter, I detail the following phases of the Brazilian LGBT movement: early

constructions of non-normative sexuality, the emergence of a movement, and the

challenges of HIV/AIDS and politicization. I conclude with an in depth discussion of the

history of trans organizing and original analysis of contemporary challenges to the

movement. Throughout, I draw attention to early forms of identity work within the activist

environment.

2.1 EARLY CONSTRUCTIONS OF NON-NORMATIVE SEXUALITY

In the early 20th century, Brazilian understandings of non-normative sexuality were

not structured around the logic of sexual orientation, or identity politics (such as gay,

lesbian, bisexual, or transgender). Rather, individuals developed and subscribed to

notions of subjectivity that were born out of sexual encounters. According to historian

Barry Reay (2010), the concept of sexual encounter provides an important location for

exploring manifestations of sexual subjectivity in historical perspective. A key point here

is that scholars must be cautious not to impute contemporary understandings of identity

in anachronistic ways. I provide a brief primer on the dominant understandings of both

masculine and feminine non-normative sexuality below.

The majority of work on early Brazilian constructions of masculine non-normative sexuality focuses on masculine homosexuality; that is, subjectivity that developed out of masculine same-sex encounters (Green 2000; Parker 1999; Parker 2009). As in much of Latin America, dichotomous sexual roles as *active* or *passive* (*ativo* or *passivo)* assumed in homosexual encounters strongly determined subsequent categorizations of self and subjectivity. These roles were born out of discursive constructions of heterosexual sexuality that tightly linked gender and sex, and strictly divided masculinity and femininity. As Parker (2009, 36) notes: "the man and woman, and by extension, the very concepts of masculinity and femininity, were thus defined as a kind of thesis and antithesis. With power invested entirely in his hands, the man was characterized in terms of his superiority, his strength, his virility, his activity, his potential for violence, and his legitimate use of force" (Parker 2009, 36).

The dualistic nature of these relationships established itself as the dominant discursive narrative that organized sexuality in early 20th century Brazil. First and foremost, the narrative prescribes the performance of sexual roles to its subjects. To be masculine, a man must be *the ativo* (active*)* in sexual relations. To be properly feminine, a woman must be *the passiva* (passive*)* partner in sexual relations. The emphasis is, of course, on the act of penetration performed by the masculine on the penetrated female. This logic was subsequently incorporated within the identity boundaries of early homosexual communities in Brazil.

In *Beneath the Equator: Cultures of Desire, Male Homosexuality, and Emerging Gay Communities in Brazil*, Richard G. Parker (1999) forcefully demonstrates that masculine same-sex encounters were structured around the symbolic *ativo/passivo*

divide. The performance of traditional gender roles during the encounter defines one's

masculinity, or lack thereof, casting one out as an effeminate subject. For two men, the

masculine partner is he who penetrates the other: he is assured masculinity by virtue of

performing the socially constructed role assigned to his sex and preserves his gender as

a virile male, potentially avoiding accusations that he has engaged in transgressive

homosexual behavior. Linguistically, the active subject remains a man: a real man, with

agency and dignity in a language rife with gendered pronouns, adjectives, and verbs

(Modesto 2006). He is referred to as the *bofe* (trade/hustler), and described as "those

with masculine appearance, self-identified as heterosexual, but who also did not turn

down sporadic sexual intercourse with some faggots" (Green, Trindade, and Barbosa da

Silva 2005, 36) or for monetary compensation (Green and Pólito 2006, 57).

On the contrary, the passive partner is denied masculinity and denigrated

linguistically. They are referred to in the feminine, as the *bicha* (faggot) or *viado* (doe) and

in the same manner as women (Parker 1999; Parker 2006). If their desire for sexual

encounters is announced unabashedly, they are considered the *bicha louca* (crazy

faggot, or flaming queen). Moreover, these dichotomies were further engrained with

class structures associated with the *ativo* and *passivo*. Men who assume the active role

are considered by some to be soldiers, military officials, businessmen, and artists. The

passive is written off as a criminal and indolent class (Green and Polito 2006, 76). These

early forms of the marginalization of femininity provide a glimpse into identity differences

based upon gender.

Within homosexual circles, several categories later emerged to create hierarchies

along the gradients of masculinity and femininity, (re)creating boundaries between

acceptable forms of same-sex behavior. One division created *dissumulados* (discrete) and *ostentivos* (ostentatious) homosexuals primarily on the degree of effeminacy displayed by the subject, and secondarily by the performative sexual act. These categorizations negotiated the cultural symbols of *ativo* and *passivo* and broke away from the rigid dichotomy. For example, the *dissimulado* could be *ativo* or *passivo* depending on gender expression. What was important was the outward display of masculinity and negation of femininity. However, the *ostentivo* continued to occupy an inferior position, frequently seen *afetado* (affected) with exuberant and feminine dress, gesture, and speech and interest in catwalks, fashion, and carnival (Green, Trindade, and Barbosa da Silva 2005, 114).

Less scholarly work is available on early homosexual identity among women. One important exception is Nadia Nogueira (2011) who looks at feminine sexual encounters and practices. In 1960s Rio de Janeiro, Nogueira (2011, 913) maps other spaces of bohemian life, where lesbian women encountered outside of Nestor Perlongher's (1987) gay ghetto of bars and clubs. These women met in artistic venues and street corners and developed a sexual identity and subjectivity strongly influenced by gendered dress. This led to the emergence of two categories of early lesbian identity: the *fanchonas* (butch) and *ladies* (femme). *Fanchonas* wore masculine suits and ties while *ladies* wore feminine flowing dresses. Similarly, Facchini's (2008) ethnographic work finds gendered performance through body, hair, dress, and gestures in São Paulo.

Thus, female homosexuality constructed collective identity partly through the negotiation of symbols (dress) associated with femininity and masculinity. At the same time, meso-level factors - the bohemian venues of Rio de Janeiro - conditioned the

construction of *fachonas* and *ladies*. While early male homosexuality established

boundaries in terms of performative acts, female sexuality established boundaries in

terms of performative dress.

2.2 BEGINNINGS OF IDENTITY AND THE EMERGENCE OF A MOVEMENT

Early constructions of homosexual identity were strongly influenced by the

boundaries imposed by traditional gender roles. Cultural changes in the 1960s,

influenced in part by the counter-culture movements of the United States, saw the

emergence of a new label: the *entendido* ("in the know").[17] According to Peter Fry (1982,

104) the *entendido* became part of the middle to upper class homosexual lexicon of the

era. Eventually, it became synonymous to gay and lesbian.

The new identity of *entendido* marked a shift from dichotomous and hierarchical

relationships to those characterized by symmetry and equality (Guimarães 1977). The

entendido signified people and places: homosexual men and women and the places to

meet around town. Thus, it represented a (re)negotiation of hitherto dominant individual

and collective understandings of identity.

In spite of this, both classificatory systems continued (and continue) to function in

juxtaposition in Brazil. The transition from a model of gender hierarchy, with *ativos* and

passivos, towards a model of gender equality, with *entendidos* and eventually gays and

lesbians, was complex. Fry (1982) suggests that the medical-psychological community

mediated this process through broad classification of homosexuality as an innate trait of

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[17] Definition by Green (1999, 179).

certain individuals, associated with mental illness. Henceforth, earlier categories were

flattened so that strongly gendered sexual roles mattered less in self-identification.

Green (1999) surmises that the hierarchical division remains more prevalent among lower

class Brazilians who do not have access to the egalitarian model.

At the same time, large scale processes of urbanization and development sparked

the growth of an urban middle class. Calls for equality, particularly in gender based

relations, influenced the political position of the new *entendido* identity. Early

articulations incorporated feminist demands to restructure gender roles and socialist

demands to restructure class roles. Thus, the construction of *entendido* also reflected a

desire to radically change societal relationships and hierarchies (Fry 1982; Simões and

Facchini 2009).

The most comprehensive treatment of sexuality in this time period is *Beyond*

Carnival: Male Homosexuality in Twentieth Century Brazil (Green 1999). A historian and

former activist of the Brazilian LGBT movement, James N. Green documents with great

detail the emergence of *entendido* spaces in the urban centers of Rio de Janeiro and

São Paulo.[18] As homosexual communities reached a certain critical mass, both cities

witnessed a proliferation of bars, nightclubs, parks, and beaches (such as Copcabana in

Rio de Janeiro) that catered exclusively to *entendidos*. Through processes of

consciousness raising common to collective identity, contact with other *entendidos* led

individuals to create new *turmas* (groups of friends) and adopt a decidedly homosexual

subculture full of drag, camp, and carnival style balls.

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[18] Green also tracks the continued presence of dyadic categorizations of identity, organized as *bicha/bofe* around the passive/active divide.

During this time, a nascent homosexual movement experimented with

consciousness raising through the development of a homophile press (Green 1999). The

first of these, *O Snobe*, largely reproduced the hierarchy of *bicha/bofe* present prior to

the *entendido* phase of identity. A later publication, *Gente Gay,* transitioned its language

towards the model of egalitarianism present in *entendido* identity. These publications

served as early forays into the mobilization and collective action of homosexuals as

politicized subjects. Identity for empowerment was under way in these texts: identities

were negotiated, consciousness was raised, and common causes and demands were

identified. Full scale mobilization would occur gradually over the next decade of the

1970s.

2.3 POLITICIZATION AND HIV/AIDS

Simões and Facchini (2009) divide the politicized LGBT movement into three

distinct waves, differentiated by organizational form and modes of engagement with the

State.[19] The first wave spanned from the end of the dictatorship during the *abertura*

política from 1978 to the early 1980s. It witnessed the foundation of the first successful

homosexual groups. The second wave spanned from redemocratization of the 1980s to

the *Assembleia Nacional Constituinte* (National Constituent Assembly) of 1987/1988. The

second wave coincided with the HIV/AIDS epidemic and established early parameters for

the institutionalization of the movement (Simões and Facchini 2009, 14). Finally, the third

wave spanned from the mid-1990s forward. It is defined by heavy partnership with the

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[19] Simões and Facchini (2009) credit this conceptualization to Green (2000) and Facchini (2005).

State, economic power of LGBTs, the proliferation of activist groups, the diversification of multiple identities as valid political subjects, and the consolidation of LGBT as a movement acronym.

The early homosexual movement began to politicize at the height of the Brazilian dictatorship in the mid 1970s. While a full review of this process is beyond the scope of this work, the following section details the processes of organizing and some of the key debates that punctuated the first and second waves. Particular attention is given to divisions that I believe constituted early forms of hard identity work. As mentioned in the introduction, these divisions map upon gender, sexuality, and ideology. Disagreements fragmented and fractured the movement, forcing actors and the movement into hard identity work.

One of the key challenges to early organizing was the macro-level political context of the military dictatorship. Following AI-5 in 1968, harsh measures were taken by the dictatorship to repress civil liberties of free speech, press, and free association in public spaces. On July 1, 1976, activists distributed flyers of meetings for the *União do Homossexual Brasileiro* (Union of the Brazilian Homosexuals) in an early attempt to organize in Rio de Janeiro (Green 1999). As Green (1999, 272) recounts, the event never commenced:

> "on July 4, as reporters gathered to cover the event, eight arrest vans and seventy men from the General Department of Special Investigation surrounded the museum. Individuals who might have approached the area to attend the meeting no doubt were discouraged by such a daunting police response. The gathering did not take place and the effort to mobilize Rio de Janeiro's homosexuals failed."

A second challenge to mobilization was micro and meso level ideological tension present in the organized left. The Brazilian Communist Party, characterized as sexist and homophobic, strongly resisted demands to incorporate other groups as valid political subjects within the logic of class struggle (Green 1999, 271; Trevisan 1986). Individuals also questioned the value of organizing a separate movement based upon sexual identity, given the political situation in Brazil at the time. Strategic identities formed in relation to these differences. The division between organizing independently on homosexual identity versus seeking alliances with the traditional left continued to undermine attempts at collective organization throughout the years (Green 1999).

Concrete actions were taken in 1978, a watershed year in the history of the Brazilian LGBT movement. Historical accounts mark the visit of Winston Leyland, a San Francisco based editor of the Gay Sunshine Press, as an important catalyst to mobilization (Green 1999; MacRae 1990; Trevisan 1986). Leyland held press conferences and shared news of the international gay rights movement. The visit encouraged Brazilian activists, particularly intellectuals, to undertake another attempt at mobilization through a homophile press. The result was the publication of *Lampião da Esquina*.[20]

One of the earliest publications of *Lampião* made strong calls for collective action. Homosexual Brazilians were encouraged to mobilize politically and "defend individuals against arbitrary antigay actions by the government and to fight homophobic attitudes in Brazilian society in general" (cited in Green 1999, 274). Thus was born *Somos*, the first successful homosexual rights group established in Brazil.

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[20] As Green (1999) notes, the name *Lampião da Esquina* (Lamp Post on the Corner) references the *entendido* street corner spaces for same-sex encounters, as well as Captain *Lampião*, a popular Robin Hoodesque outlaw in Brazilian history of folkloric proportions.

Somos was originally conceived as the consciousness-raising *Núcleo de Ação pelos Direitos dos Homossexuais* (Action Nucleus for Homosexuals' Rights). At the start, meetings had around 15-20 participants. In an early instance of identity work within the *Núcleo*, participants debated changing the name in favor of language that would capture both the expressive and political intentions of the group. The result was an early example of negotiation strategies in internal movement dynamics. Participants settled on *Somos: Grupo de Afirmação Homosexual,* combining the two leading propositions into one name. *Somos*, the Portuguese equivalent for "[We] *are*" or "[We] *exist*" was selected in homage of an early Argentine organization that was persecuted during the dirty war of the dictatorship (Green 1999, 275). According to Trevisan (1986, 208), *Somos* was also chosen because it was "expressive, affirmative, palindromic, [and] rich in semiotics." As an addendum, *Grupo de Afirmação Homosexual* (Group of Homosexual Affirmation) followed, with participants eschewing the usage of gay as overly U.S. based and not Brazilian, which organized around identity constructs of *entendido* and homosexual at the time.[21]

Somos quickly grew in size, remaining relatively fluid and inconsistent in membership. The constant entrance and exit of participants led to several challenges to the group. First, *Somos* underwent bureaucratization, creating a system that cycled through leadership positions and established multiple subgroups (MacRae 1990). Among these were subgroups for new participants, who were encouraged to engage in consciousness raising, and women, who were (and remained) a minority of the

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[21] While the organized movement would eventually adopt the international terminology of gay, this early debate foreshadowed similar contemporary discussions around the adoption of transgender.

participants. These meso-level strategies of identity work exacerbated identity

differences based upon gender, sexuality, and ideology.

According to MacRae (1990), the formation subgroups ultimately weakened ties

between participants. Subgroups became sites for ideological struggles that tore at the

heart of *Somos*. Two influential leaders disagreed over the principle mission of *Somos,*

breaking along the lines of individual anarchism and Trotskyist interpretations of Marxism

(Trevisan 1986). The anarchist camp preferred homosexual consciousness-raising work.

The other sought to incorporate the homosexual movement within the *Convergência*

Socialista (Socialist Convergence), a Brazilian affiliate of the International Workers'

League - Fourth International (MacRae 1990, 183).

Since *Somos* lacked official infrastructure, meetings were held at individual

residences. Clandestine meetings by the Trotskyist camp were discovered, leading

participants to label them as *beterrabas* (beets), for "being red and hidden underground"

(MacRae 1990, 191). Documents eventually surfaced demonstrating the clear intentions

(and directions) of this leadership to introduce fissures into *Somos* and align the group

definitively with the *Convergência Socialista* and the early PT (MacRae 1990, 207;

Trevisan 1986).

A definitive split fractured *Somos* on May 1, 1980, coinciding with the Labour Day

strikes organized in São Paulo. Anarchists voted to hold a picnic to commemorate the

day, challenging the order of capitalism by engaging in intentional disorder and leisure

(Trevisan 1986). The Trotskyists voted to participate in the demonstrations, ultimately

leading a contingent of fifty men and women under the banner *Comissão de*

Homossexuais Pro 1 de Maio (Comission of Homossexuals Pro May 1) (MacRae 1990).

Alliance with the workers' movement introduced significant shifts in the organizational structure of *Somos*. These meso-level changes restructured the boundaries of individual and collective identities within the LGBT movement. A logic of counter-cultural anarchism and the celebration of sexuality was replaced with class-struggles and the suppression of sexuality.

As João Silvério Trevisan (1986, 219) observed, "[*Somos*] lost its characteristic of instigation and was institutionalized."[22] The group shared a headquarters with the municipal office of the PT and shifted away from the mission of an autonomous homosexual rights movement. Even linguistic changes occurred, as members were required to replace indigenous cultural symbols that affirmed homosexual identity with those that hailed the comradery of the left (MacRae 1990; Trevisan 1986). What was once one's fellow *bicha* became one's *companheiro.* This change in identity talk at the micro-level would lead to a search for terms that adequately encompassed all members (MacRae 1990, 203). Participants were required to suppress, or dial down, expressions of homosexual identity, and effeminate homosexuals frequently reported discrimination and violence at the hands of the left (MacRae 1990; Trevisan 1986).

While ideological differences were at the heart of internal difficulties of *Somos*, identity differences were also prevalent. In particular, the group faced challenges

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[22] Recalling this process in *Devassos no Paraíso,* Trevisan (1986, 219-220) accuses the leftist movement of infiltrating, dismantling, and gutting the nascent homosexual movement: "mas o mais estranho é que, a partir do momento em que o Somos se esvaziou, os Trotskistas foram afrouxando o controle. Logo que sua hegemonia aparentemente se consolidou, o núcleo mais ativo dos Trotskistas foi se desfazendo e abandonando o Somos, com se seu objetivo tivesse sido mais tático do que estratégico, visando antes destruir as possibilidades dos adversários do que propriamente construir um movimento de luta homosexual."

incorporating women and blacks.[23] Despite early participants espousing feminist ideals as a way to advance and challenge the marginalization of homosexuals, few truly incorporated theory into praxis (MacRae 1990). Thus, the group witnessed reproductions of misogyny and sexism, especially in relations between men and women.

Early confrontations between gays and lesbians were influenced by beliefs in gender equality and egalitarianism (Pinafi 2011). According to Pinafi (2011), similar to the logic of Marxist class struggle, early militancy struggled against heteronormative society, ignoring intersectional differences of class, sex, gender, and ethnicity (Pinafi 2011, 903). In an instance of failed identity work, flattening these differences and emphasizing sameness between individual identities only served to reify the subordinate position of women within the movement. At the micro-level, linguistic tensions were common between gays and lesbians, with gays employing misogynistic terms such as *racha* (literally, split or divide) to refer to lesbians (MacRae 1990).

At the meso-level, lesbians were incorporated as a subgroup within SOMOS around 1979. MacRae (1990) considers the dual position of gender and sexuality within the early movement as an example of double militancy. In 1980, the *I Encontro de Grupos Homossexuais Organizados* (EGHO, Encounter of Organized Homosexual Groups) drew around seventy participants. One of the conference themes was "*a questão lésbica. o machismo entre homossexuais e papéis sexuais*" (the lesbian question: *machismo*

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[23] Much less has been written about early lesbian organizing. Pinafi (2011) refers to the scholarly process as "excavating history" buried underneath male homosexuality. Even less attention has been given to relations between gays and lesbians in early community (Pinafi 2011). Scholars surmise this is partially due to women relegated to private sphere and silence over female sexuality (see Marsiaj 2003). Similarly, there is a paucity of research on race within the movement, and this dissertation is no exception.

among homosexuals and sexual roles) - evidence of the salience of these tensions (Pinafi

2011, 904).

Later EGHOs witnessed instances of flagrant *machismo* propagated by prominent

gay activists.[24] For their part, these activists pressured female participants to declare

themselves as lesbians or homosexuals and accused them of separatism and wanting to

create an independent Lesbian Movement (Pinafi 2011, 905). Thus, the collective

movement engaged in hard identity work of (re)negotiating the boundaries of identity.

The emergence of a lesbian identity, based in difference, challenged the sameness

claimed by homosexuality. After an agreement was reached to include the identity of

lesbian in the name of future EGHO meetings, a prominent lesbian press wrote the

following:

> "The simple insertion of the word lesbian in the name of the meeting will not
> change the rooted and obtuse *machismo* that exists in the movement....either way,
> the first step has been taken."[25]

Eventually, lesbians separated and founded the *Grupo de Ação Lésbica-Feminista*

(GALF, Group of Feminist-Lesbian Action) in 1981. While independent lesbian groups

were on the rise in the 1990s, over the years they have suffered from organizational

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[24] Among them were João Antônio Mascarenhas and Luiz Mott of NGOs (see 2.3).

[25] Translation by author; original text: "A simples inserção da palavra lésbica no nome do encontro não vai mudra o machismo arraigado e obtuso existente no movimento. Nem mesmo a decisão de implementar-se a discussão de gênero vai trnasformar a atual situação de noite para o dia, principalmente porque, se homens e mulheres homossexuais que não percebem as diferenças de gênero discutem apenas entre si, o debate tende a acabar em pizza. Será preciso muita paciência e uma boa estratégia de veiculação de informações sobre o tema para efetivar uma real mudança. De qualquer forma, o primeiro passo foi dado (Pinafi 2011, 906 citing *Um Outro Olhar*, São Paulo, n. 21, verão outono 1994, 19.

instability and decline. Academics attribute the dissolution of amorous relationships

between founding members as a cause of instability (Almeida and Heilborn 2008;

Simões and Facchini 2009, 115). In São Paulo, lesbians hold an independent march (the

Caminhada de Mulheres Lésbicas e Bissexuais de São Paulo) the day before the city-

wide LGBT Parade. In 2016, the *Caminhada* commemorated its 14th edition; in 2014,

there was active discussion over the incorporation of trans women in the political

manifesto of the *Caminhada*, leading to a split within the directorate and two separate

marches that met halfway through the city (Fieldnotes).

2.3 POLITICIZATION & HIV/AIDS

In the 1980s, the advent of HIV/AIDS and redemocratization in Brazil significantly

changed the macro-level of the activist environment. Both of these factors presented

new challenges and opportunities to the Brazilian movement. The movement would face

significant changes in the meso-level. Pre-existing organizations and leadership

succumbed to the disease and new organizations and leadership pursued

institutionalization within the redemocratizing state.

As part of this process, the movement pursued identity as a goal (Bernstein 2008)

and redrew the boundaries of individual and collective identity. This entailed a strategy of

sameness to external audiences and difference from internal audiences. While this form

of identity work may have achieved important political gains for gays (and lesbians), it

exacerbated tensions between gay and *travesti* identities (see Chapter 2.4).

The first confirmed cases of HIV/AIDS arrived in Brazil as early as 1982, primarily through contact with New York City. The early reaction, both by the government and homosexual militants, was that HIV/AIDS was a North American illness, restricted to middle to upper class gay men (Trevisan 1986). There was little action taken in the early years of the epidemic. Inertia characterized responses.

By 1983, the high fashion designer Markito contracted the disease and newspaper coverage dispelled those myths. According to Trevisan (1986), at the start of 1985 at least one new case was reported per day, with four deaths each week. By the end of winter (roughly August), 400 cases and 200 deaths were registered in Brazil, with three-quarters located in São Paulo. The epidemiological profile of early cases would rapidly change: 79% of the cases in 1985 were among educated men who had sex with men, and 78% of cases in 1995 occurred within populations that were illiterate or with elementary education (Biehl 2004, 107). Later reports confirmed a pattern of feminization and impoverishment of new HIV/AIDS infections.

Neither the Brazilian government nor the homosexual movement would act definitively to stem the early tide of HIV/AIDS. Biehl (2004, 107) attributes this fact to widespread "panic, fear, and discrimination." Preexisting organizations, such as *Somos*, claimed insufficient resources to respond, citing the need to focus on organizational growth (identity for empowerment) before other priorities (Trevisan 1986). Other groups distanced themselves from HIV/AIDS because of the stigmatized nature of the illness and strategic decisions to pursue respectability politics (Simões and Facchini 2009). The period from 1985 to 1989 was characterized by voluntary associations that sprung up to

take care of patients and provide services around urban areas, with little to no financial

assistance from national or international sources (Galvão 2000)

Academic accounts of the 1980s movement are mixed. On one hand, scholars

credit the AIDS movement with effective mobilization of resource rich gay men in urban

areas (Galvão 2000; Parker 2009). These activists mobilized behind a human rights

frame and exploited opportunities in redemocratization to press for action from outside

and inside state governments, particularly in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro (Rich 2013).

On the other hand, there was a significant decline in the number of homosexual groups

and movement activity from 1981-1991 (Simões and Facchini 2009). I attribute these

competing interpretations to an early split within movement goals: while certainly not

mutually exclusive, one segment chose to focus primarily on HIV/AIDS activism and

another segment chose to focus on rights based activism. This division persists to this

day.

Rights-based homosexual groups that were active during this period developed

meso-level organizational structures and goals that were distinct from the earlier activism

of the 1970s. Rather than focusing on counter-cultural claims and ideological struggles,

new groups engaged institutional politics, taking advantage of opportunities presented

by redemocratization and constitutional reform. Following the examples of *Grupo Gay da*

Bahia in Salvador (GGB; Gay Group of Bahia), *Triângulo Rosa* (Pink Triangle) and Atobá in

Rio de Janeiro, homosexual activists began to formalize militancy through direct

engagement with the state, rights based claims and relationships with international NGOs

(de la Dehesa 2010, Simões and Facchini 2009). Advocacy efforts sought to reduce

violence against LGBTs, combat discrimination, and assure civil and human rights. GGB,

for their part, kept the earliest records of hate crimes in the country through clippings of newspaper articles reporting violence against LGBTs. From 1984 to 1991, no fewer than four national conferences for the homosexual movement were held, with new goals of gay marriage, combating violence, religious discrimination, positive treatment of homosexuality, and combating HIV/AIDS (Simões and Facchini 2009).

These organizations also acquired the earliest instances of state recognition of their status as legitimate civil society organizations, with the *GGB* in 1983 and *Triângulo Rosa* in 1985. In 1981, the *GGB* put forward a proposal to remove homosexuality from the list of illnesses in the national DSM, which would be approved in 1985 (Simões and Facchini 2009, 121). Similarly, both groups lobbied for the inclusion of sexual orientation, originally as *opção sexual* (sexual option), as a protected class in the new Constitution, reflecting proposals approved during the first EGHO. In 1987, João Antônio Mascarenhas of *Triângulo Rosa* made history as the first openly gay man representing a homosexual group to enter the Chamber of Deputies and lobby on behalf of this goal at the Constituent Assembly. Ultimately, sexual orientation was not included as a protected class in the federal Constitution, but several state and municipal governments later passed nondiscrimination policies.

The debate over sexual option versus sexual orientation marked an important transition in the movement's construction of collective identity: the language of *opção* was common within homosexual circles, as it ascribed temporary identity to persons based upon sexual practices. Activists who championed the use of sexual orientation did so because it made identity and sexuality concrete and fixed (Simões and Facchini 2009). As I relate in the section on trans organizing, this choice also stemmed from a

desire to distance gay men from stigmatized *travesti* identities, pursuing early lines of assimilationist and respectability politics. Thus, this instance of hard identity work chose to emphasize sameness with external audiences and redraw boundaries of identities that were considered constitutive of the movement at the time.

Thus, the confluence of redemocratization and HIV/AIDS in the 80s fundamentally changed the direction of the LGBT movement. As Trevisan (1986) wrote, even the epidemic of HIV/AIDS offered a silver lining: the visibility afforded by the illness, while not always positive, catapulted (homo)sexuality and desire into the national spotlight. And certainly, the process of redemocratization stimulated the emergence of a rights-based movement and engagement with the State.

In the 1990s, the HIV/AIDS movement also pioneered the patterns of state institutionalization to be pursued by the rights-based movement. At this time, activists actively engaged with the State through modes of cooperation (Biehl 2004). The State promoted vitality of civil society organizations through financial funding and the establishment of participatory spaces (Rich 2013). Thus, since the 1990s, the state influenced the structure and logic of meso-level spaces.

The decade of the 90s was marked by national and international intervention as a response to the HIV/AIDS epidemic in Brazil. In 1992, the World Bank and WHO loaned money that would finance the response to the crisis. The $250 million package created the National AIDS Program and stimulated a response that would tightly link together civil society and the State (Biehl 2004; Rich 2013). In 1996, the Cardoso government, with José Serra (PSDB) at the helm of the Ministry of Health, approved the free distribution of HIV/AIDS medication and treatment through the national health service (Biehl 2004, 105).

The state response to HIV/AIDS is seen as an international success story of government intervention and state and civil society relations. Strong actions stemmed the tide of HIV/AIDS and created a public health policy sector for LGBTs. Scholars consider this sector more consolidated, transversal, intersectorial and pioneering than other policy areas (Mello et. al. 2011).

Notably, the flow of funds from the 1992 loan altered patterns of engagement with the state, primarily through the establishment of meso-level organizations tied to the state. Activists shifted from antagonism and confrontation to cooperation and engagement with the State (Biehl 2004). The disbursement of federal funds to civil society organizations led to an explosion in the sheer number of groups working on HIV/AIDS and LGBT related activities. Scholars estimate that around 50 such organizations existed at the tail end of the 1980s. By 1993, this number rose to 120, by 1999, it was 480; by 2002, it was 508; and by 2009, it was 695 (Galvão 2000; Biehl 2004; Rich 2013, 16).

Accordingly, resources allocated to HIV/AIDS projects have been used to establish infrastructure and achieve organizational stability. In an overview of this policy area, Rich (2013, 10) writes that "between 1999 and 2008, the Brazilian government funded an astounding 4,108 civil society AIDS projects, with consistent allocations of funding across years." Many of these funds also promote more general LGBT related activities and are responsible for increased levels of citizen participation in movement activities (Green 2000). For example, the nongovernmental organization Casvi, located in Piracicaba, São Paulo, and Asgattas, a trans specific group in Ribeirão Preto, São Paulo, sustain activities through funds from HIV/AIDS prevention projects, but participate and

sponsor advocacy activities on behalf of the LGBT community (Fieldnotes). In 2014, Casvi

hosted the Forúm Paulista LGBT, a three-day state meeting of LGBT groups.

The HIV/AIDS policy experience also structured the institutionalization of civil

society and State. The model established forms of engagement and modes of

participation between the two arenas. Activists exploited opportunities present in the

new Constitution that established health as a fundamental right for all (Biehl 2004). In

addition to federal funding of NGOs, Rich (2013, 2) notes the new framework provided

"access to new channels for policy collaboration."

These new channels are made up of participatory institutions, such as municipal

and state *Conselhos de Saúde* (Health Councils). They also include dense networks of

municipal, state, and federal level activists and bureaucrats who are directly involved in

public policy. Civil society organizations offer new strategic mechanisms for guaranteeing

compliance, oversight, and transparency in the design and implementation of HIV/AIDS

public policy (Rich 2013). Rich (2013) labels this new sector of policymakers as *activist*

bureaucrats, drawing attention to the tight links between members of civil society

organizations and the State.

In my experience, activist bureaucrats populate the contemporary LGBT rights

movement as well, with many prominent faces shifting frequently between roles inside

and outside of the State. This change, initiated with the AIDS program, coincides with the

broader structural change in the Brazilian State of what Biehl (2014, 107) considers "a

shift...from a crumbling welfare state to an activist state." While Rich analyzes the role of

activists in administering and participating in the policy arena, no work examines the

effects of State policy on activists' identity nor the movements' collective identity.

The third wave of movement activity has brought with it new challenges to the movement, particularly in the form of hard work related to gender-based and sexuality-based identity differences. Earlier activists struggled with the construction of identity for empowerment - the establishment of identity boundaries, homosexual positive consciousness raising, negotiation of emergent gay and lesbian identities, and ideological differences between leadership. Contemporary activists, for their part, have been wading in what Regina Facchini (2005) terms an "alphabet soup" of politicized subject identities.

During the 1990s, the rights movement began to regain traction through campaigns advocating pride, visibility, and an end to homophobic violence. But these changes compromised the organization of the movement, as differences in tactics, goals, and identity threatened to dissolve the movement into an "alphabet soup" of actors (Facchini 2005). Disagreements involve central questions of hard identity work: the nature of political subjectivities based upon sexual identity, the role of hierarchical national organizations in the articulation of movement interests, the merit of autonomy vs. engagement with political parties and the state, and the allocation of resources, both monetary and political.

Indeed, in line with identity dilemmas, the Brazilian movement has witnessed a proliferation of identities with claims to political legitimacy. The movement has addressed these claims by way of boundary expansion and negotiation of cultural symbols (Taylor and Whittier 1992), whilst maintaining a tenuous movement based upon shared collective identity. In a survey of the changes in official acronyms used in official movement

meetings over the years, Simões and Facchini (2009) leave no doubt as to the aqueous nature of sexual identity politics.

The movement referred to itself as the *Movimento Homosexual Brasileiro* (MHB; Brazilian Homosexual Movement) until 1992. While homosexual identity was argued to include both male and female homosexualities, lesbians pressured for the inclusion of the term lesbian in the 1993 national meeting. By 1995, the language of MHB had been exchanged with "gays and lesbians". In the same year, the nation-wide network and federal lobby organization Associação Brasileira de Gays, Lésbicas, e *Travestis* (ABGLT; Brazilian Association of Gays, Lesbians, and *Travestis*) was founded. The name was later amended to read Gays, Lésbicas, Bissexuais, *Travestis*, e Transexuais while maintaining the same acronym of ABGLT.

By 1997, national meetings officially included *travestis* in the title along with gays and lesbians. More recently, in 2005 the Brazilian Meeting of Gays, Lesbians, and Transgenders agreed to include bisexuals. The "T" identity would also be further subdivided to designate *travestis*, transexuals, and transgenders. In the same year, national networks were established for bisexual and trans identities.

It was not until 2008 that the Brazilian movement adopted the international norm of "LGBT." The decision coincided with the first national conference for LGBTs sponsored by the federal government. As Simões and Facchini (2009) rightly point out, the acronyms utilized by the contemporary movement assume multiple forms and reflect the changing and fluid nature of identity. At times, one observes LGBTT, GLBT, TLGB, LGBTQI, and so on, as the movement stirs the letters of the alphabet soup in efforts to remain inclusive and cohesive.

An analytical look of this experience suggests that the Brazilian LGBT movement has turned to language as a way to address the hard identity work of representation. Indeed, the movement expands the boundaries and negotiates the cultural content of the collective identity by (re)positioning and (re)structuring the letters of the alphabet soup. The changes over the years reflect awareness of differences between gender-based and sexuality-based identities, as well as sameness and a desire to maintain a collective movement.

2.4 TRANS ORGANIZING IN BRAZIL

"I think the big *boom* of the moment, let's call it this, is the empowerment of *pessoas TTs: travestis e transexuais*. If we were to do a retrospective of the LGBT movement and its victories, we would see that the *travesti e transexual* movement practically did not exist in the context of demands of the movement. The [trans women] were just *figures* there, at times even symbolic, or whatever the case, [but] they didn't have a voice. So, I think that the big differential of this new movement is the empowerment of *pessoas T*. We've already seen today...public administrators, we see activists - and activists with content - we see *transexual* and *travesti* professionals that studied and have a degree. We have innumerous examples over there in São Paulo, Daniela Andrade, for example, who has brought us this empowerment and shown us the LGBT movement from another viewpoint. I think it's a new challenge. I tend to say that it is our moment, with all respect to the LGB movement, but I think that it is our turn to guarantee that which was [already] guaranteed to the LGB movement...and that, sadly, didn't reach us. Because all of the policies that have been created until today were thinking about the LGB population, like marriage equality, the struggle....even the struggle against *homofobia* itself! So, *as pessoas TTs* possess particularities that still need to be considered."[26]

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[26] Author's interview with *Cibele*, 10/16/14: "Eu acho aque o grande boom do momento, vamos falar assim, é o empoderamento das pessoas TTs *travestitravestis* e transexuais, se a gente for fazer um retrocesso do movimento LGBT e das conquistas a gente vai ver que o movimento *travesti* e transexual ele praticamente não existia no contexto das reivindicações, do próprio movimento né, elas eram figuras ali, às vezes até simbólicas ou sei lá o que, não tinham uma voz, então eu acho que o grande diferencial desse novo movimento é o empoderamento das pessoas T, a gente já viu hoje é... gestoras, a gente vê militantes, e militantes com conteúdo, a

The question of identity complicates the political mobilization of *travestis e transexuais*. Today, there is a general consensus on the meaning of *travesti e transexual* identities as political identities. However, this has not always been the case.

When the Brazilian gay and lesbian movement crystallized in 1970s as the MHB, the term *travesti* did not designate and signify a political identity, nor a political subject. Rather, *travesti* was used in parlance to signify a temporary condition, one assumed by effeminate men (the *bichas*) during the balls of Carnaval, as they donned extravagant outfits and embraced a more feminine identity (Costa 2010; Green 2000). These practices, of course, were prohibited to their masculine counterparts (the *bofe*).

As the concept of gay identity gradually took hold in Brazil, the nascent MHB worked to distance itself from these digressions of gender norms, as well as earlier categorizations of homosexual identity. The original dichotomy of *bofe* and *bicha* was replaced by *homosexual* and *travesti*. Yet the classificatory stigma remained: where the *bicha* was the effeminate, passive partner in male same-sex sexual relations, the *travesti* signified feminine extravagance denied by a new aesthetics of gay masculinity (Carvalho and Carrara 2013).

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gente vê profissionais transexuais e *travestis* que estudaram, que tem uma formação a gente tem inúmeros exemplos lá em São Paulo, a Daniela Andrade, por exemplo, que tem trazido para a gente esse empoderamento e tem mostrado o movimento LGBT através de uma outra ótica, eu acho que é um novo desafio. Eu costumo dizer que é o nosso momento, com todo o respeito ao movimento LGB mas eu acho que é a nossa vez de garantir aquilo que foi garantido para o movimento LGB e que, infelizmente, nós não fomos alcançadas porque que todas as políticas que foram criadas até hoje, foi pensando na população LGB... que é o casamento igualitário, a luta... até a luta contra a própria homofobia, então as pessoas TTs possuem particularidades que elas ainda precisam ser contempladas."

This process of boundary construction came to a head during the debates of the 1988 Constitution. Attempts to include sexual orientation as a protected category simultaneously lauded the respectable homosexual and disqualified *travestis* as a 'polluted' homosexual drawn to drugs, theft, and sex work. Gay rights activists attempted to distance gay identity and collective MHB identity from the *travesti* identity. Thus, at a critical juncture in Brazilian history, strategic choices led to the erasure of trans identities from the collective movement. Faced with the State as an external audience, gay activists chose to emphasize their difference from *travestis* and sameness to the respectable heterosexual citizen.

Interestingly, identity politics of the 1990s shifted these processes, making possible, according to Carvalho and Carrara (2013), the emergence of *travesti* as a distinct political identity. The logic of collective identity expanded boundaries for gays and lesbians to associate themselves politically with *travestis*, while maintaining a distinct position of *difference* in society. In other words, the new political identity *travesti* benefited gay men who actively sought to (re)negotiate the cultural symbols of gay identity without the subversive, digressive, and stigmatized notion of *travesti*.

Hence, *travesti e transexual* activism in Brazil is relatively young compared to gay and lesbian counterparts. Scholars and activists generally date the emergence of a *travesti* specific movement to the early 1990s. This coincides with the founding of *Associação de Travestis e Liberados* (ASTRAL; Association of *Travestis* and Liberateds) in Rio de Janeiro (Carvalho and Carrara 2013). ASTRAL focused on confronting police violence that was, and still is, prevalent against *travesti* women on the streets. Subsequently, the first transsexual specific organization was the *Grupo Brasileiro de*

Transexuais (GBT; Brazilian Group of Transsexuals) in 1995; however, scholars date the

prevalence of *transexual* identity somewhere in the early 2000s.

Organizational patterns for *travestis e transexuais* generally mirror those

experienced by gays and lesbians. The trans community mobilized out of response to

police violence and prostitution (such as in the case of ASTRAL), or through participation

in preexisting non-governmental organizations (Carvalho and Carrara 2013). The majority

of these NGOs were connected to the MHB in response to the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Policy

responses to HIV/AIDS by the Brazilian state constructed *travestis* (and subsequently,

transexuais) as legitimate political subjects and, henceforth, targets of public policy.

Experiences within HIV/AIDS organizations brought a number of political benefits

to *travestis e transexuais*. Trans activists adopted identity talk at the micro-level that

included discourses of advocacy, empowerment, and peer education (Carvalho and

Carrara 2013). Trans activists have also been actively renegotiating the cultural and

discursive symbols attached to a highly stigmatized identity. As part of the construction

of identity as goal (Bernstein 2008), *travesti* activists act within the discursive field to

replace masculine-gendered language and pronouns (as in *o travesti*) with feminine-

gendered language and pronouns (as in *a travesti)*. This discursive identity work is also

done to remove highly derogatory terms such as *o traveco* (the tranny) from the

discursive field.[27]

As *travestis e transexuais* mobilized, political demands expanded beyond

HIV/AIDS policy to include nondiscrimination, access to expansive healthcare, access to

education, among others. The advent of medical technology opened up new frontiers for

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[27] These observations were made during fieldwork.

corporal modification that responded to demands for hormonetherapy and sexual

reassignment surgery, both part of the *processo transexualizador* (transexualization

process) supported by the Brazilian state.

Discrimination faced within the collective movement spaces pushed *travestis e*

transexuais to organize in independent spaces, as well. Trans activists felt their presence

in collective organizations was merely a way for gays to legitimize prevention activities

and extract resources from the State, without formally including them in the process

(Carvalho and Carrara 2013). Notably, the VIII Encontro Brasileiro de Gays e Lésbicas in

1995 was the first time a *travesti* organization was invited to participate in an official

movement function. The ABGLT was founded at the same conference with 31 member

groups. Today, the ABGLT is by far the largest and most influential LGBT network in

Brazil, connecting hundreds of member groups nationwide (Carvalho and Carrara 2013).

However, it would be another fifteen years before a *travesti* would occupy an executive

position in the ABGLT. This marked a meso-level shift that sought to extend leadership

positions to each constituency of the movement; a similar measure was taken within the

APOGLBT.

Today, at the meso-level, *travestis e transexuais* continue to participate in

collective LGBT movement spaces and individual identity spaces. A number of important

nationwide networks for *travesti e transexual* groups exist, among them, the *Articulação*

*Nacional de Travestis, Transexuais, e Transgênero*s (ANTRA; National Articulation for

Travestis, Transsexuals, and Transgenders) and *RedTrans* (National Network of Trans

Persons). ANTRA was founded in 2000 in Curitiba, Paraná and includes more than 80

subnational groups; RedTrans emerged in 2009 out of internal discord in ANTRA; as of

2011, RedTrans included 35 subnational groups and was part of REDLACTRANS, a Latin American network of trans organizations.

The trans movement has also made strides in incorporating transmasculine identities and Afro-Brazilian identities. Most recently, the *Instituto Brasileiro de Transmasculinidade* (IBRAT; Brazilian Institute of Transmasculinity) was founded in 2013. It is the first nationwide network for trans men. IBRAT has established state level organizations across Brazil. Similarly, in 2015, the *Forúm Nacional de Pessoas Trans Negros e Negras* (FONATRANS; Forum National Forum of Trans Black Persons) held its first national meeting with the theme "Constructing Policy, Public and Communitarian." In 2016, the second national meeting organized under the theme "Deconstructing Racism and Transphobia."[28]

2.5 CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES

In Brazil, the early homosexual movement struggled to form a cohesive movement because of ideological differences. Later, the proliferation of individual identities and the claims for political recognition led scholars to view the movement as a fragmented "alphabet soup." What challenges does the contemporary LGBT movement face as it organizes into the 21st century?

In my interviews, I posed several questions on the matter to respondents:[29] I asked respondents to consider what are the principal points of divergence within the

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[28] Translation by author; original text "Construindo Políticas Públicas e Comunitarias" and "Desconstruindo o Racismo e a Transfobia."
[29] See Appendix 1.2 for original language in Portuguese.

LGBT movement today, and if they are different from the past. Furthermore, I asked them

to think about their own organizations, and how they handle differences due to identity,

strategy, and tactics. For the most part, responses focused on the first question and,

since it was the last prompt of questions of the interview, engaged me in a lively

discussion about some of the conflicts current to the movement.

Three themes were present in answers to these questions: partisanship, identity

(gender and sexuality), and ego. Each of these responses resonates strongly with the

history and development of the Brazilian LGBT movement. A discussion of each with

examples is presented below.

Partisanship matches closely to the ideological differences of the earlier

movement, altering only slightly to reflect new ideological disagreements. *Somos* was

characterized by disagreement over the ideologies of individual anarchism and

Trostkyism, as well as a split over strategies of engagement with political parties. The

contemporary movement has largely moved beyond this strategic division. The question

is no longer whether to engage political parties, but which party to engage? The most

common division here is between affiliation with the PT and PSDB, though other parties

certainly figure in based on municipal and regional particularities.

Respondents note that partisanship undermines movement cooperation,

especially in the public policy arena. Members of one party are loathe to ascribe policy

successes to members of another party. In São Paulo, this political game of partisan

credit is difficult to maintain. To the observer, it is ironic. In one of the most heavily

disputed examples, the pioneering state level anti-discrimination law 10.948 was

sanctioned by then Governor José Serra (PSDB). However, the law was written and

pushed through state legislature by the former state deputy Renato Simões (PT). Both

parties lay claim to the anti-discrimination law, while downplaying the actions,

commitment, and sincerity of the other party to the LGBT cause.

In another example, the municipality of Taboão da Serra inaugurated a LGBT

bureaucratic agency in 2014. Once again, a PSDB government established the institution

and a PSDB party affiliate occupies the chair. However, a PT led NGO, *Diversitas*, lays

claim to the pressure tactics and advocacy that forced the government to create the

agency.

While preferring not to directly enter in the political tussle, a local policymaker

captured what he considered to be opportunistic ideological struggles within the logic of

partisanship:

"But there are a lot of parties that much more prefer to make a movement, create confusion, create all of these splits and conflicts of ideas, so that [the party] becomes visible. We see this a lot."[30]

The thinly veiled swipes, of course, are directed at the PT affiliated *Diversitas*, who

presented the PSDB mayor with a list of demands, including the creation of the

bureaucratic institution and a local LGBT policy council. Thus, while the conflict here also

echoes State-civil society struggles, it is only salient because of partisan divisions that

characterize these arenas. Thus, partisanship constitutes an additional layer of identity in

the movement, raising the need at times for identity work.

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[30] Author's interview with *Diego*, 12/19/14: "mas tem muito partido que ele prefere muito mais fazer um movimento, ele criar todo um transtorno, criar todo esse racha e esse conflito de ideias, para ele ficar visível, a gente vê muito isso."

Early academic accounts of the LGBT movement situated the issue squarely within the domain of the PT (De la Dehesa 2010; Marsiaj 2006; Schulenberg 2010). While it is true that the PT was a frontrunner in *levantando a bandeira* (raising the flag) of the LGBT movement, that no longer seems to be the case. Rather, at least in the state of São Paulo, LGBT issues are addressed by all major parties, including the PT, PSDB, PMDB, PV, and PCdoB, among others. These parties house subgroups, committees, or action centers for LGBTs, such as the *Núcleo LGBT PT* (PT LGBT Center), *Diversidade Tucana* (Tucan Diversity; PSDB) and *PV Diversidade* (PV Diversity; PV).

Divergences of identity resonate with the alphabet soup of actors that emerged in the 1990s. The principal lines of division are gender-based and sexuality-based. During 2014, the primary conflict was between trans identities and gay identities.

Gender and sexuality based identity conflicts become more salient as advocacy efforts intensify by different individual identities. This is particularly the case for trans identities that seek positive representation and protoganism within the collective LGBT movement. In the words of a prominent *mulher transexual* activist, who maintains a position of independence relative to the LGBT movement: "within the LGBT movement, the [principal point of] divergence is that trans people want to have [their] turn and [their] voice."[31]

As one *mulher transexual* activist argued to me, there is a widespread perception that gay identities have been at the helm of power of the movement since its inception.[32]

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[31] Author's interview with *Silvia,* 11/02/14: "Dentro do movimento LGBT a divergência é que as pessoas trans querem ter vez e voz."

[32] This claim is also made by Brazilian scholars of the movement (see Simões and Facchini 2009).

When asked to identify the current point of divergence within the movement, she did not

hesitate to cite these gender-based and sexuality-based identity differences. The

response references the historical identity work of negotiation that characterized gay-

trans relations throughout the Brazilian movement. To quote at length:

> "This is the biggest contradiction within the movement, this is the biggest struggle, of people that say that they think the movement is gay. The movement *was* gay. Today, it is no longer [gay]. [The movement] hasn't been [gay] in years. The movement is LGBT. And there are these dethroned kings of the movement that don't accept this. They think they can maintain a gay hierarchy. The gay hierarchy is over. It has been for a long time, no? Today, the hierarchy is LGBT and it has to include all of the letters. Today, this is the biggest fight because these dethroned kings want to say that we [trans] are just a subgroup within homosexuality. Tsk tsk tsk...[33]

Indeed, this conflict penetrates identity specific spaces, as well. In an example of

boundary contention, independent lesbian spaces struggle with incorporating trans

women. More radical lesbians refuse to acknowledge the gender identity of trans

women. These *RadFem* members question the legitimacy and authenticity of *mulheres*

transexuais as *mulheres* (women). They consider the presence of trans women in lesbian

spaces as equivalent to the presence of patriarchy. An older lesbian activist related one

such incident that occurred at the *Coletivo de Lésbicas-Feministas* (CFL; Collective of

Lesbian-Feminists) in our interview:

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[33] Author's interview with *Sabrina*, 09/30/14: "Essa é a maior contradição dentro do movimento, essa é a maior luta, de pessoas que falam que acham que o movimento é gay, o movimento foi gay. Hoje em dia ele não é mais. Ele não é há muitos anos, o movimento é LGBT.E existem esse reis destronados do movimento, que não aceitam isso. Que eles acham que vão conseguir manter a hierarquia gay... A hierarquia gay acabou. Há muito tempo, né? Hoje em dia a hierarquia é LGBT, tem que contemplar todas as siglas, hoje em dia é a maior briga, porque esses reis destronados querem falar que nós somos um subgrupo dentro da homossexualidade... Tsc, tsc, tsc..."

"On August 29, we commemorated the Day of Lesbian Visibility at the Union of Women, which is an NGO that houses the CFL. [We] proposed a soiree in honor of...someone arrived, who until then I'll say it this way because I discovered it was "she," but someone arrived, and looking at him, it was a man with a beard, curly hair, skirt, flip-flops and a tiny shirt, but [he] had a beard. He entered and joined us and immediately a group of these who think [this way] questioned what a man was doing there. And he said, 'I'm not a man, I'm a woman.' When she said this, he was nearly lynched for half a dozen saying that it was a lie, that 'that' could not be a woman. And the soiree turned into a circle of offenses, accusations, and defenses of those who thought that [she] was absurd, to the point of getting up and leaving. So, the proposal was: this movement has to sit and discuss gender-identity, respect, and *transfobia*. This happened on August 29 of this year, in 2014."[34]

Finally, ego refers to individualized differences and personalized conflicts that tear at the collective fabric of the social movement. They remind us of micro-level variables related to activists' experiences, personalities, and emotions. One need not move far beyond the original schism between two of the leaders of *Somos* in the 1970s to capture the essence of this conflict. Personalities ring large, resources are limited, and meaningful leadership positions are few and far between. Beyond personal conflicts, generational divisions are common. Newer activists at times resent older activists for

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[34] Author's interview with *Regiane*, 10/15/14: "No dia 29 de agosto se comemora o Dia da Visibilidade Lésbica na União de mulheres que é uma ONG, onde o CFL fica lá dentro, propôs um sarau em homenagem a palavra inaudível 1:11:04 chegou uma pessoa, que até então eu vou falar dessa forma porque eu descobri que era ela, mas chegou uma pessoa olhando para ele era um homem de barba, cabelo todo cacheado, saia, havaianas e mini blusa, mas tinha barba, ele entrou e se juntou a nós e imediatamente um grupo dessas que pensam isso questionou o que um homem estava fazendo ali e ele disse "eu não sou homem, eu sou mulher" quando ela disse isso ela quase foi linchada por meia dúzia, dizendo que aquilo era mentira, que aquilo não podia ser uma mulher e aí passou, o sarau virou um roda de ofensas e de acusações e defesas de quem achava aquilo um absurdo, a ponto dela levantar e ir embora e aí... Aí a proposta foi: este movimento tem que sentar e discutir identidade de gênero, respeito e transfobia e isso aconteceu 29 de agosto deste ano, em 2014."

their dominance in the movement; while older activists label newer activists as ungrateful and pretentious

2.6 CONCLUSION

A review of the historical trajectory of the Brazilian LGBT movement reveals the dynamics of individual and collective identity formation. Identities for empowerment have been (re)defined and (re)constructed through delicate processes of boundary, consciousness, and negotiation. Early notions of non-normative sexuality, such as the *bicha* and *bofe* gave way to *entendidos* and *homossexuais* and *travestis.*

The movement has long struggled with creating and maintaining a cohesive collective identity. The MHB of the 1970s passed through various iterations until eventually settling upon the international acronym of LGBT. The movement experimented with micro-level strategies using language and multiple meso-level organizational structures as forms of identity work.

Today, the movement no longer fractures upon whether or not engagement with the State is a viable tactic. In fact, as I argue, institutionalization within the State characterizes the macro-level of the activist environment. This introduces new needs for identity work, as a multiplicity of identities clamor for equal representation within the movement and State.

Institutionalization also offers new strategies and opportunities for doing identity work. In the next chapter, I introduce the idea of State-apparatus as a meso-level

mechanism for identity work. These state institutions are strategically designed in ways

that structure interactions and the hard identity work of representation.

CHAPTER 3: MESO-LEVEL IDENTITY WORK IN PARTICIPATORY SPACES

"...The President left [his position] to be a candidate for the electoral campaigns this year and I, as Vice-President - [a position] that we call Secretary General - I assumed the Presidency. There are 100 days of [my] administration, and I will present the report of my administration now in the [next] meeting because the President is returning. And what did we, what did I, achieve in these 100 days of what we called the '100 days of trans State [Council]'. First, it was a war with the lesbians and the gays of this Council. People didn't feel represented that a trans were to head the most important position in the State below the government. And I had resistance, but I managed to sensitize everyone. And later, I had a problem, too, with the *travestis* because I [had sex reassignment surgery] and they didn't feel represented. That was another difficulty that was overcome. And, amen. What is it that we achieved? First, the *nome social* identity card is about to come out, and it will be printed through the State Secretary of Public Security..."[35]

In 2013, longstanding attempts to criminalize homophobia through national

legislation came to a definitive halt. The legislative proposal, known as PLC122, never

made its way to the floor. Instead, it found itself removed from consideration and buried

until the next reform of the penal code. The same year, gender-identity legislation

PL5002/13 bearing the name of João. W. Nery, one of the earliest visible *homens trans*

activists, was introduced to the Chamber of Deputies. The sponsors of PL5002/13 were

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[35] Author's interview with *Laura*, 11/05/14: "...o presidente saiu para poder ser candidato ao pleito eleitoral deste ano e eu como vice presidente, que aqui a gente chama de secretária geral, né, eu assumi a presidência. São cem dias de gestão, inclusive eu vou apresentar o relatório da minha gestão agora, nessa reunião porque o presidente tá voltando, né, e... E o que nós, o que eu consegui nesses cem dias, né, a gente já chamou dos 'cem dias trans estadual' né, primeiro que foi uma guerra com as lésbicas e com os gays deste conselho, né.... As pessoas não se sentiam contempladas que uma trans encabeçasse, assim, o cargo mais importante do estado abaixo do governo, né, e eu tive essa resistência, mas consegui sensibilizar todo mundo, aí depois eu tive problema também, com *as travestis* porque eu sou operada, né, e elas não se sentiam representadas e também foi um outra dificuldade que foi superada e amém. O que que nós conseguimos? É... Primeiro que está para sair a carteira de nome social que vai ser imprimida pela Secretaria de Segurança Pública do estado, né."

none other than the only openly gay federal deputy Jean Wyllys (PSOL-RJ) and a

progressive female deputy Erika Kokay (PT-DF)

While activity at the national level prompted some, particularly those in favor of

PLC122, to reconsider strategic engagement with the State, the movement witnessed

considerable advances within State-apparatus for LGBTs. Indeed, by any assessment,

2014 could be considered a watershed moment in changes within the Brazilian LGBT

movement. This is particularly the case for São Paulo, a city that figures as prominently in

LGBT politics as it does the national political and economic environment.

On February 27, 2014, the São Paulo Municipal LGBT Council elected Janaina

Lima as the President for the next year-long term. Janaina's election marked the very first

time in the nine-year history of the Council that the presidency would be occupied by a

member of the *travesti* community. In her acceptance speech, Janaina emphasized that

the empowerment of *travestis*, *mulheres transexuais, e homens trans* through LGBT

Councils around Brazil would bring important strength to the fight against *transfobia*

(Fieldnotes, 02/27/14).

Later that year, in the São Paulo State LGBT Council, President Cássio Rodrigo

stepped down from his position to run for elective office as a State Deputy. On July 22,

2014, Agatha Lima, then vice-president, assumed the Presidency, making her the first

mulher transexual to hold that office. She was later reelected President for the year of

2015.

The election of these two women from the *travesti e transexual* community marks

an important watershed moment for a movement whose politics and institutional

presence has long been dominated by gay men. Indeed, as discussed in the preceding

chapters, the Brazilian LGBT movement is precariously organized around a collective identity that is also one of its principal sources of internal tension and conflict. How do we explain the success of these women, both representatives of the *travesti e transexual* segment of the Brazilian LGBT movement, in achieving the highest office within these spaces of participatory democracy? Importantly, how do these State-apparatus condition identity work within the meso-level activist environment?

I argue that State-apparatus are strategically designed by the collective LGBT movement in ways that guarantee the representation of individual identities. In Brazil, the process of redemocratization and constitutional guarantees of participatory democracy provided an important opportunity for these strategies to emerge. Once in place, State-apparatus offer unique benefits beyond the immediate functional goals of popular participation. State-apparatus provide a meso-level space for the LGBT movement to engage in the hard identity work of negotiating identity differences. Importantly, these spaces (re)constitute boundaries of collective identity in ways that open new opportunities for trans activists to achieve representation and assume leadership positions within the collective LGBT movement.

Thus, this chapter explores how participatory institutions offer opportunities for trans identities to achieve representation within the collective LGBT movement. Councils offer meso-level organizational spaces that are in decline in the contemporary Brazilian LGBT movement. As such, they are invaluable as forums (Lichterman 1999) and spaces for actors and movements to engage identity differences and do identity work.

3.1 THE PROMISE OF PARTICIPATORY INSTITUTIONS

The development of participatory institutions is one hallmark of redemocratization in Latin America. As the region underwent a third wave of democratization in the latter half of the 20th century, new constitutions featured guarantees for popular participation in government. These changes were a response to pressures of new social movements that, after decades of military and non-civilian rule, sought incorporation of popular voices in government.

At its heart, participatory governance "consists of state sanctioned institutional processes that allow citizens to exercise voice and vote, which then results in the implementation of public policies that produce some sort of change in citizens' lives" (Wampler and McNulty 6, 2011). Thus, citizens, in the form of civil society, are directly linked to the state through frequent interactions that consist of both deliberation and decision-making. While a full review of the theoretical and empirical arguments surrounding participatory governance is beyond the scope of this chapter, it is important to note that this relatively new experiment in representative democracy hopes to improve the quality of democratic governance in the region (Nickson 2011).

Participatory institutions tighten the link between the state and civil society in host countries (Dagnino and Teixeira 2014). Civil society is defined as "the sphere of social and political associational activity separate from the state, the market, and the family" (Wampler and Touchton 2015, 4). The umbrella term of civil society organizations (CSOs) incorporates a variety of participatory organizations, such as community and third sector organizations, and social movements. Conceptually, the lines that separate movements from civil society, and civil society from the state, are blurry: movement activists generally

consider themselves as members of movements and civil society. The institutionalization of participation by civil society in State-apparatus, with direct and frequent contact with the state, challenges clean theoretical divisions between each of these spheres (Gurza Lavalle and Isunza Vera Dagnino 2011).

The institutional design of participatory spaces sparked ample theoretical attention in political science (Fung 2003; Fung and Wright 2001; Fishkin 1991). In particular, procedural and structural mechanisms of participatory spaces are analyzed for the potential to maximize micro and macro level outputs. At the meso-level, multiple methods of participant selection and recruitment, such as voluntarism, affirmative action, or incentives for structurally disadvantaged groups are thought to produce qualitatively different outcomes (Fung 2003, 343). At the micro-level, participation may increase perceptions of political efficacy, trust in institutions, debate and deliberation skills, and instill a sense of empowerment in citizens (Avritzer 2002; Baiocchi 2003; Baiocchi 2005; Moehler 2008; Wampler 2007).

While the aforementioned research establishes prescriptions for institutional design, little work considers the design and composition of seats. This is partially a reflection of the expansive variation in participatory spaces. For example, the first instance of participatory budgeting councils in Brazil function as broad, open, and non-exclusionary forums. The second instances of participatory budgeting councils in Brazil move towards more exclusionary forums that establish representative positions within these spaces.

Advocates of participatory governance, especially public sphere theorists, face harsh criticism from scholars who view such arrangements as incapable of addressing

structural disadvantages that permeate society (Young 1991; Fischer 2006). In response,

theorists offer that such participatory spaces generally offer new opportunities for

marginalized voices within the political process (Fung 2003; Fung and Wright 2001).

Indeed, participatory spaces should be designed so in ways that move "individuals from

silence to self-expression" (Fung 2003, 344). Even critics of participatory governance,

who contend that no level of structural and procedural design can adequately address

the macro-level effects of discursive and cultural politics on micro-level individual

participation, acknowledge the importance of these spaces for disadvantaged groups

(Fischer 2006). Indeed, these spaces redraw lines and boundaries between citizens and

the state. Participatory spaces allow for actors and movements representing

disadvantaged groups to continue projects of meaning making and contestation in meso-

level spaces with State-sponsored legitimacy and authority (Fischer 2006, 21; Cornwall

2002).

If scholars recognize the importance of cultural politics, identity, and social

movements within participatory spaces, there has been little assessment of these spaces

in relation to internal social movement dynamics. Most work addresses the micro-level

and macro-level effects of participatory spaces: do they promote intended individual

outcomes (i.e. citizen efficacy, democratic skills), or policy and quality of governance

outcomes (i.e. policy congruence, reduction in corruption, etc.). Scholarship should also

pay attention to the design of these spaces, and the effects design has on the

movements that inhabit them.

I propose that participatory spaces have intermediary, meso-level effects on social

movements, beyond the immediate goals of strengthening the linkages between civil

society and the state. In fact, I argue that the design of these State-apparatus

(re)structure boundaries and negotiation of collective identity. Thus, I argue in favor of a

meso-level approach in assessing the effects of participatory institutions: how do these

spaces reconfigure and serve the very movements that occupy them?

Next, I discuss the historical background of participatory governance in Brazil.

After, I look at the expansion of LGBT Policy Councils at the municipal and state level. I

provide empirical analysis of the institutional design of these spaces. I conclude the

chapter with evaluations of these spaces from the perspective of movement activists.

3.2 BRAZILIAN REDEMOCRATIZATION AND THE OPPORTUNITY FOR

PARTICIPATORY INSTITUTIONS

The push for participatory institutions in Brazil grew out of a desire to tackle

clientelist practices, low levels of citizen participation, and bureaucratic legacies from

state building in the early 20th century (Wampler 2004, 292). During redemocratization,

CSOs lobbied for participatory institutions that would allow for deliberation in

policymaking, higher levels of transparency, and public meetings. The initial goal was to

establish a deepened conception of democracy; this has since given way to a more

limited understanding of participation through decentralization and privatization of

services (Oliveira 1999).

The new Constitution of 1988 enshrined popular participation in the first article

(Almeida Vilela 2005). The constitution explicitly guarantees mechanisms for

policymaking councils at all levels of the federal system. As a general rule, representation in the Councils must be divided equally between members of civil society and the state.

Participatory spaces have proliferated immensely (Dagnino and Teixeira 2014; Gurza Lavalle 2011). According to Dagnino and teixeira (2014), the expanse of participatory spaces "more consolidated than anything comparable in Latin America" and "includes councils, conferences, forums, public hearings, participatory city planning meetings, and a whole array of programs that involve some kind of social control and monitoring" (Dagnino and Teixe42). The sheer size and scope is staggering: at the federal level alone, scholars count 60 policy councils and 74 national conferences on 40 themes with over 5 million participants, producing upwards 15,000 proposals and 2,000 motions (Dagnino and Teixeira 2014). Importantly, the design of federal policy councils has promoted gender equality with 31.5% of participants as women.[36]

In Brazil, the most well documented example of participatory governance is the *Orçamento Participativo* (OP; Participatory Budgeting) Councils, especially in the city of Porto Alegre (Wampler 2007). Wampler and Touchton (2015) identify three sets of variables that shape the opportunities and strategies available to Brazilian CSOs: 1) the protection of basic rights and the use of contentious politics by CSOs, 2) the expansion of institutions for participatory governance and an explosion in contact with the state, and 3) investment in developmental policies during the years of 2000-2009. CSOs vary in strategy and level of engagement with the State depending on socio-economic status of leadership and their proximity to the state (Wampler and Touchton 2015). Wealthier CSOs

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[36] This finding is consistent with similar work on participatory governance in Peru (McNulty 2013).

with governmental contracts participate less in these spaces and use less contentious

politics.

At the individual level, several factors influence participation in these spaces. The

most active subgroup in the OP process has been community leaders with PT party

affiliations. Individuals formerly more active in politics have also been more active in OP

(Nylen 2002). In the cities of Belo Horizonte, Porto Alegre, and Recife, participation has

increased most in areas with weaker associative traditions (Wampler and Avritzer 2004).

Aggregate data, however, show large increases in participation over time, suggesting

participation by individuals who were not formerly politically active, as well, particularly in

areas where the institutions are perceived as effective. Additionally, OP councils are

credited with "inculcating a political culture of deliberation" through direct involvement

and face to face discussions (Wampler and Avritzer 2004, 302), especially where CSO

leaders encouraged deliberation and established linkages with left-of-center politicians.

Furthermore, OP councils promote the inclusion of disadvantaged groups. In

particular, gender parity exists in the composition of attendees and leadership positions

(Abers 2000; Nylen 2002; Wampler 2007). Significant portions of the poor - but not the

poorest- are included in the process, as well (Selee and Peruzzotti 2009) [37] Importantly,

the design of seats may impact these outcomes. In Peru, McNulty (2013) argues that

delegating seats to CSOs, and not individuals, presents structural barriers to participation

by minority groups with less access to resources. In the aggregate, this design choice

also reduces popular participation and gender parity - unless accounted for by quotas.

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[37] This effect has been observed in India, as well, though with less reach in terms of gender (Rao and Sanyal 2010)

Within Brazilian LGBT politics, HIV/AIDS policy is embedded within a participatory

architecture that includes a vast web of conferences, forums, and events. According to

Rich (2013), national activist bureaucrats depend upon CSOs and participatory

governance for policy implementation, oversight, and transparency at the municipal and

state level.

In my observation, this architecture is reproduced for LGBT rights policy, more

generally, with a dense array of activities connecting members of civil society and the

State.[38] This process has led to increases in the potential for dialogue between both

arenas (Mello, Brito, and Maroja 2012). It also provides concrete benefits for training

leadership within civil society and connecting these individuals to the institutionalized

policy process, often through State-sponsored capacity building activities (Rich 2013).

The process of institutionalization of the Brazilian LGBT movement ushered in a

number of visible changes in movement dynamics. The election of the first Lula (PT)

government in 2002 marked a turning point in the movement's access to and explicit

incorporation in the Brazilian State. The PT was historically an ally of the LGBT movement

- ever since the decision of *SOMOS* to support the May 1st demonstrations - as activists

pursued an early strategy of change through legislatures (De la Dehesa 2010; Marsiaj

2006).

As the movement and its veteran leadership gradually moved inside the State-

apparatus, changes occurred in the vitality of traditional organizational spaces. In

general, it would appear that the number of social movement spaces has declined in

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[38] I reference the distinction, made in Chapter 1, between the HIV/AIDS and the LGBT rights
movements

recent years. Interviewees suggest that veteran activists transitioned to positions with the

federal government, leaving lacuna in organizational leadership. Additionally,

interviewees suggest that sources of financial support for organizations, from the Ministry

of Health HIV/AIDS program, have become more difficult to acquire due to competition.

One piece of evidence, however, is telling: the only LGBT social movement organization

with office infrastructure in São Paulo city - considered the epicenter of movement

activity - is the APOGLBT. In the rural interior of the São Paulo state, LGBT organizations

commonly operate from within an activist's personal residence, such as the *ONG*

Visibilidade (NGO Visibility) in São Carlos and the *ONG Asgattas* (NGO Asgattas) in

Ribeirão Preto.

　　Instead, movement activity, particularly the face-to-face meetings that are

fundamental to micro-level and meso-level identity work, are increasingly rare. Activism

has moved definitively to virtual spaces and social media platforms such as Facebook,

Instagram, and Weblogs. These mediums set the stage for much of identity work

involved in constructing and maintaining a movement: recruiting new members,

organizing events, developing strategy, and so on.

　　While it would be crass to dismiss virtual activism as less effective or less engaged

than traditional activism, there is no doubt that it functions as a proxy, at best, for the

labor involved in hard identity work. Social movement theory, as presented in Chapter 1,

states that the construction of collective identity through boundaries, consciousness, and

negotiation involves face-to-face interactions. This quality is necessary for social actors to

situate themselves and others with regards to existing social categories, conditioned at

multiple levels of the activist environment. Displacing identity work to the virtual world

removes actors from many of these processes, and may lead to less durable

identifications and commitments among members of a collective identity.[39]

Thus, institutionalization has led to a contraction of traditional movement spaces.

At the same time, we observe a growth in State-apparatus for LGBTs, particularly those

that form the participatory architecture of the contemporary Brazilian state. As discussed

in Chapter 1, LGBT conferences occurred at all levels of government in 2008, 2011, and

2015-6. Conferences integrate top-down and bottom up feedback mechanisms in an

effort to strengthen popular participation in government and improve governmental

responsiveness to citizen demands. Municipal conferences send proposals to state

conferences, who send proposals to the national conference, and national conferences

disseminate directives to states and municipalities.

While conferences are important mechanisms for the LGBT movement to discuss

demands, they occur infrequently; hence, conferences are not adequate alternatives for

the loss of meso-level organizational spaces. Rather, for this function, I argue that

scholarship should look to participatory policy councils.[40] LGBT Councils provide meso-

level spaces for movement activists to come together through frequent and iterative

exchanges, providing a site where movement participants construct policy and

movement agendas, and contend and negotiate constructions of collective identity.

3.3 LGBT COUNCILS IN BRAZIL

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[39] See Lichterman's (1999) arguments in favor of identity talk and forums.
[40] As mentioned in Chapter 1, the creation of policy councils is part of the tripé of demands by the movement.

LGBT Councils exist at federal, state, and municipal levels in Brazil.[41] Below, I

discuss the data and methods utilized for the empirical analysis of this chapter. Then, I

provide empirical analysis of LGBT Councils as meso-level spaces for identity work.

At the state level, I identified 13 state councils as of May 2016 through original data

collection.[42] Thus, state LGBT councils exist in nearly half of the country (26 states and

the DF).A full list of state councils is presented in Appendix 4.1.[43]

At the municipal level, IBGE surveyed LGBT councils in 2009, 2011, and 2014. After

extensive verification and data collection, I identified 28 municipal councils as of May

2016.[44] A full list of municipal councils is presented in Appendix 4.2.

As part of the data collection process, I acquired the legislation or executive

decree that created the council. These documents set for the mission, composition, and

prerogatives of the councils. I content analyzed the documents using CAQDAS ATLAS.ti

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[41] At the time of last edit, 2 more municipal Councils exist that are not included in the data analysis (Florianopolis and Esteio). An interactive dataset is currently publicly available on Googlemaps and has received 1,471 views since May 2016: https://www.google.com/maps/d/u/0/edit?mid=1WIlLGWFLdbNFJHsVgt05ZyF_a9s

[42] IBGE does not collect official quantitative data on state level councils.

[43] In both Paraná and Piauí, states without an LGBT council, LGBTs are included within a general council for human rights.

[44] In verifying the IBGE data, I discovered that only one of the four original councils in 2009 ever existed; similarly, four municipalities cited in 2011 never created councils, and another five in 2014 could not be verified (one being Rio de Janeiro, which does not have a council, but a special commission that functions in a similar way, and another being Brasília). Finally, while the IBGE survey asks if municipalities have an LGBT Council specifically, there is the possibility that municipalities answering "no" include LGBT rights under other policy councils, such as those for human rights and/or women and gender equality. Thus, there are likely more policy Councils in the country that include LGBT rights on their agenda than represented by the IBGE survey. The reason for this is unclear, however, Councils established through executive decree face the reality that a change executive leadership may de-authorize these organs. A second, and equally plausible explanation, is due to error in data collection and/or social desirability effects of municipalities responding to the questionnaire. It is very possible that municipalities wanted to project a progressive image by responding "yes" to the IBGE questionnaire. It is also possible that some municipalities confused municipal level conferences with councils.

for Mac for the following variables related to institutional design: parity (between state

and civil society), number of seats (total), number of seats (civil society), number of seats

(state), design of seats (LGBT CSOs), design of seats (LGBT identities). I scored design of

seats 0.0 for no seats, 0.5 for some seats in the way, and 1.0 for all seats. Finally, I

content analyzed the documents were content analyzed for year of creation, council

name (sexual diversity), council name (LGBT), passage (executive decree), passage

(legislation).[45] I collected additional information on executive name and executive

political party for State Councils.[46] I matched data from the 2010 IBGE Census of Brazilian

municipalities and states for the control variables of population and geographic region

(North, Northeast, Center-West, Southeast, South). I analyzed the final dataset with

RStudio for Mac.

These variables were operationalized based on literature on identity work (Chapter 1) and

the discussion of participatory spaces in this chapter. As Taylor and Whittier (1992) and

Bernstein (2008) argue, identity work involves (re)defining boundaries, consciousness, and

negotiation of symbols within activist environments. Gamson (1996) suggests that, at the meso-

level, organizational identity shapes boundaries in ways that privilege particular identities. The

design of meso-level spaces can make identity work more or less successful, depending on

these processes (Lichterman 1999). Thus, I argue that the institutional design of State-apparatus

has important effects on how actors and movements conduct identity work at the meso-level.

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[45] I initially included Council in part because of an expectation of partisan relationships, though
this was not supported by the data.
[46] Power and Zucco (2009) order major Brazilian political partiesm 1990-2005, from left to right:
PCdoB, PT, PSB, PPS, PDT, PSDB, PMDB, PTB, PL, PFL, PP.

3.4 INSTITUIONAL DESIGN OF LGBT COUNCILS

The design of Councils opens way for the representation of individual identities as part of the collective LGBT movement. This is important in contexts where, as in the case of the LGBT movement, identities are unequally represented across movement and policy agendas. As I argue, the Brazilian LGBT movement has systematically privileged the representation of gay male interests, while the trans community has largely been left behind, invisible and erased.

If questions of representation and equality within movements presents needs for hard identity work, the process of institutionalization within State-apparatus presents a unique opportunity to strategically design institutions for identity work. Thus, the meso-level activist environment becomes structured in ways that can exacerbate or mitigate hard identity work.

Federal guidelines mandate that participatory councils, regardless of their issue, maintain parity of membership between civil society and the state. For example, a council with twenty members will divide seats between ten members from the state and ten from civil society. Guidelines do not, however, stipulate how seats are further subdivided for civil society or the state. Instead, these criteria are case specific per Council.

LGBT policy councils have been strategically designed, through the input and demands of the social movement, to subdivide seats of civil society with respect to parity between individual identities. At the broadest level, this could mean designating an equal number of seats to gays, lesbians, bisexuals, and trans identities. Some councils seek to over represent feminine gender-identities, and include provisions that amount to a 60/40

split between feminine and masculine gender identities. Still others include provisions

requiring parity of representation along regional, ethnic, and/or racial lines. In short, the

LGBT movement has developed an important strategy to structure meso-level identity

work by defining boundaries of collective identity within State-apparatus.

Federal LGBT Councils

At the federal level, the *Conselho Nacional de Combate à Discriminação* (CNCD;

National Council to Combat Discrimination) was created through executive decree in

2001 (Secretaria de Direitos Humanos 2013). The initial mission charged the Council with

focusing on discrimination on all fronts. In 2010, following the consolidation of racial and

ethnic discrimination under other governmental organs, the CNCD was restructured as

the CNCD-LGBT to also include the *Promoção dos Direitos de Lésbicas, Gays,*

Bissexuais, Travestis, e Transexuais (Promotion of the Rights of LGBTs).

The CNCD-LGBT is composed of 30 representatives, split equally between the

state and civil society. Civil society seats are divided between LGBT CSOs. This does not

guarantee parity of representation among identities, nor direct representation of

identities. In fact, of the 15 CSOs currently elected to CNCD-LGBT, only ANTRA

represents the trans community specifically. The other seats are divided among CSOs

representing different policy councils, two national lesbian organizations, two gay

organizations, two LGBT organizations, and racial and academic organizations.

The CNCD-LGBT also bears the language of the LGBT movement within its name.

This marks its purpose strictly on combating discrimination against LGBTs *and* promoting

LGBT rights. The language used to brand this federal State-apparatus is important. It establishes a federal reference for participatory spaces to emulate at state and municipal levels. The explicit use of LGBT in the title marks the institutionalization of the collective identity within the State-apparatus. Thus, the identity boundaries established at the 1st National Conference in 2008 are privileged and validated through the State. Importantly, the language recognizes both *travesti e transexual* identities.

State LGBT Councils

I divide State LGBT Councils between early adopters (2008-2011) and late adopters (2013-2015). Early adopters coincide with the 1st and 2nd National LGBT Conferences in 2008 and 2011. Late adopters occurred in a period of relative policy normalcy, as the 3rd National LGBT Conference would not take place until 2016.[47]. The number of State LGBT Councils established per year is presented in Appendix 5.0 Figure 3.1 and total State LGBT Councils over time is presented in Appendix 5.0 Figure 3.2.

The states of Goiás (2008), Pará (2008), Rio de Janeiro (2009), São Paulo (2010), Mato Grosso do Sul (2011) were early adopters of state councils. These councils were established via executive decree, making the continued existence of the State-apparatus dependent upon renewal and executive goodwill. A transition in government could usher in repeal of the decree.

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[47] During the third wave of conferences in 2016, the states of Rio Grande do Norte, Minas Gerais, and Santa Catarina signaled intentions to establish State LGBT Councils.

Interestingly, the political party affiliation of the executive at the time of creation does not correspond to expectations along the left-right ideological scale. In Goiás, the Council was decreed by Alcides Rodrigues Filho, of the centrist *Partido Republicano Progressista* (PRP; Progressive Republican Party. In São Paulo, the Council was decreed by José Serra of the right-of-center PSDB. In Rio de Janeiro and Mato Grosso do Sul, the Council was decreed by Sérgio Cabral and Andre Puccinelli, respectively, of the catch-all *Partido do Movimento Democrático Brasileiro* (PMDB; Brazilian Democratic Movement Party). In Pará, the Council was decreed by Ana Julia Carepa of the PT. This is the only case of an early adopter within a left-of-center government. It is also the only case of a female executive to sanction a state council. These results suggest that neither party nor gender bear much effect on the creation of state councils.

São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Goiás bear names reflecting the boundaries of LGBT collective identity., while Pará and Mato Grosso do Sul utilize sexual diversity. In São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, the State-apparatus is the *Conselho Estadual de Direitos da População LGBT* (State Council for the Rights of the LGBT Population). While all enumerate both *travestis e transexuais* in the long form, Goiás expands the movement acronym to LGBTT in its shorthand nomenclature. In Pará and Mato Grosso do Sul, the name is *Conselho Estadual da Diversidade Sexual* (State Council for Sexual Diversity). This language does not reflect established boundaries of collective identity (LGBT), nor does it provide visibility and representation to individual identities.

In design of seats, Rio de Janeiro and Goiás break parity between civil society and the State; Rio de Janeiro designates 26 of 40 seats to civil society and Goiás designates 14 of 26 seats to civil society. Rio de Janeiro, Goiás, and Mato Grosso do Sul designate

seats to CSOs - and not identity - leading to the possibility of unequal representation among individual identities. São Paulo elects representatives to fill seats designated to individual identities, a strategic design choice demanded by the movement. Hence, in São Paulo, the 10 seats designated to civil society are divided equally among lesbians, gays, bisexuals, *travestis*, and *transexuais*. This division generally results in a higher representation of feminine gender-identity within the Council and guarantees 40% of seats to trans identities. São Paulo further divides seats by region, holding one seat for the metropolitan area and one seat for the rural *interior*. Finally, Pará allocates seats to LGBT CSOs, but the language enumerates each identity (thus receiving a score of 1 for entity and 0.5 for identity). This design choice suggests, but does not require, that CSOs should be divided among individual identities.

The states of Alagoas (2013), Pernambuco (2013), Roraima (2013), Bahia (2014), Paraíba (2014), Rio Grande do Sul (2014), Maranhão (2015), and Mato Grosso (2015, annulled later in the year) were late adopters of state councils. The adoption method of these is split equally between legislation and executive decree. In total, of the 13 state councils, 9 were created through decree and 4 were created through legislation. Thus, the existence of these of these 9 councils is precarious, as they lack the permanency that comes from legislation.

Once again, for late adopters there is no discernible trend in the political party affiliation of the state executive at the time of creation. The PSDB leads in the creation of councils in Alagoas, Roraima, and Mato Grosso, under the governments of Teotonio Vilela Filho, José de Anchieta Junior, and Pedro Taques, respectively. Contrary to the early adopters, 5 of the 8 late adopters were by left-of-center parties. The left-of-center

Partido Socialista do Brasil (PSB; Brazilian Socialist Party) sanctioned councils in Pernambuco and Paraíba, under the governments of Eduardo Henrique Acciolly Campos and Ricardo Viera Coutinho, respectively. The left-of-center PT created councils in Bahia and Rio Grande do Sul, under the governments of Jaques Wagner and Tarso Genro. Finally, the leftist *Partido Comunista do Brasil* (PCdoB; Communist Party of Brazil) created the council in Maranhão, under the government of Flavio Dino.

All eight state councils created during 2013-2015 incorporate the acronym LGBT in names. Like Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, all councils expand the "T" to include *travestis e transexuais* in the official State-apparatus name. No council enumerates transgenders, nor do any of these expand the acronym to the elongated version of LGBTT, as in the case of Goiás. This finding suggests the crystallization of identity boundaries to reflect an established LGBT collective identity, and a move away from the somewhat nebulous term of sexual diversity.

Moreover, all late adopters, except Paraíba, designate seats to CSOs. Like São Paulo, Paraíba designates seats to identity in the following manner: lesbians (2), gays (2), bisexuals (1), *travestis e transsexuais* (2). Once again, this institutional design choice strategically guarantees higher representation of feminine gender-identities within the council, an effective meso-level strategy for the hard identity work of representation. Paraíba also divides seats between metropolitan and rural *interior* areas. Finally, both Pernambuco and Alagoas receive a score of 0.5 for identity. In these states, seats are allocated to LGBT CSOs, but the final composition should observe parity in gender-identity. In a move to address generational conflicts, Alagoas requires that representatives reflect generational diversity within the movement.

One trend is striking in the data on state LGBT councils: region. Surprisingly, the Northeast leads the way in the creation of state councils with a total of five. It is followed by the Center-West (3), and the North (2). The economic powerhouses of the Southeast (2) and South (1) lag behind. While analysis of executive party affiliation shows no effect on the creation of these spaces, the regional cluster falls cleanly upon partisan lines that separate the country in national presidential elections. It is possible that resistance to these spaces occurs in the center-right states of the Southeast and South.

Municipal LGBT Councils

As of May 2016, municipal LGBT councils exist in 28 Brazilian municipalities. Dividing the councils into two waves, with early adopters before 2011 and late adopters after 2011, reveals that the majority of activity has taken place following the second wave of LGBT conferences. Prior to 2011, only 7 municipalities created LGBT councils.[48] Of these, 4 reside within the state of São Paulo, a clear leader in the adoption of municipal councils, and the other 3 reside within the Northeast region. The number of Municipal LGBT Councils established per year is presented in Appendix 5.0 Figure 3.3 and total Municipal LGBT Councils over time is presented in Appendix 5.0 Figure 3.4. This section analyzes all Municipal LGBT Councils together.

Of all 28 municipal councils, a full 25 were created through legislation. Only São Paulo (2005), Contagem (2015), and Jaboatão dos Guararapes (2015) were created

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[48] Early adopters are the municipalities of São Paulo (2005), São Carlos (2009), Alagoinhas (2010), Belém de São Francisco (2010), Teresina (2010), Ribeirão Preto (2010), and Bauru (2011)

through executive decree. This observation marks a striking difference from the trend of executive decree in state adoptions. Moreover, the contemporary experience in Brazil has been marked by resistance to legislating on LGBT issues. What explains this reversal in adoption mechanism between the state and municipal state?

One possible explanation lay in the intricacy of municipal law, which may stipulate that governmental organs be created by the legislature. Another possibility is the position of the council within the bureaucratic structure, which may require its creation through either the legislature. Either way, legislative adoption leads to institutilization of these spaces within the municipal State-apparatus. How do the design choices of municipal councils condition identity work?

In terms of names, 20 councils bear the language of LGBT and 8 use sexual diversity. The data suggest neighborhood diffusion effects: 5/8 councils of sexual diversity are located within São Paulo state.[49] Only São Carlos (2009) and Mauá (2015) in São Paulo state are named for LGBT.[50] Municipal councils named for LGBT enumerate lesbians, gays, bisexuals, *travestis* and *transexuais* in the full name.

The most data show a decided shift in the name of councils to LGBT. In 2015, 9/10 new councils used LGBT. Additionally, the city of São Paulo, originally the *Conselho Municipal da Atenção à Diversidade Sexual* (Municipal Council for Attention to Sexual Diversity) in 2005 was renamed as *Conselho Municipal de Política LGBT* (Municipal

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[49] The first municipality to adopt a LGBT council in São Paulo state was São Paulo city (2005). This predates the next municipal council in Brazil (São Carlos, also in São Paulo) by a full four years.

[50] While I did not collect data on the executive for municipal councils, São Carlos and Mauá were created under PT governments and the other municipalities are strongholds for center and right-of-center parties.

Council for LGBT Policy) in 2015. The 2013 mayoral election of Fernando Haddad (PT) initiated expansive restructuration of LGBT State-apparatus and State-sponsored public policy. The new government shifted language away from abstract terms of *diversidade sexual* towards the *promoçao da cidadania LGBT* (promotion of LGBT citizenship). This design choice once again reflects the boundaries of collective identity established by the movement within the State.

Municipal councils show a stronger commitment to identity representation than state councils. Of the 28 councils, 12 designate seats to individual identities and another 3 require parity of gender-identity in the final composition of seats.[51] Once again, strategic institutional design reflects the boundaries of the collective LGBT movement. Thus, these meso-level spaces are structured in ways that guarantee and even privilege the representation of trans identities in relation to gays and lesbians.

Municipalities in São Paulo also prefer design choices towards identity.[52] Like the diffusion effects of name, the data suggest that early adopter São Paulo city influenced the design of subsequent adopters. In Ribeirão Preto, for example, the council affords *even more* representation and visibility for trans identities: legislation designates seats to *travestis*, transsexuais, transgenders, sex workers.[53] Two more cases merit additional discussion for commitment to expansive and inclusive representation within the council: João Pessoa (2015) of Paraíba and Jaboatão dos Guararapes (2015) of Ceará.

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[51] Thus, 15 municipalities designate seats to CSOs without strict requirements for observing identity representation. Itapipoca (2013) in the state of Ceará received a score of 0.5 for CSO, as 4 of 5 seats are reserved for CSOs that do not have direct bearing on LGBT issues.
[52] Only Mauá designates seats to LGBT CSOs.
[53] I do not mean to suggest that all trans persons engage in sex work or all sex workers are trans; the reality is that many trans persons subsist economically through sex work.

In João Pessoa (2015), 8 seats are designed to the following CSOs: 1) Maria Quitéria Group of Lesbian and Bisexual Women, 2) MEL - Lilac Spirit Movement, 2) Association of *Travestis* of Paraíba, 4) Representation of Trans Men of Paraíba, 5) Association of AIDS Prevention – AMAZONA, 6) Cordel Vida, 7) PB-State LGBT Forum, and 8) Brazilian Institute for Family Rights – IBDFAM/PB. CSOs 1-4 represent lesbian and bisexual women, gay men, *travestis*, and *homens trans*, respectively. João Pessoa is the only case to reserve seats strictly for trans men. As a recently established council, this indicates the expansion of boundaries of the collective LGBT movement to reflect new organizational activity on behalf of trans men. Thus, the design of meso-level State-apparatus evidence the feedback hypothesized between identity work and institutionalization. CSOs 4-8 represent broader segments, including persons living with HIV/AIDS, the general LGBT movement, and same-sex partnership recognition. Finally, João Pessoa requires the final composition to "observe proportionality between gender and feminine gender-identity at the minimum of 60%".[54]

In Jabotoão dos Guararapes, 8 seats are designated to multiple identities: 1) youth, 2) culture, 3) blacks (*negros)* 4) lesbian women and bisexuals, 5) elderly (*idosos)*, 6) *travestis e transexuais* 7) human rights, and 8) LGBT movement of Jabotoão dos Guararapes. Thus, the institutional design of Jabotoão dos Guararapes carefully equalizes representation along the intersectional lines of race, age, and identity. Notably, gay identity is not required, likely through the logic that gay identities will be represented without affirmative policies.

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[54] Translation by author. Lei Ordinária 13049/2015 de João Pessoa C.II Art. 3. III. § 1º "As representações referidas nos incisos I a III deste artigo deverão observar a proporcionalidade entre gênero e identitdade de gênero feminine no porcentual mínimo de 60%."

Geographically, the regions of the Northeast and Southeast lead in the adoption of municipal councils with 11 and 12, respectively. The Center-West and South have 2 and, respectively. There are no municipal councils in the North. Finally, the data suggest a positive relationship between population size and the creation of municipal councils. The numbers follow in parentheses: in municipalities with populations above 500,000 (9), between 100,001 - 500,000 (14), 50,001 to 100,000 (3), and 20,001 - 50,000 (2).

This section analyzed the institutional design of all federal, state, and municipal LGBT policy councils in Brazil. These institutions have gradually been created across Brazil in the last decade, as shown in Appendix 5.0 Figure 3.5. A summary of the main results follows.

At the state level, the majority of councils are created through executive decree, utilize the language of LGBT and their name, and designate seats to CSOs. The decision to allocate seats to CSOs is likely due to the large jurisdiction of a state council. It does not preclude the representation of individual identities within these spaces, but lessens the guarantee that individual identities will be included equally. As McNulty (2013) points out, the designation of seats to CSOs is less effective at including disadvantaged groups. Importantly, the overwhelming use of the name LGBT in the title solidifies the boundaries of collective identity established by the movement.

Thus far, the Northeast region of Brazil leads the way in the adoption of LGBT councils. Party affiliation and gender of the executive show no effect on the creation of these spaces, but data suggest an ideological split consistent with partisan divides of national presidential elections.

At the municipal level, the majority of councils are created through legislation, utilize the language of LGBT in their name, and split roughly equally in designating seats to CSOs and identity. The designation of seats to identity offers several advantages to hard identity work of representation. Trans identities - underrepresented in movement goals and policy outcomes - are guaranteed representation within an institutionalized space. This representation occurs at a higher level relative to privileged gay identities where both *travesti e transexual* identities are mandated in the legislation. In several instances, the design accounts for even more identity differences along intersectional lines of race, gender, age, etc. Thus, consistent with research on meso-level organizations, institutional design of State-apparatus emerges as a unique strategy for attending to hard identity work of representation within the LGBT movement.

There is evidence of diffusion of institutional design within the state of São Paulo: municipalities follow the early example of the São Paulo city (2005) and overwhelmingly use sexual diversity and designate seats on identity. The regional distribution of councils favors the Northeast and Southeast, as well as large urban areas around the country.

The relationship between the creation of state and municipal councils is unclear. Adoptions are varied and concentrated in highly populated areas. State councils are sometimes charged with fomenting the creation of municipal councils, but data do not present generalizable patterns across the country. In some instances, state councils precede municipal councils; in other instances, municipal councils precede state councils.[55]

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[55] Of the 28 municipal councils, those in the states of Ceará, Espírito Santo, Minas Gerais, Piauí, and Paraná do not have state councils.

In the aggregate, I argue that the coverage of these spaces is significant. A map of all councils is shown in Appendix 5.0 Figure 3.6. Councils exist in 28 large municipalities and in 13 of 27 states. Thus, a state *or* municipal council exists in 18 Brazilian states.[56] Thus, a sizable portion of the LGBT population has access to a participatory space for LGBTs, and State-apparatus for LGBTs exist in a significant portion of the country.

3.5 THE POTENTIAL FOR MESO-LEVEL IDENTITY WORK

If strategic design choices at the meso-level have theoretical implications for identity work, what are the empirical outcomes? How do these State-apparatus for LGBTs affect the movement's capacity and ability for conducting hard identity work? Interviews with Councilmembers illuminate competing perspectives and evaluations of these spaces. Responses focus on the design of seats, identity differences, and divergences within the contemporary movement.

The design of seats in meso-level spaces conditions identity work by structuring the boundaries of collective identity. As argued above, reserving seats to multiple trans identities and requiring, at minimum, parity in gender guarantees representation. How do social movement actors perceive the efficacy of this strategic design?

When asked about the quality of representation among identities within the São Paulo State LGBT Council, one lesbian Councilwoman responded positively. In her view,

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[56] There is a notable gap in coverage in the North region of Brazil: there is no council in the states of Amazonas, Amapá, Acre, and Rondônia. Lastly, there are no councils in the states of Sergipe, Rio Grande do Norte, Tocantins, Distrito Federal, and Santa Catarina.

the division of seats based on identity within the Council actually *over* represents

feminine gender-identities. The result is unequal representation between masculine and

feminine gender-based differences. She defends these measures as necessary to

account for multiple trans identities, and democratic because the decision was made in a

national LGBT conference (another instance of participatory democracy).

> "Yes, I feel that it is an egalitarian space because if we take into account gender, maybe gays don't have the same understanding, because if you….gender, well you have two lesbians, two *travestis*, or one *travesti* and one transexual, or two transexuals, and two gays and two bis - that could be women too - in that case it wouldn't be a man, but it could be a woman, so if it were by gender, the feminine gender would be over represented or the masculine underrepresented….[Well, this [also] exists in the CNCD that has a rule where the division should be 60% from feminine gender and 40% from masculine]. Precisely for *transexuais* and for *travestis*….But then it's unequal, but it was decided in [the national] conference."[57]

Where identity may (over)represent identities, the alternative - designating seats

to CSOs - may exacerbate partisan conflicts. This concern was cited by respondents in

multiple municipalities, including Taboão da Serra, Piracicaba, and São Paulo. In Taboão

da Serra, creation of the Council is still in active discussion. Due to a relatively small local

movement that houses one NGO - which is perceived as affiliated with the PT - division

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[57] Author's interview with *Regiane*, 10/15/14: Sim, sinto que é um espaço igualitário porque se a gente levar em conta gênero talvez os gays não tenham o mesmo entendimento né, porque se você... Gênero então você tem duas lésbicas, duas *travestitravestis* ou uma *travesti* e uma transexual ou duas transexuais e dois gays e tem os bis que podem ser mulher também, que no caso não é um homem mas poderia ser uma mulher, então se for por gênero, o gênero feminino estaria super representado ou o masculino subrepresentado.[*Então, mas existe isso no Conselho Nacional de Combate à Discriminação que tem pela regra de divisão de 60% do gênero feminino e 40% masculino*]. Justamente pelas transexuais, pelas *travestitravestis*... Mas aí é desigual, mas isso foi decidido em conferência.

upon CSOs may *increase* the risk of clientelism and reduce capacity for representation.

These effects would be contrary to the theoretical goals of participatory democracy.

> "[We want] to be more democratic, right? We don't want to tie the Council to someone...If you tie the council to someone, well then, it can turn into that business....that we talk about....using [the Council] for my own ends, right? Favoring myself, and we have to remember that, as much as you may be affiliated with a political party, you have to do things out of question for the [LGBT] population, and not looking towards your [future] path. Today, we see this a lot. People work, but they work with the intention of tomorrow, not here and now. It's difficult, it's difficult."[58]

Indeed, in the second half of 2014, the São Paulo Municipal Council for LGBT

Policy halted to near paralysis as discussions over restructuring the space brought these

concerns to the fore. The Council had formerly elected civil society representatives

through direct elections based upon identity. However, the Vice President of the Council,

Alessandro Melchior, pushed strongly to transition to CSO based representation. One

Councilman, who served as a substitute representative for gays, strongly opposed the

change. In his assessment, Melchior, also the Coordinator for LGBT Policy for a PT

municipal agency, sought to redesign the Council in ways that would favor the party.

> "And so the PT comes with this [talk] about wanting to qualify the space. When in truth it seems to me, they want to guarantee that the people they have as

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[58] Author's interview with *Diego,* 12/19/14: "Para ser mais democrático, né? Para a gente não querer amarrar o Conselho em alguém...Se você amarra em alguém, aí pode virar aquele negócio de... a gente fala de.... usar ao meu próprio favor, né? favorecer a minha pessoa e a gente tem que lembrar que por mais que você seja, filiado num partido político, você tem que fazer as coisas na questão da população e não vendo o seu caminho lá na frente... Que hoje a gente vê muito isso, as pessoas trabalham mas trabalham com a intenção do amanhã, não do agora. É difícil, é difícil..."

interlocutors similar to themselves are the ones whom occupy that space. And so, they make these maneuvers [in the composition of] the LGBT Council."[59]

This issue made evident multiple aspects of hard identity work for the movement. The active discussion over shifting away from identity to CSO representation focused on sexuality-based and gender-based differences (Fieldnotes, 07/17/14). In addition, partisanship was present: the PT, in charge of municipal government, had failed to elect party affiliates as a majority of the representatives to civil society. Restructuring the Council as a space populated by LGBT CSOs, who depend upon the government for support for projects and programs, could potentially reinforce partisan tendencies within these spaces. Finally, the conflict blurred the lines between civil society and the State in ways that are unique to participatory spaces: the council Vice President (a representative of the state) and representatives from civil society all engage in movement *and* party politics. Clearly, meso-level State-apparatus act as important forums for bringing together movement actors for hard identity work across multiple lines of conflict.

Design choices set boundaries that structure the inclusion of multiple identities within these State-apparatus. The discussion of contemporary challenges (Chapter 1) revealed that gender-based, sexuality-based, and partisan-based identities are among the primary sources of conflicts. These conflicts challenge the movement to engage in

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[59]: Author's interview with *Pedro*, 10/28/14: "E aí o PT vem nessa de querer qualificar o espaço, que na verdade me parece que eles só querem garantir que as pessoas que eles tem como interlocutores parecidos com eles mesmos ocupem aquele espaço e aí eles fazem essas manobras, o Conselho LGBT... Bem, e aí só retomando, você está falando assim, um fórum permanente para que as pessoas possam discutir de política pública, certo?"

hard identity work and the meso-levels provide a structured environment for that to play

out.

Yet, in spite of the presence of multiple individual identities within these spaces,

Council members view collective action as possible. That is, members representing

individual identities come together as a collective LGBT identity in response to identity

specific demands. This demonstrates a complex dance between emphasizing difference

and sameness within the same space. In one example, the São Paulo State LGBT Council

rallied behind approving a budget for *a travesti e transexual* regional conference:

> "But when the time comes for you to put forward an agenda [item] everyone is solidary. For example, the [São Paulo State] Council just approved 48,000 BRL, a line from the Council, for the 9th Southeastern Regional Meeting of *Travestis* and Transexuals. So, it's [the states of] Minas [Gerais], São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Espírito Santo. [We approved it] because [the meeting] acquired various things, but they didn't acquire housing. Everyone voted [in favor of it], the lesbians voted in favor, the gays, so in these moments, we are together and united..."[60]

One theoretical concern about participatory spaces is that no design adequately

overcomes broader structural inequalities. Even within the most carefully designed

spaces, intersectional societal inequalities quietly persist, influencing interactions

between participants in negative ways. After mentioning concerns about who ultimately

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[60] Author's interview with *Regiane,* 10/15/14: "Mas na hora em que você vai encaminhar uma pauta todo mundo é solidário, por exemplo, o Conselho acabou de aprovar 48 mil reais, uma verba do Conselho, para a realização do Oitavo encontro regional de *Travestis* e Transexuais do Sudeste, então é Minas, São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro e Espírito Santo é... Porque elas conseguiram várias coisas mas não conseguiram hospedagem, e, todos votaram, as lésbicas votaram a favor, os gays, então nessa hora a gente tá junto e unido, pelo menos no Conselho Estadual no qual eu participo."

has voice and decision making power within these spaces, one São Paulo Municipal

Council member critiqued the structure of the State Council along these lines:

> "And you [begin] to see that other things like, look how the space functions. [Speaking to me] You are saying like, it is a space that needs to be a space for dialogue. It's a forum, right? Okay, but I have a forum that functions at a time that makes it impossible for many to participate. The State [Council] is ridiculous, the State [Council] is like this, unthinkable! Because [the only ones] who can dedicate [themselves] are those who have the possibility of a ridiculously flexible work schedule. I, myself, always requested that the meetings of the Council were on a Saturday. After two years of asking, they scheduled one and then unscheduled it, so..."[61]

This particular concern, of time, impacts populations differently. Members of the

State, who attend Council meetings and receive compensation as normal, do not have to

worry about the costs incurred through participatory democracy. Members of civil

society, however, participate without compensation. Frequently, activists point out that

the *travesti e transexual* community, with less access to formal employment, is most

impacted by these types of constraints.

Finally, some remain skeptical of any form of institutional design to mitigate

identity, and intersectional, differences. For one independent *mulher transexual* activist,

these State-apparatus are *para o inglês ver*.[62] She expresses concerns that resonate

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[61] Author's interview with *Pedro,* 10/28/14: "E você tá vendo que outras coisas tipo, olha como o espaço funciona, você tá falando assim, é um espaço que tem que ser um espaço de diálogo, é um fórum certo? Tá, mas eu tenho um fórum que funciona em um horário que impossibilita muitos de participarem o estadual é ridículo, o estado é assim, impensável! Porque só se dedica quem tem uma possibilidade de... Uma flexibilidade de horário de trabalho ridícula e eu mesmo eu sempre pedi para que as reuniões do Conselho fossem de sábado, depois de dois anos pedindo fizeram uma e desmarcaram, então..."

[62] "For the English to see," a popular expression, also used by sociologists and anthropologists, that refers to Brazilian institutions as window dressing.

with a strong form of Rawlsian justice, in which the least fortunate should be guaranteed

the most representation:

> "And so, when I speak of [a] trans population, I already start by saying that it doesn't exist. It already begins that this T, this single T of the letter, it doesn't represent a single identity. But the G represents a single identity, the L represents a single identity. How can I say that each one will have the same number of seats when the T doesn't represent a single identity? And that's where the 'coup' begins....So it's like this, look, for me this is illusory, you know? It's like, *para o inglês ver.* To say to me, look, how cute, we have two seats for the gays, two seats for the lesbians. Look, how cute, everyone is equal! In real life, that isn't how it is, is it? I think, like this, in my opinion, the movement the group of people that is most discriminated is the one that ought to have more space. Even within the gays, within the [sub]group of gays, in these Councils, how many Black, flamboyant, effeminate, poor *bichas* are sitting there? How many? [*Not many*] Anyway, I don't know [of anyone], do you know [of anyone]?"[63]

3.6 CONCLUSION

Through processes of institutionalization, the Brazilian LGBT movement has

moved within State-apparatus. This chapter analyzed participatory policy councils, a

principle demand of the movement and a unique example of State-apparatus in the Latin

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[63] Author's interview with *Silvia,* 11/02/14: "E aí, quando eu falo de população trans eu já começo que não existe, já começa que este T, esse único T da letra, ele não representa uma única identidade, mas o G representa uma única identidade, o L representa uma única identidade, como que eu posso falar que cada um vai ter o mesmo número de cadeiras quando o T não representa uma única identidade? Logo já começa daí o golpe...Então assim, olha, para mim isso é ilusório, sabe? Tipo, é para inglês ver, falar para mim olha que bonitinho, a gente tem duas cadeiras para os gays, duas cadeiras para asa lésbicas, olha que bonitinho tá todo mundo igual, agora vamos para a vida real, na vida real não é assim que se dá, né? Eu acho que assim, na minha opinião, o movimento, o grupo de pessoas mais discriminadas é aquele que deveria ter mais espaço e mesmo dentro dos gays, dentro do grupo dos gays, nesses conselhos quantas bichas pretas, pintosas, femininas, pobres estão lá sentadas? Quantas? [*Poucas.*] Aliás eu nem conheço, você conhece?

American region. Councils provide much needed spaces for movements to come together and do identity work.

How do these meso-level activist environments condition the identity work of the Brazilian LGBT movement? In particular, how do Councils condition the hard identity work of representation? Do these meso-level spaces offer representation for trans identities?

I argue that Councils are strategically designed to structure boundaries of collective identity in ways that facilitate hard identity work of representation. First, councils structure these boundaries through the designation of seats. Second, councils structure these boundaries through the choice of institutional names. These strategic choices point to feedback mechanisms between institutionalization and identity work.

Councils designate seats to CSOs or individual identities. If CSOs represent individual identities, there is potential for effective identity work of representation. However, CSOs are less effective for participation of marginalized groups (McNulty 2013) and may exacerbate conflicts based on partisan identities. On the other hand, designating seats to identity is an effective solution for the representation of individual identities.

Councils are named either for sexual diversity or LGBT rights. The language of sexual diversity is obtuse and does not directly make legible lesbians, gays, bisexuals, *travestis* or *transexuais.* The language of LGBT, however, borrows from the logic of LGBT collective identity. This choice incorporates the boundaries of collective identity within State-apparatus.

These meso-level strategies provide evidence of feedback effects between institutionalization and identity work. The process of constructing an LGBT collective identity involves negotiating contested boundaries. Institutionalization crystallizes these boundaries within the State-apparatus. Ultimately, subsequent interactions of identity work within State-apparatus are structured in ways that reflect earlier outcomes of identity work.

Importantly, the design of these institutions frequently overrepresents trans identities relative to others, taking an affirmative step in representation. Thus, strategic institutional design of State-apparatus opens up opportunities for the representation of *travestis e transexuais* within the contemporary Brazilian movement. Within these meso-level spaces, trans activists like Janaína Lima and Agatha Lima secure leadership positions legitimizing their claims through State-apparatus.

As we shall see in the next section, trans activists utilize meso-level spaces to deploy discursive strategies that further claims for representation within the movement.

CHAPTER 4: MICRO-LEVEL IDENTITY WORK THROUGH DISCOURSE

On January 22, 2014, the São Paulo *Conselho Municipal de Políticas LGBT*

(CMPLGBT; Municipal Council for LGBT Policy) convened its first meeting of the year with

members of the state and the LGBT social movement. Approximately 40 activists were

packed tightly in a small conference room on the ground level of the *Secretaria*

Municipal de Direitos Humanos (Municipal Secretary for Human Rights). They anxiously

awaited details of a new policy program, *TransCidadania*, which promised to offer

pecuniary, vocational, and educational benefits to *travesti e transexual* Brazilians.

I, too, was anxious to hear about this new, ambitious program. In contemporary

Brazil, the LGBT movement has increasingly come under fire for what *travesti* and

transexual activists claim is the continuous prioritization of gay interests. Indeed, I had

just arrived in the field with the goal of understanding how members of identity-based

social movements do the hard identity work of representation within movements. The

inaugural event of *TransCidadania*, set for implementation on January 29 (the National

Day for Trans Visibility) at the very start of my field process seemed to bode well for my

research. Would this mark a significant change in the representation of *travestis e*

transexuais within the LGBT movement?

Julian Rodrigues, then President of the Municipal Council and Coordinator of

LGBT Policy for São Paulo, began to speak. It quickly became clear that *TransCidadania*

would be delayed, significantly, if not entirely.[64] Accusations of fault and personal

conflicts filled the room, with some lamenting one more empty promise for the *travesti e*

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[64] Implementation of *TransCidadania* would not begin until well into 2015.

transexual community. Others personally accused Mr. Rodrigues, a gay, white, male, of

lesbofobia and *transfobia.*

Later in the meeting, the CMPLGBT addressed the recent homicide of Kaique, a

young gay male. Several members of the Council presented a draft of an official

statement on the case from CMPLGBT. Soon, discussion arose over the appropriateness

of the terminology *homofobia* in the letter. Should the letter mention *homotransfobia*,

instead, to recognize that trans identities are frequently the targets of violence? Should

lesbians be included as well, such as *homolesbotransfobia,* to recognize that all LGBT

identites are frequently the targets of violence?

After a tense evening, Mr. Rodrigues began to look visibly disinterested in the

exchanges. He turned to address me, instead:

> *"Only in Brazil, huh, Jake? Have you ever heard of this? Homolesbotransfobia?!"* (Fieldnotes)

Indeed, I had not heard the term *homolesbotransfobia* utilized before. In my

previous fieldwork in 2011, I only recalled hearing the term *homofobia* used by activists

and policy actors to describe discrimination against LGBTs, generally. As my fieldwork

unfolded, these changes in discourse became a primary focus of my observations on the

hard identity work of representation within the movement.

In this chapter, I argue that discursive strategies are particularly important in the

repertoire of trans activists, as they struggle with identity work of representation within

the movement. Institutionalization in State-sponsored public policy - particularly the focus

on *homofobia* - conditions discursive identity work in the micro-level activist environment.

What was once a policy demand has become a keystone upon which the collective movement organizes and is recognized by the State - leaving lesbian, bisexual, and *travesti e transexual* identities erased. In response, activists promote the representation of these identities through tactics of contention and negotiation with the discourses of State-sponsored public policy.

This chapter proceeds as follows. First, I review the role of discourse in identity work, particularly at the micro-level of the activist environment. I introduce an original schema for understanding discursive strategies of identity work. Then, I present analysis of the main findings, arguing for more scholarly attention to contention and negotiation as tactics of discursive strategies. I conclude with a case study of these tactics in action at the micro-level activist environment.

4.1 DISCURSIVE FIELDS AND IDENTITY WORK

New social movement theory (Chapter 1) notes the importance of language and discourse in the construction of identity for empowerment (Bernstein 2008; Snow 2013). Face-to-face exchanges occur within a discursive field as actors within a social movement engage and reengage identity for empowerment (Lichterman 1999). I argue that this process is particularly visible in LGBT movements, as the individual identities that compose the collective movement discursively challenge boundaries of collective identity through appeals to sameness and difference while balancing questions of representation.

Discursive fields are the sites of these social interactions as actors discuss issues and events at hand (Snow 2004).[65] At heart is a focus on the role of language and discourse in shaping, signifying, and defining objects. This occurs in a relational context, whereby the creation of a unified identity requires its juxtaposition against an other, that in turn solidifies the identity. The process of identity formation can thus be read as social antagonism (Torfing 1999; Torfing 2002): discourses construct identity, and identity reconstructs discourse. Identity politics has an intersectional component; indeed, "discourses around national identity, sexuality, gender, or race are not autonomous systems but operate in the context of the institutional supports and practices that they rely upon" (Mottier 2002, 59). As discursive fields expand, so too do the number of identities and interests at stake, and hence the need for hard identity work. Thus, as actors struggle to define the terms of events, discursive fields become contentious, and alternative frames, narratives, and discourses emerge.

Discursive fields impose constraints on the strategic choices available to actors and movements (Steinberg 1999). These are in part determined by the macro-level activist environment that delimit the opportunity structures that exist for new and alternative discourses to rise (Diani 1996; Koopmans and Statham 1999; Snow 2004).[66]

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[65] As mentioned in Chapter 1, discursive fields are the primary locus of social movement action in (re)defining, (re)shaping, and (re)constructing collective identity. Discursive fields are also the repository of beliefs, cultural codes, and myths relevant to these actors (Snow et al. 1986; Benford and Snow 2000; Snow 2013; Diani 1995). In sum, fields set the location for meaning-making work pursued by social movement actors (Benford and Snow 2000). Movements are not simply carriers of ideas based upon external structural factors, ideological positions, or traditional political cleavages - they are actively involved in the process of constructing and signifying meaning, to both internal and external audiences.

[66] For example, the antinuclear movement in Europe found little success in curtailing the construction of new nuclear power plants in France, where State-sponsored denial of problems with nuclear energy was adamant (Koopmans and Duyvendak 1995).

Additionally, cultural values and norms that permeate society and political institutions

constrain strategic action.[67] For example, repressive macro-level environments lead

activists and movements to employ 'invisibility' strategies to protect their constituents

from state violence, as was the case for lesbian organizations in Namibia (Currier 2012).

Where the cultural is predominately heteronormative, activists and movements

strategically use the language of equality that resonates with external audiences (Oswin

2007; Thoreson 2008).

The study of language within discursive fields is present in two research traditions:

framing (see Snow and colleagues) and discursive opportunity structures (DOS) (see

Koopmans and Olzak 2004). There is considerable overlap in ideas and concepts in both

literatures, as well as a tendency to conflate frames and discourses (Johnston 2002). As I

argue below, the DOS approach improves upon framing by recognizing the recursive

relationship between movements and State-sponsored public policy, allowing for an

integration of institutionalization and identity work.

Framing studies focus primarily on explanations of (un)successful mobilization

through analysis of the collective action frames. Collective action frames provide "an

interpretive schemata that signifies and condenses the 'world out there' by selectively

punctuating and encoding objects, situations, events, experiences, and sequences of

action in one's present or past environment" (Snow and Benford 1992, 137). These

provide persuasive arguments that facilitate participation in social movements,

oftentimes depicting situations of injustice for those that belong to a collective identity

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[67] Currier (2012, 10) utilizes Raka Ray's (1999, 6) concept of sociopolitical field: a "structured, unequal, and socially constructed environment within which organizations are embedded and to which organizations and activists constantly respond"

(Gamson 1992; Steinberg 1999). Goals are established, problems are diagnosed,

solutions are proposed, and calls to action are made through different types of frames

(Benford 1987; Benford 1993; McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald 1996; Snow and Benford

1988).

DOS overlaps conceptually with the framing literature, but differs at the unit of

analysis. With a broader outlook, DOS recognizes that the macro-level activist

environment influences discourses and strategies available to actors and movements

(Bröer and Duyvendak 2012).[68] Importantly, DOS privileges the role of State-sponsored

public policy: it influences the content of the discursive field by establishing boundaries

and logics within which movements and actors exist (Hajer 1995). Typically, DOS

identifies these as dominant (or hegemonic) discourses. These discourses influence the

subjectivity of social movement actors as they attempt to situate themselves in relation to

it within the discursive field (Bröer and Duyvendak 2012).[69]

The DOS approach improves upon framing by recognizing that State-sponsored

public policy shapes discourse and vice versa. Thus, it opens the way for consideration

of institutionalization processes in analysis. However, the insights from DOS have not yet

been applied to identity work. We do not know how discourse is used internally to

address differences related to identity, for example. And we know even less about how

State-sponsored public policy shapes these discursive exchanges as social movements

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[68] The framing literature focuses on micro-level mechanisms (cognitive) and views frames as a
strategic outcome of movement activities.
[69] Actors may experience consonance, dissonance, or avoidance if they are in agreement,
disagreement, or avoidance with the dominant discourses (Bröer and Duyvendak 2009).

(re)construct and re(define) boundaries of collective identity. This chapter seeks to begin

filling those gaps.

4.2 DISCURSIVE STRATEGIES FOR MICRO-LEVEL IDENTITY WORK

I introduce the idea of discursive strategies that engage in two primary tactics:

contention and negotiation. The social movement literature, framing, and DOS frequently

refer to contention and negotiation. These terms are not fully developed as concepts,

however.

At times, contention refers to the contentious politics of Tilly (1986; 2008), which

spans the gamut of protest to revolution. At other times, contention refers to the framing

process: "it is contentious in the sense that it involves the generation of interpretive

frames that not only differ from existing ones but that may also challenge them" (Benford

and Snow 2000, 614). For scholars working in the discursive tradition, contention is the

recognition that multiple discourses compete for discursive space, or hegemony, by way

of challenges by different groups (Johnston 2002). According to Bröer and Duyvendak

(2012), "contentious action can be depicted as a struggle between more or less

established players, in a given field or arena, about some fixed desired goal" (240). As for

negotiation, the term is typically employed to recognize the social process of

aggregating preferences and constructing (collective) meaning (Gamson 1992; Benford

and Snow 2000).

In short, both contention and negotiation are useful, though undeveloped,

concepts that orient our thinking about social movements. I view contention and

negotiation as tactics of discursive strategies used by actors to do hard identity work at the micro-level. These tactics exist within the context of institutionalization and are conditioned by discourses of State-sponsored public policy at the macro-level. I integrate concepts identity work to create a typology of tactics distinguished between the following variables: relations of difference/sameness, identity as individual/collective, goals as self representation/collective representation, solutions as separation/inclusion, and alternative discourses. The typology is presented in Appendix 5.0 Figure 4.1.

Contention occurs when alternative discourses challenge the hegemony of a dominant discourse. It is a hard form of identity work and emphasizes difference of individual identities in relation to the collective identity.[70] Contention posits separation from a collective identity and a return to a focus on individual identities. The primary goal is self representation and visibility apart from the collective movement.

Negotiation occurs when alternative discourse(s) operate within the bounds of the dominant discourse. It is an easier form of hard identity work and emphasizes sameness of individual identities in relation to the collective identity.[71] Negotiation posits inclusion into the collective identity and a focus on maintaining collective identity. The primary goal is representation within the collective and visibility within the movement.

In the analysis that follows, I establish the dominant discourse of *homofobia* that has emerged from institutionalization within State-sponsored public policy. Then, I discuss examples of tactics of contention and negotiation. I conclude with a case study of the 2014 São Paulo LGBT Pride Parade that illustrates these ideas in action.

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[70] As such, it is analogous to a focus on particularities in the second (& third) wave of feminism.
[71] As such, it is analogous to a focus on the universal in the third wave of feminism

4.3 CONTENTION: FROM THE DOMINANCE OF *HOMOFOBIA* TO *TRANSFOBIA*

A powerful indicator of the dominant discourse of the Brazilian LGBT movement can be found in State-sponsored public policy. The 2004 publication of *Brasil Sem Homofobia* effectively set the stage for a contemporary movement that prioritizes the criminalization of acts of *homofobia*. With the passage of national conferences in 2008 and 2011, as well as national directives for municipalities and states to adopt their own individual policy programs to combat *homofobia*, the term and its political usage have become synonymous with "gay rights." In essence, the state and the media, as well as social movement activists, have all coalesced around both a policy priority and a dominant discourse that demarcates and delimits the actions of the broader movement.

The movement adopts its understanding of *homofobia* from the work of Borillo (2010), an Argentine academic who theorizes the origins of prejudice against, primarily, a homosexual community. Yet the term has been popularized in quotidian talk among Brazilians to refer to discrimination, violence, and prejudice against the LGBT community as a whole. In that sense, as nomenclature, *homofobia* assumes the status of an umbrella-term for violence against LGBTs, without differentiating amongst violence committed against lesbians, gays, bissexuals, *travestis* or *transexuais*. In interviews and public debates, some older activists – mostly gay, but not exclusively - continue to defend the appropriateness of the term for characterizing any type of discrimination or violence committed against LGBTs.

Criminalization of homophobia is – and has been – a primary demand of the Brazilian LGBT movement for the past decade.[72] From 2006 to 2013, the São Paulo *Parada de Orgulho LGBT*, the largest of any event worldwide, featured the term *homofobia* in every year's annual theme. The *Parada* is also coloquially known as the *Parada Gay* - and not the *Parada LGBT*. As the largest and most important moment in annual visibility, the *Parada* is an important site for identity work within the movement.

Analysis of two principal sources of Brazilian news media, the *Folha de São Paulo* and *Estadão* confirms the dominance of these discourses. I conducted a frequency search using their online databases for the terms *homofobia* and *transfobia*, as well as *Parada Gay* and *Parada LGBT*.[73] The results are present in Appendix 5.0 Figure 4.2.

The results from the frequency counts suggest the relative dominance of the term *homofobia* to *transfobia*. In all, the *Folha de São Paulo* reported *homofobia* 3239 times and *transfobia* only 36 times; the *Estadão* reported *homofobia* 4207 times and *transfobia* only 57 times. Additionally, the frequency counts also suggest the prioritization of the term *Parada Gay* over the more inclusive *Parada LGBT*. The *Folha de São Paulo* reported *Parada Gay* 2445 times to *Parada LGBT* 78 times; the *Estadão* used *Parada Gay* 1832 times to *Parada LGBT* 99 times.

The discursive dominance of *homofobia* and *Parada Gay* are important when considering the concept of boundaries in identity for empowerment. Both of these terms privilege gay male identity, exacerbating inequality of representation and visibility within

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[72] See Chapter 1 and Chapter 2 for more on public policy related to *homofobia*.
[73] This data was collected on January 20, 2016. The online database for the *Folha de São Paulo* return results from as early as 1994. The online database for the *Estadão* returns results from as early as 1980.

the collective LGBT movement. LBT identities are effectively crowded out from consideration in the discursive field, and the boundary of collective identity constricts to gay identity.

Recently, the discursive dominance of *homofobia* has increasingly been questioned from within the LGBT social movement. These challenges are loudest from *travesti e transexual* activists. While the Brazilian movement has approximately 40 years of activity, the *travesti e transexual* movement claims a mere 20 years of activity. *Travesti e transexual* activists assert that momentum for achieving their policy preferences, as their own protagonists, has only recently begun to solidify. Some interviewees estimated that recent successes of the *travesti e transexual* movement in organizing and pressing for policy change, both within the LGBT movement and within society have occurred over the past three years.

An important mark in this process was the introduction of the term *transfobia* to the discursive field of the social movement. Interviewees place this at some point during the second wave of conferences held in 2011.[74] A prominent *mulher transexual* activist, Fernanda de Morães, spoke during the conference to challenge the discursive hegemony of *homofobia*. One *mulher transexual* recounted the moment in our interview:

> "[*I was also here in 2011 doing my Masters over the law 10.948, I don't know if I told you. At the time, I heard a lot about homofobia but I don't remember hearing anything about transfobia.*] This word didn't exist. This word was born in the Conference in 2011, in the municipal, state, and federal conferences that happened in December of 2010. And this word was spoken there, the one who was the precursor of this word was Fernanda de Morães, understand? [*She was?*] She was. And we have to recognize this. She said at the national conference that homofobia

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[74] The term *transfobia* does appear in the annals of the 2008 conference. It is important to note that activists perceive the term as gaining traction post 2011.

didn't represent her and we were....[quiet]. Because until then, for us it was okay, we didn't have [alternatives]...we fought with the weapons of Saint George[75], the only weapon that we had in hand. And from there, all this started."[76]

The argument is repeated today: *homofobia* contemplates discrimination and prejudice based upon sexual orientation; it refers to the discrimination suffered by gay men because the objects of their desire challenge compulsory heterosexuality. Thus, a heterosexual *mulher transexual*, for example, is not a victim of *homofobia*, as the object of her desire is a male subject, and she does not transgress the limits of compulsory heterosexuality.

She is, however, a victim of *transfobia*, discrimination and prejudice based upon gender-identity in a cissexual and cisgender society. The violence perpetrated by acts of *transfobia* is potentially more egregious than *homofobia*; the negation of gender-identity is a denial of self and subjectivity and not simply desire. Importantly, *travesti e transexual* activists contend the use of the term *homofobia* to designate discrimination they suffer constitutes an act of *transfobia*, since the misappropriation of this term deconstructs *travesti* and *transexual* identity and discursively resignifies them as gay men.[77]

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[75] A reference to a popular prayer to warrior Saint George (São Jorge) for protection; or in Candomble, the Orixá Ogum.

[76] Author's interview with *Laura,* 11/05/14: "[*Eu tava aqui também em 2011 fazendo mestrado sobre a lei 10.948, não sei se eu cheguei a falar... Aí na época eu escutava bastante sobre homofobia eu não lembro de escutar nada sobre transfobia...*] Não existia essa palavra... Essa palavra ela nasceu na conferência de 2010, nas conferencias municipais, estaduais e federal que aconteceu em dezembro de 2010 e essa palavra foi falada ali, quem foi a percussora dessa palavra, foi a Fernanda de Moraes, entendeu? [*Foi?*] Foi. E a gente tem que reconhecer isso, ela falou na conferência nacional que a homofobia não a representava e nós ficamos... Que até então para gente estava tudo bem, não tinha... A gente jogava com as armas de Jorge, a única arma que a gente tinha na mão.. E dali começou isso tudo, né."

[77] See Chapter 2 for a discussion of these earlier processes in identity construction.

After affirming that the most important issue on the movement's agenda is

transfobia, one *mulher transexual* provided an explanation of how the two differ:

> "Because it's like this, I say jokingly that a homosexual, a gay, he is only beaten. Most of the time, he is only beaten. The *travesti* or the *transexual*, no, she is killed, she is massacred, right? So like this, today the biggest issue is, bias of course, make the [LGBT] community as one, society, politicians, understand that *transfobia* is not *homofobia*. That it is a totally different crime, but a crime incited by hate, also. Precisely because we *assumimos* [assume, as in 'come out'] our gender-identity, right? And, for example, within a case of *homofobia*, a homosexual man is able to hide that he is homosexual. Nobody knows if he is homosexual or not, just like we've had [in Brazil], cases of *homofobia* that were between heterosexual people, between father and son, between friends, understand? We have no way to lie about our gender-identity, it's there, *na cara* [on your face], 24 hours [a day]. [*You don't have this closet.*] Right, this closet doesn't exist, this closet or mask, because I think that…Difficulty a person…I don't like to say closet, I like to say mask because like, you put on a mask to pass more discretely on the street. But us, we don't even have a mask, we have a mask that is marvelous makeup, this hair, this whole thing, right? And today, the biggest issue, in my opinion, is *transfobia*."[78]

As a contentious mode of discourse, the introduction of the term *transfobia* is not

made quietly in debate and deliberation. Here, activists engage in the hard work of

identity work: questions of difference are made salient and concerns of justice and

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[78] Author's interview with *Sabrina,* 09/30/14: "Porque assim, é… E eu falo até brincando que o homessexual, né, o gay, ele só apanha. Na maioria dos casos ele só apanha, a *travesti* ou a transexual não, ela é morta, ela é massacrada, né? Então assim, hoje em dia a maior pauta é viés de fato, fazer a… a comunidade como um todo, a sociedade, os políticos entenderem que a transfobia não é homofobia, que é um crime totalmente diferente porém um crime incitado por ódio, também, justamente porque nós assumimos a nossa identidade de gênero, né? E por exemplo, dentro de um caso de homofobia, um rapaz homossexual, dá para ele esconder que ele é homossexual, ninguém sabe se ele é homossexual ou não, assim como nós já tivemos caso de homofobia que foram entre pessoas heterossexuais, entre pai e filho, entre amigos… Entendeu? A gente não tem como mentir nossa identidade de gênero, ela tá ali, na cara 24 horas. [*Não tem esse armário…*] É não existe esse armário, esse armário ou máscara, porque eu acho que…. Dificilmente uma pessoa, eu não gosto de falar armário, eu gosto de falar máscara porque assim, cê coloca uma mascara passar mais discretinho na rua mas a gente nem máscara tem, a gente tem essa máscara que é essa maquiagem maravilhosa, esse cabelo, essa coisa toda…. Né? E hoje em dia, a maior pauta, na minha opinião, é a transfobia.

equality within the social movement rise to the top. In doing so, activists focus on the

particular, rather than the universal, of individual identity. They strive for self-

representation and protagonism apart from the (gay) collective LGBT movement. At

times, there are threats or overt calls for separation from the collective LGBT movement.

Travesti e transexual activists also engage in contentious discourse to combat the

erasure of trans identities from within the LGBT movement. As Namaste (2000) argues,

transgendered people are made invisible through processes of erasure that occur across

the macro-level activist environment.[79] Thus, the existence of transgendered people is

erased from law to public policy to medicine and popular culture.

Travesti e transexual activists recognize the invisibility and lack of representation

they face from within the Brazilian LGBT movement. In fact, there are active formulations

of discursive strategies to combat invisibility and promote positive visibility.[80]

> [*It's really interesting. Do you think, when you speak of transfobia, you are gaining visibility?*] Yes, yes, yes because just the word, *transfobia*, people are going to say - what is *transfobia?* - From the moment that you place a doubt in the head of a person, that....If it's in her interest, even if it isn't, there'll be a question mark there. And that's already visibility. Only that from there, we have to be careful because it can be positive or negative visibility. So, it falls on us to do the work, the social work. [*Controlling, right, visibility*].[81]

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[79] Namaste (2000) looks at institutional, cultural, and rhetorical sites.

[80] Currier (2013) proposes the concept of visiblity strategies for similar ideas.

[81] Author's interview with *Laura,* 11/05/14: [*É bem interessante... Você acha que quando você fala de transfobia você tá ganhando visibilidade?*] Sim, sim... Sim, porque só a palavra transfobia o pessoal vai falar "O que que é transfobia?" a partir da hora que você coloca um dúvida na cabeça de uma pessoa, aquilo... Se é de interesse dela, o mesmo se não é, vai ficar um interrogação ali, e isso já é uma visibilidade. Só que daí, a gente tem que tomar cuidado porque pode ser uma visibilidade positiva ou negativa... Aí cabe a nós fazer o trabalho fazer o trabalho social. [*Controlar, né, a visibilidade.*]

Continuing the conversation, she remarks on controlling visibility for different audiences. Within the LGBT movement, she is in favor of using the broader neologism of *LGBTfobia* to encapsulate all identities. However, for the media, this runs the risk of making trans persons invisible once again. The choice illuminates the dilemma of establishing boundaries based on sameness and difference for internal and external audiences:

> [*And when you said, a little bit earlier, about your position on saying LGBTfobia and trying to make things simpler, what do you think about the strategy, for the trans segment, of adopting the term transfobia or adopting the term LGBTfobia?*]
> Well, they are two completely different things. LGBTfobia, I think that it can be used, yes, within our LGBT movement. Outside of the LGBT movement, only two 'acronyms' exist: *homofobia* and *transfobia*. [*Right*]. Then it's like, a question of where we are going to say this. Now, if it's going to be throwing out LGBTfobia in the media, I'm already not in favor. Because once again, [the media] will put us back in the package of homosexuals. [*I understand*]. Understand? And this is going to be very dangerous. I mean, then, these 20 years of the T movement will be thrown under the water again. [*It is, I've been thinking a lot about this idea*.] It is, it is very dangerous. But among us LGBTs, I think that it's more practical because our [time] limits for speeches at conferences are strict. So, until you've said homolesbotransfobia, you've lost a few seconds. So LGBTfobia is faster, thus, it's a question of communication.[82]

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[82] Author's interview with *Laura,* 11/05/14: "[*E quando você falou antes ou pouco sobre a postura de falar em LGTBfobia, né, de tentar deixar mais simples, que você acha como estratégia pelo menos, pro segmento de transfobia, de adotar o termo de transfobia ou de adotar o termo de LGBTfobia?*] Bom, é, são duas coisas completamente diferentes. A LGBTfobia eu acho que ela podia ser usada sim, dentro do nosso movimento LGBT, fora do movimento LGBT, só existe duas siglas, a homofobia e a transfobia. [*Certo.*] Então assim, é uma questão de aonde nós vamos falar isso, né, agora se é para soltar LGBTfobia nas mídias, eu já não sou a favor. Porque de novo vai colocar a gente no pacote de homossexuais. [*Entendi...*] Entendeu? E isso vai ser muito perigoso. Quer dizer, aí esses 20 anos de movimento T, vai ser de novo jogado por água abaixo... [*É, eu tava pensando bastante nessa ideia...]* É, é bem perigosa... Mas entre nós LGBT, eu acho que é mais prático porque os nossos prazos de falas em conferencias, é estreito então até você falar homolesbotransfobia, você perdeu alguns segundos, então LGBTfobia é mais rápido, então é uma questão só mesmo de comunicação."

Another alternative discourse proposed by tactics of contention relates to the

multiplicity of trans identities within the Brazilian movement and the appropriateness of a

single "T" in the acronym LGBT. In common parlance, activists frequently make reference

to *travesti e transexual* women by saying *as TTs* (literally, the TTs, feminine pronoun).[83] A

second common term is simply *trans*, used as an umbrella term (like English).

These expressions - *as TTs* and *trans* - are resisted by some prominent *travesti e*

transexual activists. Here, activists do identity work with tactics of contention that

promote the visibility and fight the erasure of *travesti e transexual* identities, thus

expanding the boundaries of identity for empowerment. In the case of *as TTs*, activists

openly challenge the use of a convenient abbreviation to refer to a diverse group that is

marginalized within the collective LGBT movement. In several instances during my

fieldwork, Janaína Lima, one of the most senior *travesti* activists and later President of

CMADS, would take to the microphone during meetings and challenge the movement

with the following:

> '*Who dares to say travesti e transexual?...The use of TT makes travestis and*
> *transexuals invisible again...It's like you feel fear or disgust of the word travesti and*
> *transexual*'[84]

With these words, Janaina Lima challenges the movement to do identity work and

guarantee the representation of *travesti* and transexuals within everyday talk of the

collective movement. Moreover, she touches on the sentiment that *transfobia* is

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[83] I observed these abbreviations frequently in tandem with *as meninas* (the girls), which ascribes gender-identity to the subjects, but negates full female maturity and womanhood with its patronizing tone.
[84] CMADS Fieldnotes, indirect quotation.

prevalent within the LGBT movement, as well as the broader stigma against *travesti*

identities, in particular.

The popular term *trans* also meets significant resistance from prominent activists.

In particular, Fernanda de Morães opposes the use of *trans* on political grounds: *trans* is

simply a prefix that does not refer to any particular social group that is organized

politically. This demands recognition of boundaries established by the movement as

travestis, mulheres transexuais, and *homens trans* - and not simply *trans*. Similar to the

challenges posed by Janaina Lima to the use of "TT", Fernanda de Morães demands the

visibility of these historically marginalized identities within the LGBT movement. By

fighting this erasure of identity, Fernanda de Morães also reminds the movement that the

construction of political identity by these groups has been a long historic process; while

they may be similar, *travestis, mulheres transexuais*, and *homens trans* should not be

conflated, and thus, erased.

Indeed, resistance to these terms was recounted during one interview:

"At the time, in 2010, always in 2010, Fernanda de Morães and I - by then it wasn't only Fernanda, it was also my idealization - we wanted [a term] to include *as pessoas travestis e transexuais e transgêneros*. Because that fight had already started over who was whom, to the point that we didn't even understand anymore, and all the sudden the *homens trans* appeared, they appeared from 2010 to now [2014]. And we ended up with the nomenclature of *pessoas trans* [trans persons]. [*I liked that*]. I liked that, I am [being] sincere, because I think it includes everyone. [*Sorry, I use this when I write academic articles*]. Only that it's wrong, and it wasn't accepted by the *travestis*. The *travestis* didn't accept it. And who was the first person that opposed it in all of Brazil - Janaína Lima. In other words, in our state [São Paulo, the term] was born and in our state [São Paulo] it died. Understand? On one hand, I even understand, right, because they [*travestis*] have the right to not identify as trans...because the *travesti* has *that strong thing* of what it is to be a *travesti*. The trans [*mulher transexual*], she already has *that thing* that is [to be]

humble, delicate, almost a derivative of the submissive woman, that the *travesti* doesn't want [to be]."[85]

Negotiation is a second tactic of hard identity work of representation. Negotiation emphasizes and prioritizes the collective construction identity and the boundaries of LGBT before individual identities. It is an easier form of hard identity work, as the discursive practices of negotiation operate within the dominant boundaries of the *homofobia* discourse.[86]

The use of negotiation leads to calls for inclusion of *travesti e transexual* identities within the collective LGBT movement. A primary objective here is the maintenance of collective identity and an equalization of representation across all LGBT identities. Thus, we witness the side-by-side visibility of multiple identities within the parameters of the dominant discourse and boundaries of LGBT collective identity.

The alternative discourses proposed under negotiation are creative neologisms that evidence challenges inherent in maintaining an ever shifting understanding of collective identity. One popular proposal is the discursive junction of disparate fobias into

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[85] Author's interview with *Laura,* 11/05/14: " É a mesma coisa, nós.... Na época, em 2010, sempre em 2010, eu e a Fernanda de Moraes, aí já não era só a Fernanda, já era uma idealização minha, nós queríamos englobar as pessoas *travestis* e transexuais, transgeneros, porque já começou aquela briga de quem era quem, que a gente já não entendia mais, do nada apareceram os homens trans, que eles aparecerem de 2010 para cá. E nós saímos com a nomenclatura de p essoas trans. [Eu adorava isso...] Eu adorava isso, eu sou sincera, porque eu acho que contempla todo mundo. [Desculpa, eu uso isso quando eu escrevo acadêmico assim, artigo.] Só que é errado, não foi aceito pelas *travestitravestis*, as *travestitravestis* não aceitaram. E quem foi a primeira pessoa que bateu contra no Brasil todo, a Janaina Lima. Quer dizer, no nosso estado nasceu e no nosso estado morreu. Entendeu? De um lado eu até entendo, né, porque elas também tem o direito de não se identificarem como trans, porque a *travesti* tem aquelas coisa forte, do que é ser *travesti*, a trans ela já tem aquela coisa é, humilde, delicada, que quase derivado da mulher submissa, que a *travesti* não quer.

[86] In that way, it is similar to the concept of resonance identified in the framing and discursive opportunity literatures.

new inclusive terms: *homofobia + transfobia = homotransfobia; homofobia + lesbofobia =*

homolesbofobia. Activists frequently utilize the term *homolesbotransfobia*, while others

promote *homolesbitransfobia*, and still others employ *LGBTfobia*.

4.4 CASE STUDY OF THE 2014 SÃO PAULO PRIDE PARADE

The *Parada de Orgulho LGBT de São Paulo* is considered the largest of its kind in

the world, attracting several million participants each year (Simões and Facchini 2009).

The first *Parada* occurred in 1997 on Avenida Paulista, the main thoroughfare of São

Paulo City. It attracted around 2,000 participants; by 2008, the APOGLBT self reported

an estimated five million participants. The *Parada* is considered a mark of LGBT visibility

in Brazilian society and its influence stretches well beyond the confines of São Paulo city.

For 2014, the APOGLBT directorate selected the theme "A winning country is a

country without *homofobia*. No more deaths! Criminalization now!" (Estadão 2014).[87] The

theme referenced the upcoming World Cup competition in Brazil. It also referenced

attempts to criminalize homophobia in the national legislature.

On January 30, 2014, a public petition entitled "APOGLBT: Make the Theme of the

Parada the Gender-Identity Law (João Nery Law)" circulated via Avaaz.org.[88] As of its

close, it had achieved 6,902 signatories. The petition promised to turn in a copy of the

demands to the APOGLBT by February 21, 2014.

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[87] Translation by author; original text: "País vencedor é país sem homofobia. Chega de mortes! Criminalização já!"

[88] (APOGLBT: Tomar Como Tema da Parada a Lei de Identidade de Gênero (Lei João Nery) https://secure.avaaz.org/po/petition/APOGLBT_Associacao_do_Orgulho_GLBT_de_Sao_Paulo_Tomar_como_tema_da_parada_a_lei_de_Identidade_de_Genero_Lei_Joao_W_Nery/?fpla

The petition was written by the prominent *transfeminista* activist Daniela Andrade. It engaged in a decidedly contentious tactic of identity work, criticizing the APOGLBT for its excessive focus on *homofobia* and the lack of representation offered to *travestis e transexuais* across the years. The petition proposed "I respect *travestis e transexuais* and want the passage of the João Nery Law" as an alternative theme for the Parada.[89]

Andrade opens the petition with a scathing critique of the history of themes chosen by the APOGLBT. By its 18th edition, the *Parada* never featured a theme that focused exclusively on *travestis e transexuais*; at best, early *Paradas* (2000, 2001, 2002) used the broad language of diversity. Instead, according to Andrade, the eight most recent editions (2006-2013) focus on combating *homofobia*. Andrade further criticizes the *Parada* for endorsing "gaycentric" and irrelevant themes for the *Parada*. Why, she asks, does the *Parada* insist on criminalizing *homofobia* if the legislation is now dead?

There is also a direct challenge to the discursive dominance of *homofobia*. As Andrade writes,

> "despite having those who defend that the term homofobia covers lesbofobia and transfobia, the understanding that this word [homofobia] only repeats a gayzista tendency of the movement in detriment to the other, less visible segments, has gained strength, especially among *travestis* and transexuals. Anyway, the understanding (logic) under which 'homofobia covers transfobia does not sustain."[90]

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[89] Translation by author; original text: "Eu respeito *travestis* e transexuais e quero a aprovação do Projeto de Lei João Nery!"

[90] Translation by author; original text: "Apesar de haver quem defenda que o termo "homofobia" abrange "lesbofobia" e "transfobia", tem ganhado força, especialmente entre *travestitravestis* e transexuais, o entendimento de que essa palavra ("homofobia") apenas repete uma tendência "gayzista" do movimento, em detrimento dos demais segmentos, menos visíveis….De qualquer forma, a compreensão segundo a qual "homofobia abrange transfobia" não se sustena" (Andrade 2014).

This segment is an important example of identity work that redefines boundaries of the collective identity. First, Andrade contends the discursive dominance of homofobia by negating its universality and inclusivity; instead, its particularity and exclusivity are emphasized. Instead, a focus on difference is proposed through recognition of *transfobia* as a distinct mode of violence. Second, the autonomy and self-protagonism of the *travesti e transexual* movement is highlighted, especially in regards to recent discursive challenges to *homofobia*. These qualities clearly mark the petition as an example of discursive strategies using contentious tactics.

A parallel online campaign on Facebook asked supporters of the petition to generate profile pictures depicting the proposed change "I want the Theme of the Parada to be the Adoption of the João Nery Law: Sign the Petition so that the Largest Pride Parade in the World Gives Visibility to *Travestis e transexuais*."[91] At least ninety-four activists generated these images, including João W. Nery (of the gender-identity law), Daniela Andrade, and many high profile actors of the LGBT social movement. As the petition and campaign circulated online, the APOGLBT acceded to pressures and convened a meeting with the movement to discuss the matter.

Prior to the meeting, the official stance of the APOGLBT was that suggestions for the theme had been taken online and the theme had been decided in a democratic fashion. The APOGLBT also indicated that it would be impossible to change the theme

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[91] Examples of these images available upon request. Translation by author; original text: "Eu quero que o tema da Parada LGBT de São Paulo seja a aprovação da Lei João Nery: Assine o abaixo-assinado para que a maior Parada do mundo dê visibilidade a *travestitravestis* e transexuais!"

since production for the *Parada* was in the works (Estadão 2014). As the petition gained

traction, the APOGLBT released an official note that, as a compromise, the *Parada* would

include a soundcar (trio elétrico) exclusively for *travestis e transexuais*. The offer was met

with a good deal of mockery by *travesti e transexual* activists who retorted:

"I've spent my entire life on stage – I don't need a soundcar!"[92]

On February 19, 2014 activists in support of the petition and official

representatives of the *Parada* gathered at the small headquarters of the APOGLBT in

downtown São Paulo. A meeting room suited for around fifteen brimmed to capacity as

30 to 40 individuals struggled to find a chair. The meeting officially began at 5:30 p.m.;

by 6:30, activists took turns presenting their *falas* (speeches), with an office closing time

of 8:00 p.m. adding an element of expediency to the proceedings.

The meeting was notably tense, with heated exchanges between activists from

both sides of the aisle. Three speeches in particular highlighted the night: one from

Fernanda de Morães and Agatha Lima, who represented *mulheres transexuais* in favor of

changing the theme, and one from Nelson Mathias, then Vice President of the APOGLBT.

Mathias, in a somber tone, read a list of LGBTs murdered in the previous year.

After some time, he reiterated the need to criminalize *homofobia* and stated that

perpetrators of violence make no distinction between identities of LGBTs; moreover, he

added, internal conflict within the LGBT movement only serves to strengthen opponents.

While Mathias seemed to promote conciliation and inclusion, his discursive reliance on

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[92] Translation by author; indirect quote from fieldnotes.

homofobia and sameness effectively flattens differences important to the movement and

exacerbates identity work of representation. Here, in particular, the effects of State-

sponsored public policy are strong: criminalizing *homofobia* conditions the discourses

and conceptions of collective identity available to Mathias.

On the other hand, Fernanda de Morães and Agatha Lima utilized a tactic of

negotiation in their speeches. Both of these activists appealed to an expansion of the

boundaries of collective identity, emphasizing the need to celebrate differences that

characterize the collective movement. This type of identity work, as Bernstein (2008)

notes, mitigates identity dilemmas.

Fernanda de Morães argued that the petition was not intended to separate the

LGBT movement, but rather to include *travestis e transexuais*:

"The purpose of our mobilization is not to separate the LGBT movement, but
to include *as travestis e transexuais* in the movement"[93]

Recognizing the size of the *Parada*, Fernanda de Morães suggested that it would

offer much needed visibility to the *travesti e transexual* community. It would also

encourage smaller *Paradas* to follow suit with a similar theme, thus creating positive

momentum to influence the adoption of national legislation. Agatha Lima echoed these

claims and offered compromise in the form of a joint theme – utilizing the discursive

alternatives under negotiation – of *homolesbotransfobia*. This alternative functions within

the logic of State-sponsored public policy of *homofobia,* but expands the boundary of

collective identity to include each identity.

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[93] Translation by author; indirect quote from fieldnotes, 02/19/14.

This change would, according to Agatha Lima, signify the overt inclusion of

travestis e transexuais in the Parada. It would also promote positive representation and

visibility in Brazil and beyond. Thus, it would be an effective form of hard identity work to

negotiate the representation of multiple competing identities within the logic of collective

identity. As Agatha Lima said,

> "The change would garner international visibility for trans persons...let's develop a theme together to show inclusion [of the trans community]."[94]

Leadership of the APOGLBT staked out a firm position of opposition through the

beginning of the meeting. The President and Vice President, both veteran gay activists,

expressed skepticism about the demands from trans activists. At one point, Mathias

offered that "a [gender-identity] law won't resolve things," directly rebuking the primary

demand to change the theme. Additionally, Mathias discursively constructed *travestis*

and *transexuais* once again within a monolithic identity of homosexual.[95] In separate

moments, the following remarks were made by Mathias:

> "I don't want to argue over who suffers more....the opposition wins when the movement is fragmented."[96]

> "The question of gender [identity] is complicated and ought to be an internal [movement] debate".[97]

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[94] Translation by author; indirect quote from fieldnotes, 02/19/14.
[95] This process was discussed in Chapter 1. It is a key moment in the negotiation of symbols as identity for empowerment (see Taylor and Whittier 1992).
[96] Translation by author; indirect quote from fieldnotes, 02/19/14.
[97] Translation by author; indirect quote from fieldnotes, 02/19/14.

These comments appeal to a sense of LGBT solidarity and collectivity without actually honoring the demands of trans activists. That is, trans activists are encouraged to relinquish their demands for fear of fragmenting the movement in the face of religious opposition. In particular, calls for acknowledging the specifities of *transfobia* are denied as overly complicated for a broader audience. One *mulher transexual* rebuked such positions as fallacies in our conversation:

> "For me, this is an incredibly shabby excuse. You mean, could it be that [the general] population always understood what *homofobia* was, or the population was taught what *homofobia* was? I wasn't born knowing what *homofobia* was - they taught me this - I learned it and I can't learn what *transfobia* is? I only have a single neuron and this neuron only functions to learn what *homofobia* is, and that's it? No, that's not how it is. So, stop lying. To me, the movement lies when it comes with this shabby excuse of - look, you can't talk about *transfobia* because the population will not understand.' The population isn't dumb, - 'ah, but the population doesn't have schooling.' I know illiterate people that know what *transfobia* is, look, how curious. So like, you don't need to have gone to school to learn something, even because learning is something inherent to human beings, having or not having gone to school."[98]

As the meeting wrapped up, activists and representatives of APOGLBT struck a deal: the 18th Parada would feature a soundcar for *travestis e transexuais* – known as the *trio das trans* – and the theme would be "amplified" to include the concerns of other

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[98] Author's interview with *Silvia,* 11/02/14: "Para mim é uma desculpa esfarrapadíssima, quer dizer, será que a população sempre entendeu o que era homofobia ou a população foi ensinada o que era homofobia? Eu não nasci sabendo o que era homofobia, me ensinaram isso, eu aprendi e eu não posso aprender o que é transfobia? Eu só tenho um neurônio, esse neurônio só funciona para aprender o que é homofobia é assim que se dá? Não, não é assim que se dá. Então para de mentir. O movimento para mim, mente quando vem com essa desculpa esfarrapada de que ó, não pode falar de transfobia porque a população não vai entender, a população não é burra, né… ah que a população não tem estudo, eu conheço gente analfabeta que sabe o que é transfobia, olha que curioso…Então assim, você não precisa nem ter ido à escola para você aprender alguma coisa, até porque né, o aprendizado é algo inerente ao ser humano, tendo ido ou não tendo ido à escola.

identity groups, as well as a direct reference to the Lei João Nery. Sound cars and shirts would be printed not with "a winning country is a country without *homofobia*!" Instead, they would feature "a winning country is a country without *homolesbotransfobia*!"

4.5 CONCLUSION

Social movements organized upon the lines of identity often find themselves in a paradoxical situation. Theoretically, identity is the basis for collective action and mobilization. It is the glue that should hold together individuals who claim different individual identities. In practice, identity often fragments and fractures movements, especially LGBT movements. When activists confront questions of difference, inequality, and representation within collective movements, they must do hard identity work to resolve these problems.

What strategies do activists use to achieve representation for particular identities in collective identity social movements? At the micro-level of the activist environment, one strategy is discourse: activists, especially *travesti e transexuais*, utilize discursive strategies that oscillate between tactics of contention and negotiation. Importantly, institutionalization within State-sponsored public policy conditions the content and possibility of this identity work.

Contention represents an overt challenge to the discursive hegemony of *homofobia*, a term that has become synonymous with the LGBT social movement, the pursuit of rights, public policy, and public recognition. Contention deconstructs a homonormative logic of gay politics that discursively erases *travesti e transexual*

identities from representative space. *Travesti e transexual* activists exercise agency by introducing the discourse of *transfobia* in to the discursive field of the social movement, and with it a strong claim for visibility that is independent of collective LGBT politics. They also demand that speakers engage in the discursive labor of speaking *travesti e transexual* in full, rejecting convenient abbreviations such as "TT" or *trans.* Contention shifts the boundaries of collective identity.

Negotiation, on the other hand, works within the logic of the dominant discourse of *homofobia*. Rather than seeking to directly challenge this discourse, activists propose creative neologisms, such as *homolesbotransfobia*, that focus on inclusion of underrepresented identities. These tactics maintain and reinforce collective identity as part of an LGBT social movement. They work within preestablished boundaries of collective identity.

In making these arguments, I want to emphasize that the tactic of contention does not signify hostility, just as negotiation is not the acquiescence of difference. Rather, they are used strategically as activists assess the limits imposed by the discursive field of any given social interaction. Contention and negotiation are employed hand and hand as *travesti e transexual* activists' battle for representation within the collective LGBT movement.

These tactics recognize the importance of individual difference and identity difference, but also collective identity. In my estimation, negotiation seems to be the rule of thumb as the movement continues to grow and (re)define its conception of collective identity. The neologisms of negotiation, such as *homolesbotransfobia,* are increasingly more common, as more activists and policymakers adopt this and other terminology. As

of the 3rd National LGBT Conference in 2016, LGBTfobia has emerged as the new -

certainly negotiated - discourse of the collective movement.

And *transfobia*, interpreted in this work as an example of contention, has also

made its way into the discourse of State-sponsored public policy: in 2015, the State of

São Paulo launched a new campaign "São Paulo without *Transfobia*" to accompany its

longstanding "São Paulo without *Homofobia*".[99] This demonstrates once again the

feedback between identity work and institutionalization.

As for the *Parada*, the changes to the 2014 theme reflected the interplay between

contention and negotiation. While the final rendition featured *homolesbotransfobia* and a

call for the adoption of the João Nery Law, activists were less satisfied with the visual

arrangement of the final message: João Nery seemed relegated again to invisibility, with

a small font and subscript style on the large banners of the *Parada*. And the much

anticipated *trio das trans* failed to set sail on Avenida Paulista: irregularities on the

security features of the license plate discovered the day of the *Parada* caused the police

to cancel its participation in the event.

During our conversation, one activist commented on the changes taken by the

Parada. The tone of the conversation reflects a tactic of direct contention. At the start, the

semantic changes to *homolesbotransfobia* are seen as insufficient. The comments also

reflected on her general view that the APOGLBT is in the hands of the PT, since the

execution of the event relies heavily on municipal support:

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[99] Translation by author; original text: "São Paulo Sem Transfobia" and "São Paulo Sem
Homofobia".

"Yea, but so what did the *Parada* of São Paulo do? After all of that commotion, and....we can't even say, it's even an attack on my intelligence to say that the theme of the Parada was the gender-identity law. The theme was "a winning country is a country without *HO-MO-FO-BIA*. And then they changed it to *homolesbotransfobia* to be cuter and say that it's inclusive. And just an addendum, any similarity to the slogan of the PT federal government is a mere coincidence, yea? 'A winning country is a country without misery,' is a mere coincidence."[100]

A few moments later, I offered: *"Right. But so they changed the theme and it became watered down, huh?"*. Her comments once again reflect insatisfaction with the use of the neologism and the relegation of the primary demand to a subtheme. The changes by the *Parada* are seen as measures to mollify contentious activists:

"No, no, they didn't change the theme. The theme remained the same, and they added as the *Lei João Nery* as a subtheme, in tiny letters, wow, you had to take a magnifying glass [to the *Parada*] to see it!" [*Yea, I saw the size of the font.*] In font -1! If you took a magnifying glass you would be able to read it. Don't play witih my intelligence, huh? And you want to tell me this would be inclusive? This is a lie, right, this is a 'shut up'. And remembering what happened to the *trio das trans*, huh? Where is the respect that you're showing to trans person?"[101]

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[100] Author's interview with *Silvia,* 11/02/14: "Então, mas e aí o que a Parada de São Paulo fez? Depois de todo aquele embate né "ah não, porque.." a gente não pode nem falar, é até um atendado contra a minha inteligência falar que o tema da Parada foi a lei de identidade de gênero né, o tema da parada foi 'País vencedor é país sem HO-MO-FO-BIA' aí eles trocaram para homolesbotransfobia né, para ficar mais bonitinho dizer que é inclusivo. Só um adendo, qualquer semelhança com o slogan do governo federal petista é mera coincidência, tá? País vencedor é país sem miséria, é mera coincidência.'

[101] Author's interview with *Silvia,* 11/02/14: [Tá. Mas aí mudaram o tema e ficou uma coisa meio aguada, né?] Não, não mudaram o tema. O tema permaneceu o mesmo, colocaram como subtema a lei João Nery, em letras minúsculas, nossa, você tinha que levar uma lupa para enxergar. [É, eu vi o tamanho da fonte...] Em fonte -1, a gente levava uma lupa aí você conseguia ler, não brinca com a minha inteligência, né? E quer falar para mim que isso seria inclusivo? Isso é mentira né, isso é um cala a boca. E lembrando o que aconteceu com o trio das pessoas trans, né? Qual é o respeito que está tendo aí com as pessoas trans.

In fact, the President of the APOGLBT, Fernando Quaresma, reiterated these

remarks in the article "Transexuals make pressure and change the theme of the Gay

Parade of São Paulo" published in the *Estadão*:

> "The theme didn't change. The theme is the same. We added *homolesbotransfobia*. We added the request for the passage of the gender-identity law."[102]

His position appears to be primarily political - publicly stating that the APOGLBT

did not cede to demands made by trans activists. However, both Daniela Andrade and

João Nery expressed positive assessments of the changes in the same news article.

They offered, respectively:

> "It was a victory by the trans population and their allies. If there had not been pressure, if someone had not taken the initiative, the meeting at the Parada would not have happened."[103]

> "This gives us visibility no longer as allegories of the Parade, but as the citizens that we are."[104]

In 2015, the APOGLBT seemingly retreated from the debates of political goals and

identity politics. Instead, the Parada adopted a strictly carnavalesque theme, parodying a

popular 1970s novela theme song *Modinha para Gabriela:* "I was born like this, I grew up

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[102] Translation by author; original text in "Transexuais fazem pressão e mudam o tema da Parada Gay de SP." Estadão. 20 de fevereiro de 2014.
[103] Translation by author; original text in "Transexuais fazem pressão e mudam o tema da Parada Gay de SP." Estadão. 20 de fevereiro de 2014.
[104] Translation by author; original text in "Transexuais fazem pressão e mudam o tema da Parada Gay de SP." Estadão. 20 de fevereiro de 2014.

like this, and I will always be like this: respect me!".[105] However, after a series of at least

six meetings with members of civil society, the 2016 theme will finally feature *travestis e*

transexuais as the protagonists of the *Parada.* Against the backdrop of a large "T", and

superimposed on images of classic *Parada* tents, a rainbow emerges with the powerful

words "Gender-Identity Law Now! All together against *Transfobia*![106]

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[105] Translation by author; original text: ""Eu nasci assim, eu cresci assim, vou ser sempre assim, respeitem-me!"

[106] Translation by author; original text: "Lei de identidade de gênero já! Todos juntos contra a transfobia!"

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

"So, it's something that people don't understand, if within this LGBT movement, this block that was defined as a social movement, people don't understand that a social movement has to be united to be strong to combat all oppressions that [we] all suffer in common, nothing will ever change. While this movement continues reproducing the oppressions that it suffers, reproducing the discourse of the oppressor, we will stay in this….There will be a movement within a disunified movement. The movement needs to go to the outside and say, "media, it's the LGBT Parade. Media, we are a single movement, we are not a hygienist movement, we are not in favor of what the *novela* says, we are in favor of human diversity, we don't agree with nanana...we, as the LGBT movement, are not racist, we are not classist, we are a movement in favor of the human people….

But there are gays on the right! There are gays that manage to be on the right, my god, there are gays that tell me that they're in favor of the [traditional] family! [I know…] You see every kind of aberration, Jake, that you give up. So, I ask myself what being is this - what planet is he from? Because I don't want to go to this planet, I give up on this [human] being. So, are you seeing how this is? I don't have a unified LGBT movement, because if I were to have a unified LGBT movement, of the left, a real LGBT movement, constituted where everyone spoke the same language, we would be able to overcome! But I have a movement where each one says something, each one wants to be something, each one reproduces what the oppressor produces, and doesn't want to live in the reality of the other to be able to say 'look, we as a movement don't agree with any type of oppression."[107]

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[107] Então, é uma coisa que as pessoas não entendem, se dentro desse Movimento LGTB, deste bloco que foi definido enquanto Movimento Social, as pessoas não entenderem que Movimento Social, ele tem que ser unido para ser forte para combater todas as opressões que todos sofrem em comum, não vai mudar nunca... Se enquanto esse Movimento continuar reproduzindo as opressões que sofrem, reproduzir o discurso do opressor, a gente vai ficar nessa... Vai ficar o Movimento dentro do Movimento desunido, esse movimento tem que ir para fora e dizer "mídia, é Parada LGBT. Mídia, nós somos um Movimento único, nós não somos um movimento higienista, nós não somos a favor do que a novela diz, nós somos a favor da diversidade humana, nós não concordamos com nananam, nós enquanto Movimento LGBT não somo racistas, nós não somos classistas, nós somos um movimento a favor da pessoa humana" mas existe gay de direita! Existe gay que consegue ser de direita, meu pai, existe gay que me diz que é a favor da família. [*Eu sei...*] É cada aberração que você vê, Jake, que você desiste... Aí eu me pergunto que ser é esse, de que planeta que ele é? Porque eu não quero ir para esse planeta, eu desisto desse ser. Então você está vendo como é isso? Que eu não tenho um Movimento LGBT unificado, porque se eu tiver um Movimento LGBT unificado, de esquerda, um Movimento LGBT de fato, constituído onde todos falam uma mesma linguagem, a gente poderia vencer! Mas eu tenho um Movimento que cada um fala uma coisa, cada um quer ser uma coisa, cada um quer reproduzir o que o opressor produz, não quer vivenciar a realidade do outro para poder falar e dizer "olha, nós enquanto Movimento não concordamos com nenhum tipo de opressão"

5.1 OVERVIEW

Social movements must engage in processes of identity work to construct and reconstruct collective identities. In it's easiest form, identity work is enjoyable: it is the gratification of coming together with similarly identified individuals, celebrating sameness, and creating affective bonds through pleasant social interactions. In it's hardest form, identity work is difficult: it is the challenge of defining ontological positions, contending for egalitarian inclusion, and negotiating competing claims for representation. The ways in which movements conduct hard identity work has important implications for the position of individual identities within the collective.

Identity work occurs at multiple levels. As social movements engage in the process of institutionalization - defined as the degree of inclusion within State-apparatus and State-sponsored public policy - new contexts emerge which condition identity work. As I argue in this work, insertion within State appartus structures the boundaries of meso-level identity work. The codificiation of social movement demands in public policy shapes the social interactions of micro-level identity work.

Within movements characterized by identity differences, the process of institutionalization provides important opportunities and strategies for conducting hard identity work. This research sought to understand the representational side of hard identity work: how do under represented identities achieve representation within collective movements. Specifically, what strategies do trans activists utilize to achieve representation within the collective Brazilian LGBT movement?

At the meso-level, participatory institutions provide new opportunities and strategies for the LGBT movement to engage in identity work. The incorporation of participatory mechanisms during redemocratization presented new opportunities for the LGBT movement to demand State-apparatus. In recent years, Brazil has witnessed a proliferation of LGBT Councils. The institutional design of LGBT Councils strategically allocates seats in ways that may offer representation for under represented identities. These choices crystallize identity boundaries within the State, providing a critical mechanism for mitigating negative effectives of identity differences.

At the micro-level, the discursive institutions of public policy shapes strategies for identity work. The discursive dominance of *homofobia*, supported through State-sponsored public policy and reified through social movement demands, limits strategies available to activists. In response, trans activists have developed discursive strategies that oscillate in tactic from contention to negotiation with the movement. We witness the contention of *transfobia* as a new policy demand and alternative discourse designed to dislocate the dominance of *homofobia*. We witness the negotiation of the neologisms *homotransfobia* and *homolesbotransfobia* and *LGBTfobia* as creative ways to carve out representational space for multiple identities while maintaining a logic of collective identity. Both of these tactics (re)shape the boundaries of collective identity.

Thus, processes of institutionalization significantly impact the ways in which movements conduct identity work. For the Brazilian LGBT movement, meso-level State-apparatus afford access to spaces designed to equalize representation of identities. Once inside of these spaces, activists deploy innovative discursive strategies to contend and negotiate representation at the micro-level. In recent years, the establishment of

participatory Councils and emergence of new discourses augmented the representation of *travestis, mulheres transexuais, e homens trans* within the movement and State.

5.2 THEORETICAL CONTRIBUTIONS

This work contributes to our understanding of identity work. In particular, I illuminate new aspects of the hard identity work of representation within movements. I demonstrate how historically underrepresented identities deveop new strategies to achieve representation within a collective movement.

Second, I integrate processes of institutionalization within identity work. I maintain that it is important to conceptualize institutionalization as a continuous process which conditions identity work. The degree of inclusion of a movement within State-apparatus and State-sponsored public policy shapes opportunities and strategies for identity work. Thus, I build on a burgeoning line of research that addresses the relationship between social movements, institutions, and public policy in the representation of marginalized groups (Htun and Weldon 2012).

Third, I focus on strategic innovation within movements. I place my focus squarely on internal movement dynamics, while accounting for the processes of institutionalization. This is an area that senior scholars of social movement identify as under researched. Relatively little research focuses on the role of power and difference in privileging the interests of some members over others and how these affect the choice of strategies and tactics by movements (della Porta and Rucht 2013).

Finally, I engage in a feminist project designed to relocate vulnerable groups from the margins to the center of our scholarship. This research makes normative as well as empirical claims. For a movement organized around a multiplicity of marginalized identities, the LGBT movement has been particularly slow to address practices of marginalization within its own circles. I hope to combat the erasure of trans identities by illuminating the strategies *travestis, mulheres transexuais, e homens trans* develop to perservere in a quest for representation and visibility.

5.3 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

"[Well, then, let's say, what wasn't prioritized that you would have liked to have been?]

Ah, there you pull me to a discourse of....of what the LGBT movement talks about - who is more vulnerable, the biggest victim, and [the movement] uses *pessoas Ts* in these circumstances, right? And if we stop to analyze the policies created for the *Ts*, there have really been less. And so comes the question, right - fuck, if you say they are the ones who need the most, okay, then why don't you fight to untie them from homosexuality, why not make [policies] directed principally at them? Right, and no, it isn't done. And this is exactly why we, we created our own wing, because if you stop and analyze the LGBT movement of the State of São Paulo, it's in the hands of the *Ts*! We have the Municipal Council, that the President is a *travesti*. We have the State Council, that the *Presidenta* is a *transexual*. We have the *Forúm Paulista LGBT,* where the adjunct coordinator is another *transexual*. We have the *Forúm Municipal de Travestis e Transexuais* of São Paulo City, the majority of LGBT Councils of the state have a *travesti* or *transexual* as President or Vice-President. And even so, we can't advance, right? Because when it comes time to vote, we are the smaller number."[108]

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[108] Author's interview with *Laura,* 11/05/14: "[É, então, vamos dizer, o que não foi priorizado que você gostaria que fosse?] Aí você me puxa para um discurso de... Do que o movimento LGTB fala de quem são as vulneráveis, as mais vítimas, que eles usam as pessoas T nessa circunstancias, né. E se a gente para analisar as políticas criadas para as T, foram realmente as menores... Então aí vem um questionamento, né, pô, se você diz que elas são as mais precisam, tá, porque então vocês não lutam para que desvinculem elas da homossexualidade, para que vocês façam ações direcionadas principalmente à elas, né, e não, não é feito. E exatamente por isso que nós, nós

The results of this study present clear limitations, the most obvious due to the methodological approach to data collection and analysis. The research is based on my own observations in the field conducted over a twelve-month period. Clearly, one must be careful when attempting to generalize these observations to a broader sample.

The section on participatory councils is a work in progress. While I am confident the dataset is currently up to date, it is possible that some instances may be missing. Second, the dataset includes all Councils that have been adopted at municipal, state, and federal levels. It does not account for Councils that are no longer, or never, functioned. There are undoubtedly instances where these institutions never made it off the paper. The analysis thus focuses on the design of these Councils. I am careful to speak about the *potential* for positive impacts on meso-level identity work.

Second, the work on discourse is most clearly affected by a temporal component. As I mentioned to my interview respondents, I recalled only hearing about *homofobia* during fieldwork in 2011. By 2014, the discursive space changed dramatically to feature *transfobia* and the neologisms of *homolesbotransfobia*. During a short visit in 2015, these new discourses remained present. In 2016, my best attempts to follow movement activity from afar suggests that these strategies are still active. I hope that my research can serve

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criamos a nossa asa, porque se você parar para analisar, o movimento LGBT do estado de São Paulo, ele está na mãos das T. Nós temos o Conselho Municipal que a presidente é uma *travesti*, nós temos o Conselho Estadual que é presidenta é uma transexual, nós temos o Fórum Paulista LGBT que é a coordenadora adjunta é outra transexual, nós temos o Fórum Municipal de *travestitravestis* e transexuais da cidade de São Paulo, a maioria dos conselhos LGBT do estado, na sua presidência ou vice presidência tem uma *travesti* ou uma transexual, e mesmo assim a gente não consegue avançar, né. Porque na horas das votações nós somos o menor número."

as a starting point for more investigation into the discursive strategies utilized by social

movement activists. My identification of two primary tactics of discourse, contention and

negotiation, should be of interests to scholars of social movements and identity politics.

Finally, I want to acknowledge that my primary interest is in understanding

process: how do underrepresented identities attempt to achieve representation within

collective identity movements? I am less interested, and less well positioned, to speak to

the efficacy of these strategies. My hope, as a scholar and an activist, is that *travesti e*

transexual activists soon find themselves on equal representational footing with the rest

of the Brazilian LGBT movement.

5.4 FUTURE WORK

For future work, I intend to build upon the empirical sections of the dissertation. I

also intend to pursue a project move closely related to public policy. I outline ideas for

future research below.

First, I would like to expand the empirical section on State-apparatus to include

LGBT policy machinery. In its current form, this section focuses entirely on participatory

spaces. More data collection is needed to map the existence of policy machinery in all

Brazilian municipalities and States. This data would allow for important insights into the

relationship between bureaucratic spaces, participatory spaces, and the social

movement.

Second, I would like to expand the empirical section on public policy and

discourse to include discursive forms beyond written text. Specifically, I would like to

investigate additional discursive strategies related to corporeal performance of *travestis,*

mulheres transexuais, e homens trans during *Paradas*. The connection between public

policy, subjectivity, and public displays of visibility merits more investigation.

Finally, I propose to continue my investigation of social movements and public

policy. The dissertation explores internal dynamics of identity and representation within

the Brazilian LGBT social movement. A key question not addressed by my dissertation is

the link between this process and public policy outcomes, namely the substantive

representation of transgender interests in public policy. I propose to evaluate the

success of these strategies by analyzing the position of transgender demands on public

policy agendas.

My twelve months of field research provided me with rich qualitative data. I plan to

analyze this qualitative data together with quantitative data from the Instituto Brasileiro

de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE) on measurements of LGBT public policy in all 5,570

Brazilian municipalities. Preliminary analysis of IBGE data, conducted as a Doctoral

Research Fellow at the KU Institute for Policy & Social Research suggests the importance

of a strong social movement and institutional structures as determinants of the adoption

of LGBT policy; interview data with policymakers and activists provides important insights

on the causal mechanisms of these processes.

Additionally, I intend to draw upon archival data related to three waves of LGBT

municipal, state, and federal conferences in 2008, 2011, and 2015/16. These conferences

unite social movement participants with policymakers to discuss demands and establish

the institutional agenda for the following years. Interview respondents overwhelmingly

reference the importance of conferences in establishing the policy agenda. Analysis of

prior conferences (2008/2011) with field data (2014) and current conference data

(2015/16) will provide temporal evidence of the evolving position of transgender interests

on the social movement and policymaking agenda.

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APPENDIX 1.1: INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE (ENGLISH)

[GENERAL]

I would like to start with some general questions

[NGO]

Could you talk briefly about your organization? For example, what do you do? How many

members do you have? Who do you represent? What is your role within the organization?

[COUNCIL]

Could you talk briefly about the Council? For example, what do you do? Who do you

represent? What is your role within the Council?

[DEPARTMENT]

Could you talk briefly about the (Department/Agency name). For example, what do you

do? How many people do you have on your team? Who do you represent? What is your

role within the department?

[IMPORTANCE]

In your opinion, what was the most important issue on the agenda of the LGBT

movement in this past year? What issue did you focus on most?

Do you think some issues have been neglected on the agenda of the LGBT movement in

the past year?

[PUBLIC POLICY]

I would like to ask some questions related to public policy in Brazil.

What the approach of your organization/Council/Department in relation to public policy?

For example, how do you decide the agenda? How do you develop a strategy to achieve

that agenda. [Suggest that they speak about the most important issue above]

How do you see the role of other entities, such as political parties, the movement, and the State in setting the agenda?

[TRANS SPECIFIC]

I did my Masters here in 2011 and everyone spoke about homophobia. I don't remember hearing anything about transphobia.

Could you comment a little about this term? Where did it come from? How long ago?

What do you think about homophobia or transphobia or other neologisms out there?

What does visibility mean to you?

[DIVERGENCES]

It is inevitable to have different ideas when you deal with politics. I would like to ask some questions about this topic.

What are the principle points of divergence within the LGBT movement today?

Are they different from the past?

What about within your own organization?

How does your organization deal with different identities, such as lesbians, gays, bisexuals, and trans?

How does your organization deal with different preferences for strategies and tactics?

[Suggest the most important issue as an example].

[FINAL]

Would you like to leave any final considerations?

APPENDIX 1.2: INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE (PORTUGUÊS)

[GERAL]

Gostaria de começar com algumas perguntas gerais.

[ONG]

Pode falar brevemente sobre o a sua organização? Por exemplo, o que vocês fazem?

Contam com quantos membros? Quem vocês representam? E qual o seu papel dentro

dela?

[CONSELHO]

Pode falar brevemente sobre o Conselho? Por exemplo, o que vocês fazem? Quem

vocês representam? E qual o seu papel dentro dele?

[DEPT]

Pode falar brevemente sobre a (Coordenação, Departamento, Assessoria, etc). Por

exemplo, o que vocês fazem? Tem quantas pessoas no equipe? Quem vocês

representam? E qual o seu papel dentro dele(a)?

[IMPORTANCIA]

Na sua opinião, qual foi o assunto mais importante na agenda dos LGBT neste ultimo

ano? E na qual pauta a sua organização focou mais?

Você acha que alguns assuntos têm sido negligenciados na agenda do movimento

LGBT?

[POLÍTCAS PÚBLICAS]

Agora, gostaria de fazer algumas perguntas relacionadas às políticas públicas no Brasil.

Como é a abordagem da sua organização/do conselho/da Coordenação em relação às

políticas públicas?

Por exemplo, como se decide a pauta? Como se desenvolve uma estratégia para cumprir a pauta? [Sugere que fale do assunto mais importante].

Como você vê o papel de outras entidades, tais como os partidos políticos, o movimento social, e o Estado, em definir a pauta?

[TRANS]

Fiz meu mestrado aqui em 2011 e todo mundo falava em homofobia. Não lembro de ter escutado nada sobre transfobia.

Pode comentar um pouco sobre esse termo? De onde surgiu? Há quanto tempo?

O que acha sobre homofobia ou transfobia ou outros neologismos por aí?

O que significa visibilidade para você?

[DIVERGÊNCIAS]

É inevitável ter muitas ideias diferentes quando se trata de politica. Gostaria de fazer algumas perguntas sobre este assunto.

Quais são os pontos principais de divergência dentro do movimento LGBT hoje em dia? São diferentes dos do passado?

Que tal dentro da sua própria organização?

Como a sua organização trata com identidades diferentes, tais como lésbicas, gays, bissexuais, e trans?

Como a sua organização trata com preferencias diferentes por estratégias e táticas?

[Sugere o assunto mais importante como exemplo].

[FINAL]

Gostaria de deixar alguma consideração final?

APPENDIX 1.3: INTERVIEW LIST

NO.	DATE	PSEUDONYM
01	09/24/14	Vinicius
02	09/30/14	Sabrina
03	09/30/14	Danilo
04	09/30/14	Bruno
05	10/01/14	Anna
06	10/02/14	Rafael
07	10/07/14	Georgia
08	10/15/14	Regiane
09	10/16/14	Cibele
10	10/17/14	Xavier
11	10/28/14	Juliana
12	10/28/14	Pedro
13	11/02/14	Silvia
14	11/03/14	Patricia
15	11/05/14	Rachel
16	11/05/14	Laura
17	11/08/14	Nicolas
18	11/19/14	Camila
19	11/23/14	Douglas
20	11/25/14	Breno
21	11/25/14	Maria
22	11/21/14	Alfredo
23	12/03/14	Isabela
24	12/04/14	Ricardo
25	12/04/14	Bruna
26	12/04/14	Raul
27	12/09/14	Lucas
28	12/10/14	Matheus
29	12/11/14	Mara
30	12/11/14	João
31	12/12/14	Guilherme
32	12/15/14	Bia
33	12/15/14	Lais
34	12/18/14	Cauã
35	12/18/14	Amanda
36	12/19/14	Diego

APPENDIX 2.1: DEMOGRAPHIC SURVEY (PORTUGUÊS)

PROTOCOLO: _____

Informações Demográficas: Entrevista

Por favor, preencha os seguintes campos de informações demográficas, marcando a resposta mais adequada para sua pessoa. Alguns campos (afiliação partidária e cor/raça) pedem uma resposta escrita. Caso não queira responder à quaisquer perguntas, deixe o campo em branco.

1. Idade:

☐ 18 - 24 ☐ 40 - 49
☐ 25 - 29 ☐ 50 - 59
☐ 30 - 39 ☐ 60 ou mais

2. Faixa de Renda Familiar/Classe Social:

☐ Classe A - Mais de R$9.746,00
☐ Classe B - De R$7.476,00 até R$9.745,00
☐ Classe C - De R$1.734,00 até R$7.475,00
☐ Classe D - De R$1.086,00 até R$1.733,00
☐ Classe E - Até R$1.085,00

3. Grau de Escolaridade:
Assinale qual foi o maior nível que completou

☐ Fundamental incompleto ☐ Superior completo
☐ Fundamental completo ☐ Especialização incompleta
☐ Ensino médio incompleto ☐ Especialização completa
☐ Ensino médio completo ☐ Mestrado
☐ Superior incompleto ☐ Doutorado

4. Gênero

☐ Masculino
☐ Feminino
☐ Transgênero
☐ Outro: _____

5. Orientação Sexual

☐ Lésbica ☐ Heterossexual
☐ Gay ☐ Outra: _____
☐ Bissexual

6. Identidade de Gênero

☐ Travesti
☐ Mulher Transexual
☐ TransHomem
☐ Transgênero
☐ Cisgênero
☐ Outra: _____

7. Cor/Raça
_____

8. Afiliação Partidária
_____

APPENDIX 2.2 DEMOGRAPHIC SURVEY RESULTS

Q1 - Idade (Age)
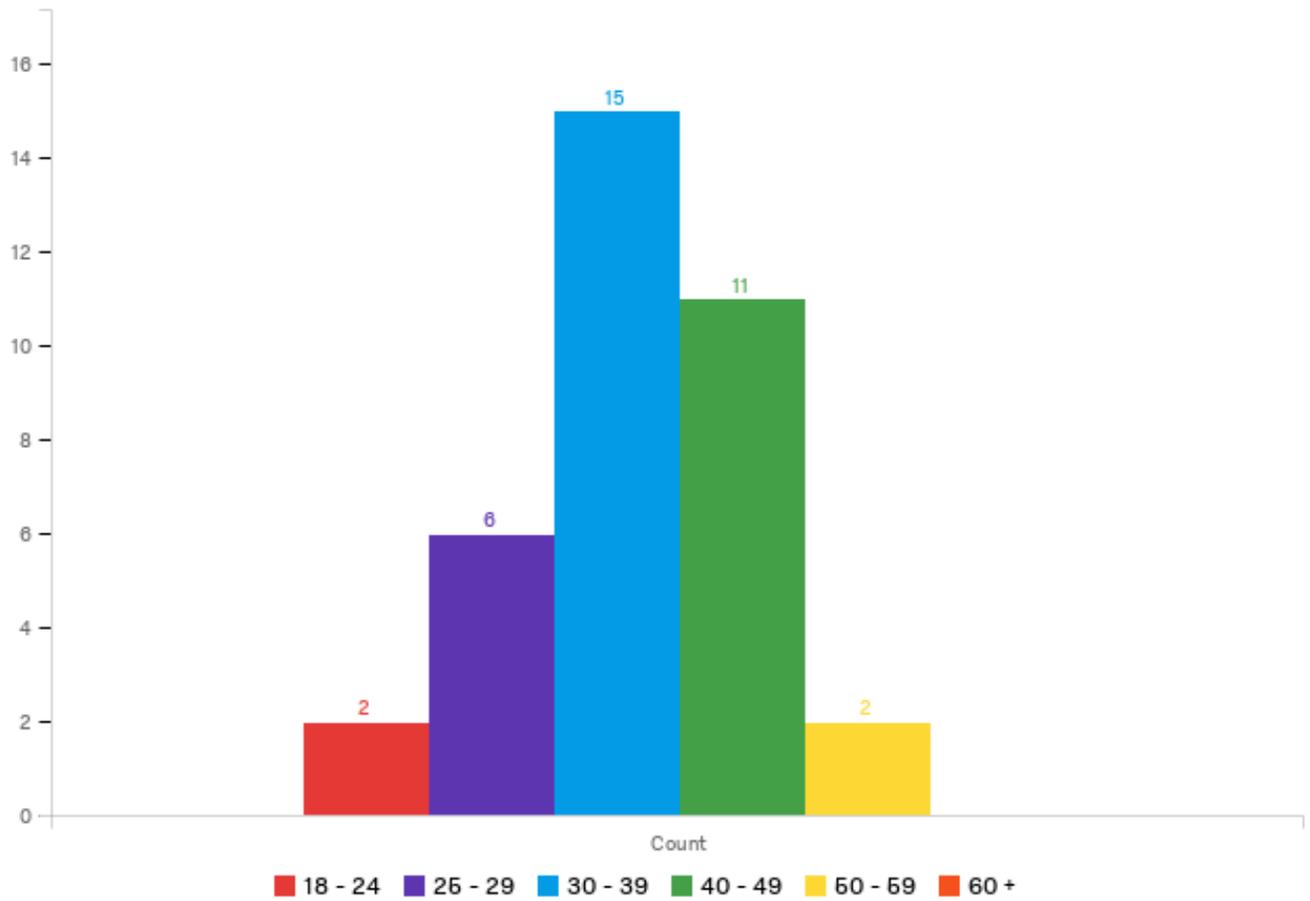
APPENDIX 2.2 DEMOGRAPHIC SURVEY RESULTS

Q2 - Faixa de Renda Familiar / Classe Social / (Household Income / Social Class)
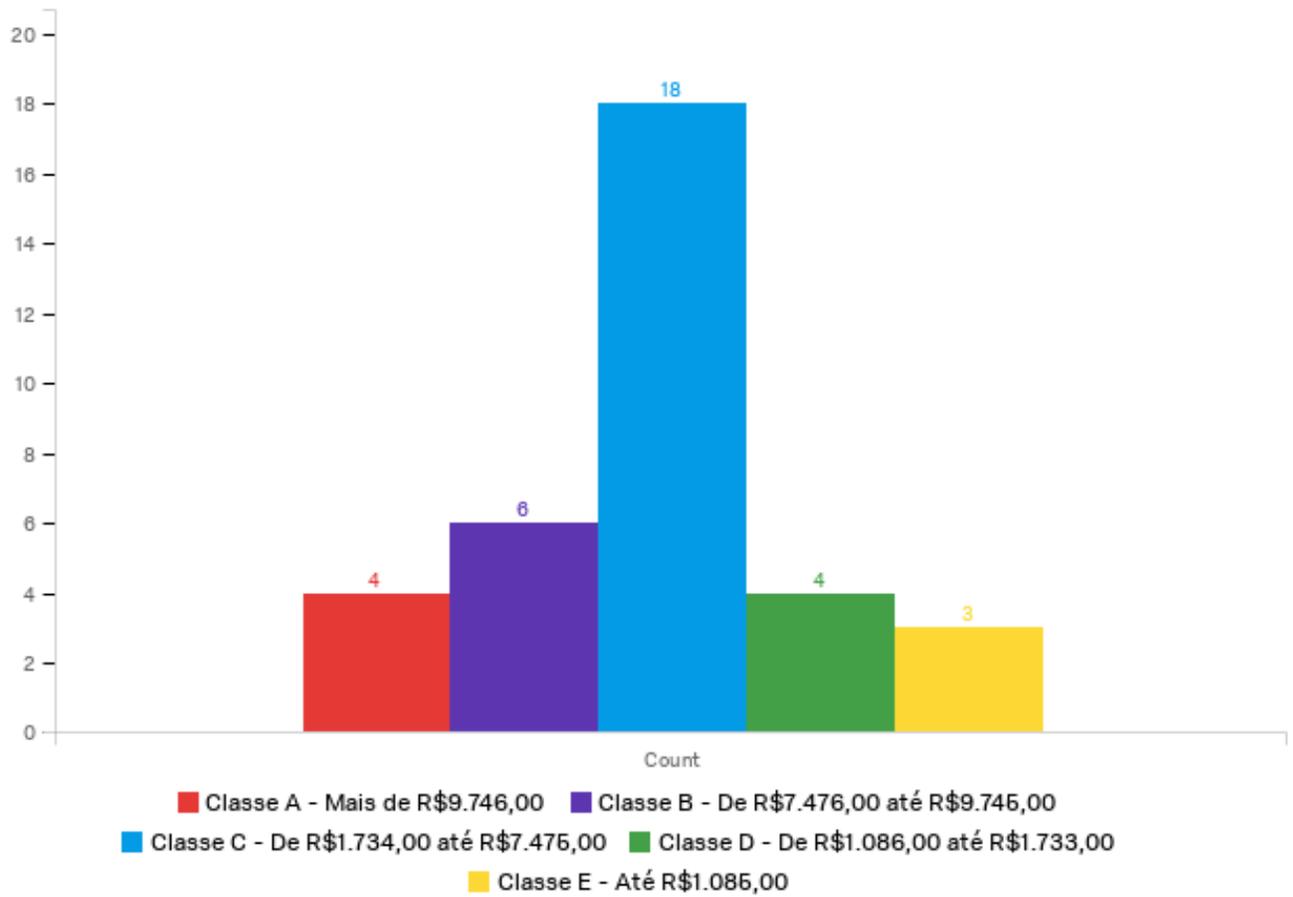
APPENDIX 2.2 DEMOGRAPHIC SURVEY RESULTS

Q3 - Grau de Escolaridade (Level of Education)

Legend:
- Fundamental incompleto
- Fundamental completo
- Ensino médio incompleto
- Ensino médio completo
- Superior incompleto
- Superior completo
- Especialização incompleta
- Especialização completa
- Mestrado
- Doutorado
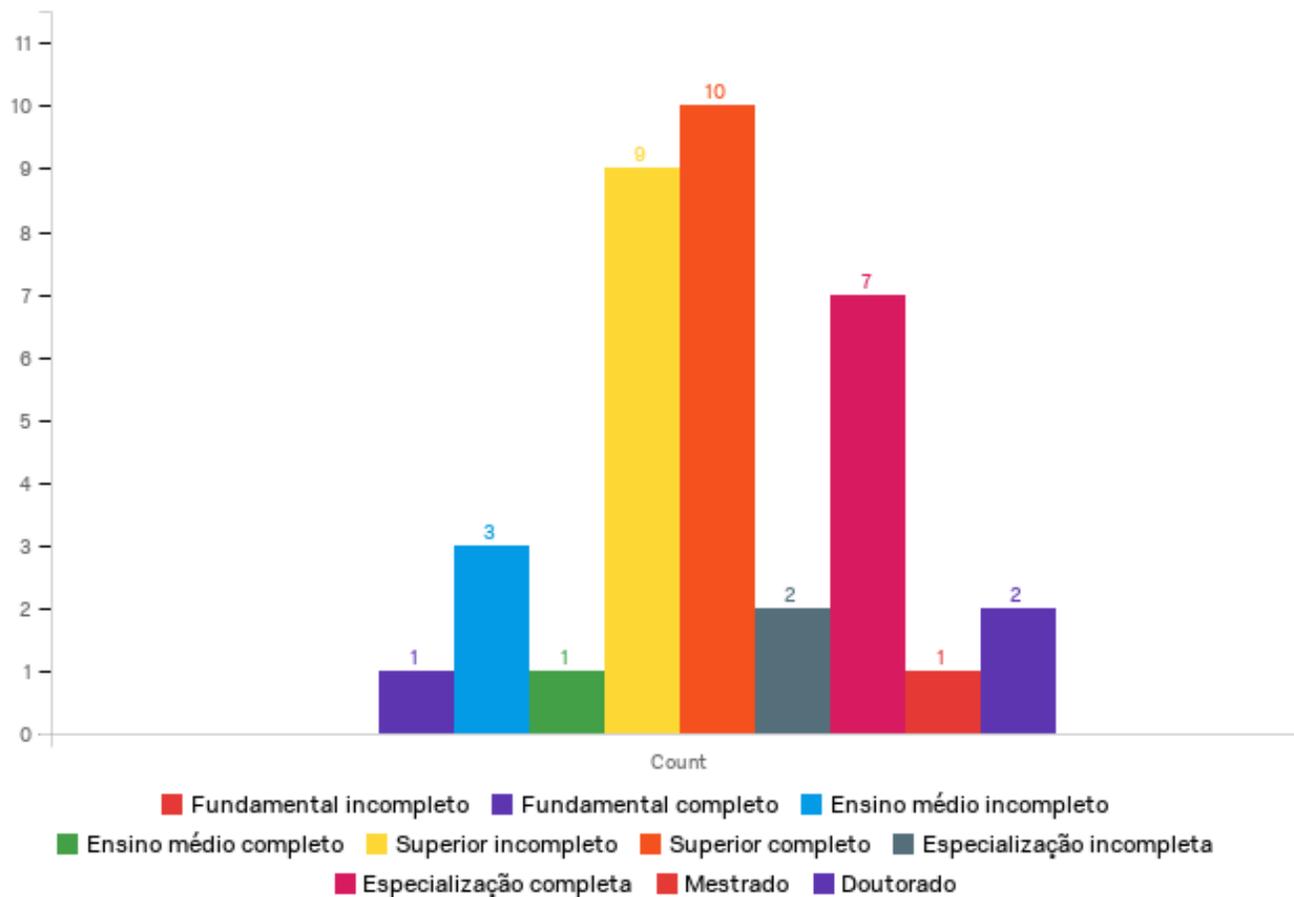
APPENDIX 2.2 DEMOGRAPHIC SURVEY RESULTS

Q4 - Gênero (Gender)
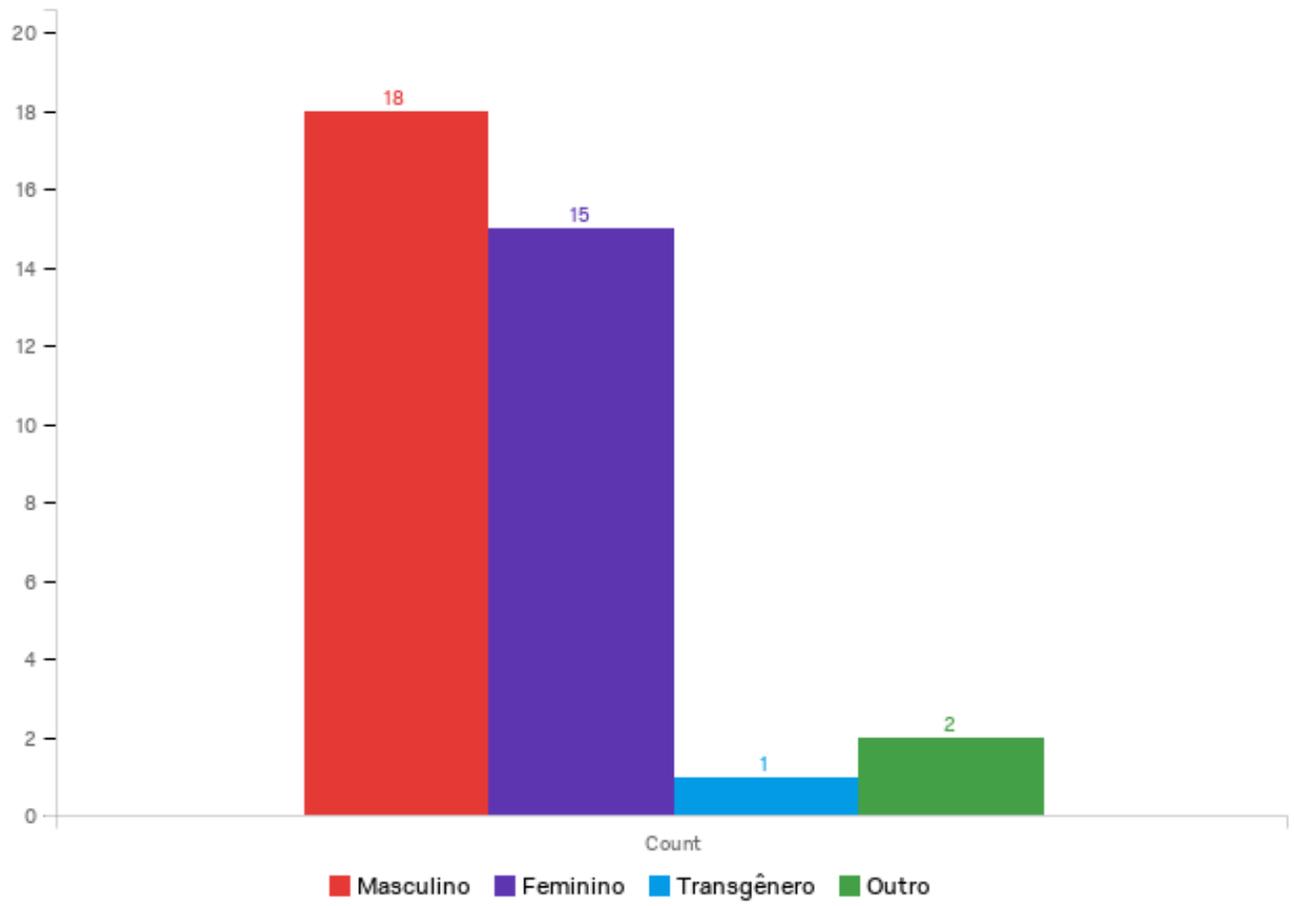
APPENDIX 2.2 DEMOGRAPHIC SURVEY RESULTS

Q5 - Orientação Sexual (Sexual Orientation)
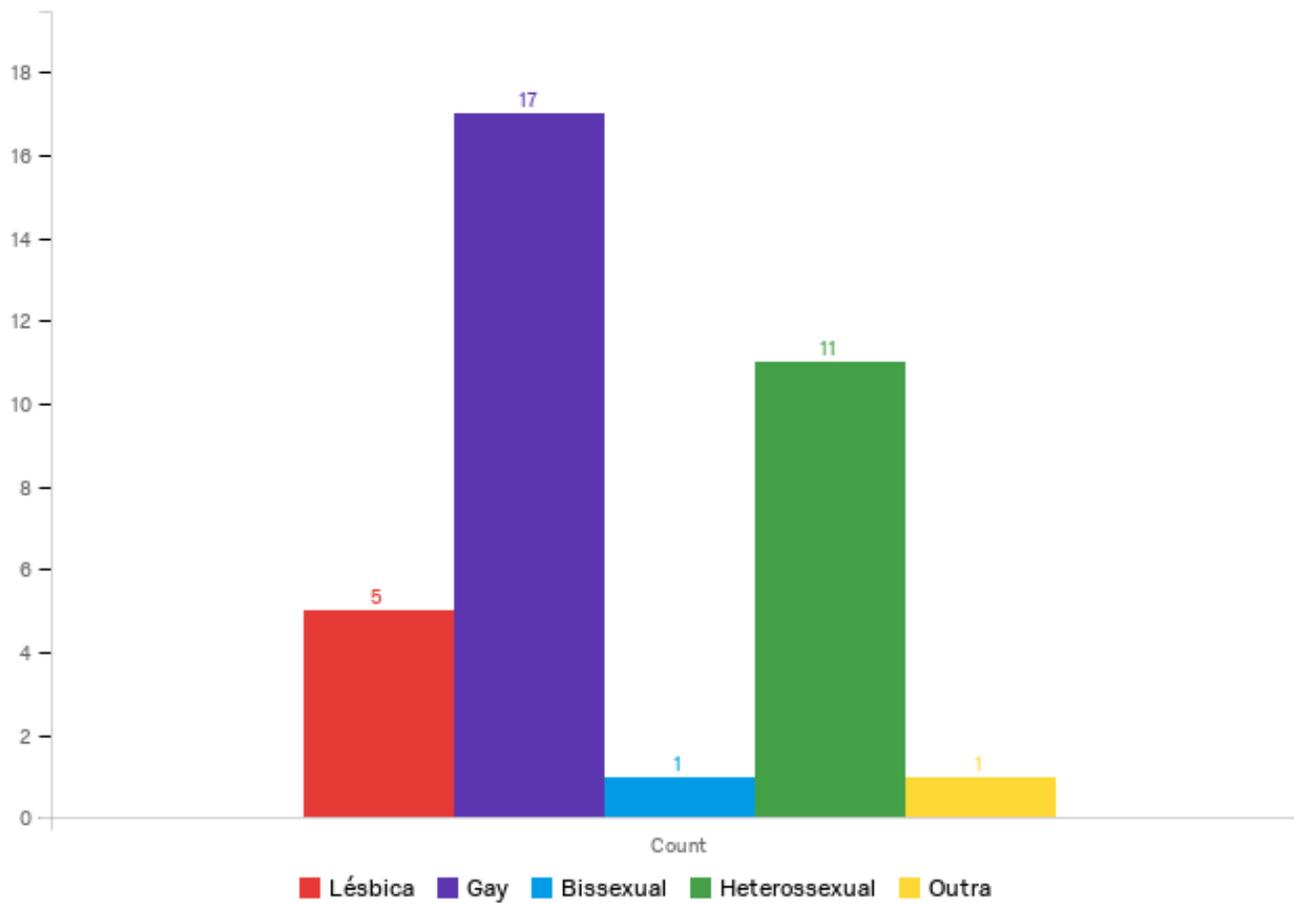
APPENDIX 2.2 DEMOGRAPHIC SURVEY RESULTS

Q6 - Identidade de Gênero (Gender Identity)

APPENDIX 2.2 DEMOGRAPHIC SURVEY RESULTS
Q7 - Cor / Raça (Color / Race)

APPENDIX 2.2 DEMOGRAPHIC SURVEY RESULTS
Q7 - Cor / Raça (Color / Race)

APPENDIX 2.2 DEMOGRAPHIC SURVEY RESULTS

Q8 - Afiliação Partidária (Party Affiliation)

APPENDIX 2.2 DEMOGRAPHIC SURVEY RESULTS
Q8 - Afiliação Partidária (Party Affiliation)

APPENDIX 3: CODEBOOK FOR INTERVIEWS

CODE	DESCRIPTION
GENERAL	Section prompt for general questions at the start; discussion of own background, stories of activism
ISSUE: IMPORTANT	Response to most important issue on movement agenda
ISSUE: NEGLECTED	Response to issue neglected on movement agenda
PUBLIC POLICY	Section prompt for public policy
INSTITUTION: COUNCIL	Response references activity within an LGBT Council
INSTITUTION: DEPARTMENTS	Response references activity within an LGBT department or agency
STATE/CIVIL SOCIETY	Response references differences between state/civil society, insider/outsider status, pressure strategies
TRANS	Section prompt for trans specific questions
VISIBILITY	Responses discuss visibility, trans visibility within movement
PARADA	Responses discuss events of 2014 Parade
MUNICIPAL/STATE	Responses discuss municipal state relationships, typically between governmental institutions
DIVERGENCES	Section prompt for divergences
DIVERGENCES: PARTY	Responses reference political party, partisanship, or ideology
DIVERGENCES: IDENTITY	Responses reference LGBT identities
DIVERGENCES: EGO	Responses reference personal conflicts, egos
DIVERGENCES: SOLUTIONS	Responses offer solutions to divergences
RESOURCES	Responses reference budgets, funds, financial, structural, or logistical resources
REPRESENTATION	Responses reference challenges in representation of demands, identities, or subjects within movement.
FOBIA: HOMO	Responses reference *homofobia*
FOBIA: TRANS	Responses reference *transfobia*
FOBIA: NEOLOGISM	Responses reference neologisms of Chapter 5
FINAL	Section prompt for final considerations

APPENDIX 4: LIST OF COUNCILS

4.1 STATE COUNCILS

STATE	STATE FULL
SP	São Paulo
RJ	Rio de Janeiro
GO	Goias
PA	Para
MS	Mato Grosso do Sul
MA	Maranhao
BA	Bahia
PE	Pernambuco
AL	Alagoas
MT	Mato Grosso
PB	Paraiba
RS	Rio Grande do Sul
RR	Roraima

APPENDIX 4: LIST OF COUNCILS

4.2 MUNICIPAL COUNCILS

STATE	CITY
SP	São Paulo
SP	São Carlos
BA	Alagoinhas
PE	Belem do São Francisco
PI	Teresina
SP	Ribeirao Preto
SP	Bauru
SP	Piracicaba
AL	Maceio
CE	Itapipoca
CE	Juazeiro do Norte
ES	Cariacica
MG	São Joao del Rei
MG	Brumadinho
CE	Fortaleza
MT	Cuiaba
PE	Paudalho
RS	Santa Cruz do Sul
MG	Contagem
MS	Tres Lagoas
PB	Joao Pessoa
PE	Jaboatao dos Guararapes
PI	Piripiri
PR	Ponta Grossa
RJ	Niteroi
RS	Canoas
RS	Esteio*
SC	Florianopolis*
SP	Araraquara
SP	Maua

Note: * not included in analysis

APPENDIX 5.0: TABLES AND FIGURES

FIGURE 1.1 DIAGRAM OF INSTITUTIONALIZATION AND IDENTITY WORK
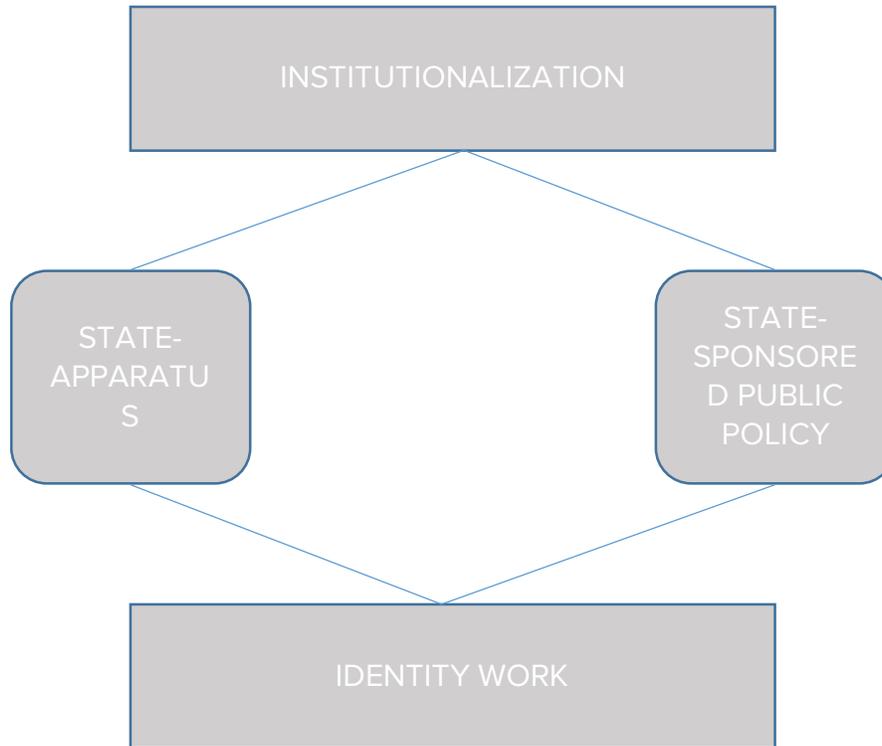
APPENDIX 5.0: TABLES AND FIGURES

FIGURE 3.1 STATE LGBT COUNCILS PER YEAR

State LGBT Councils Created Per Year
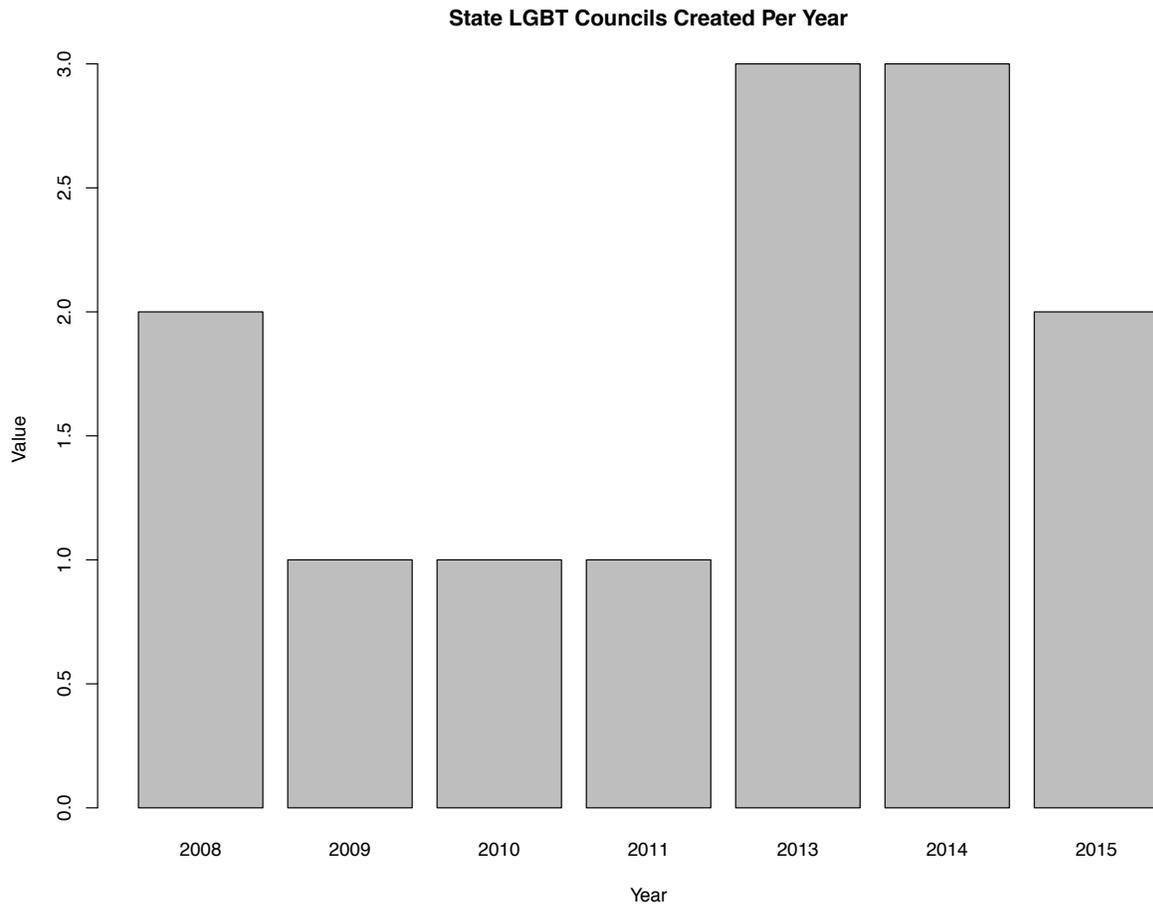
APPENDIX 5.0: TABLES AND FIGURES

FIGURE 3.2 STATE LGBT COUNCILS OVER TIME

State LGBT Councils
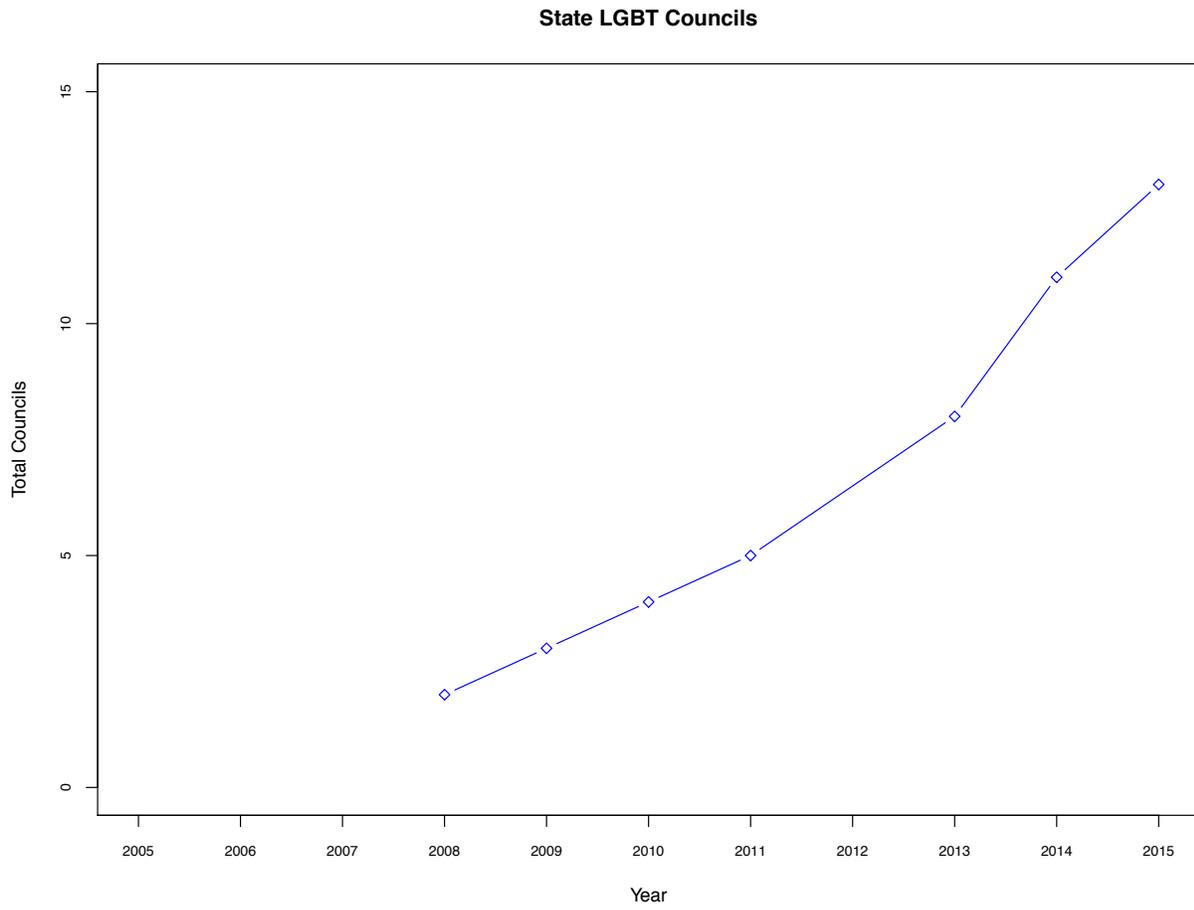
APPENDIX 5.0: TABLES AND FIGURES

FIGURE 3.3 MUNICIPAL LGBT COUNCILS PER YEAR

Municipal LGBT Councils Created Per Year
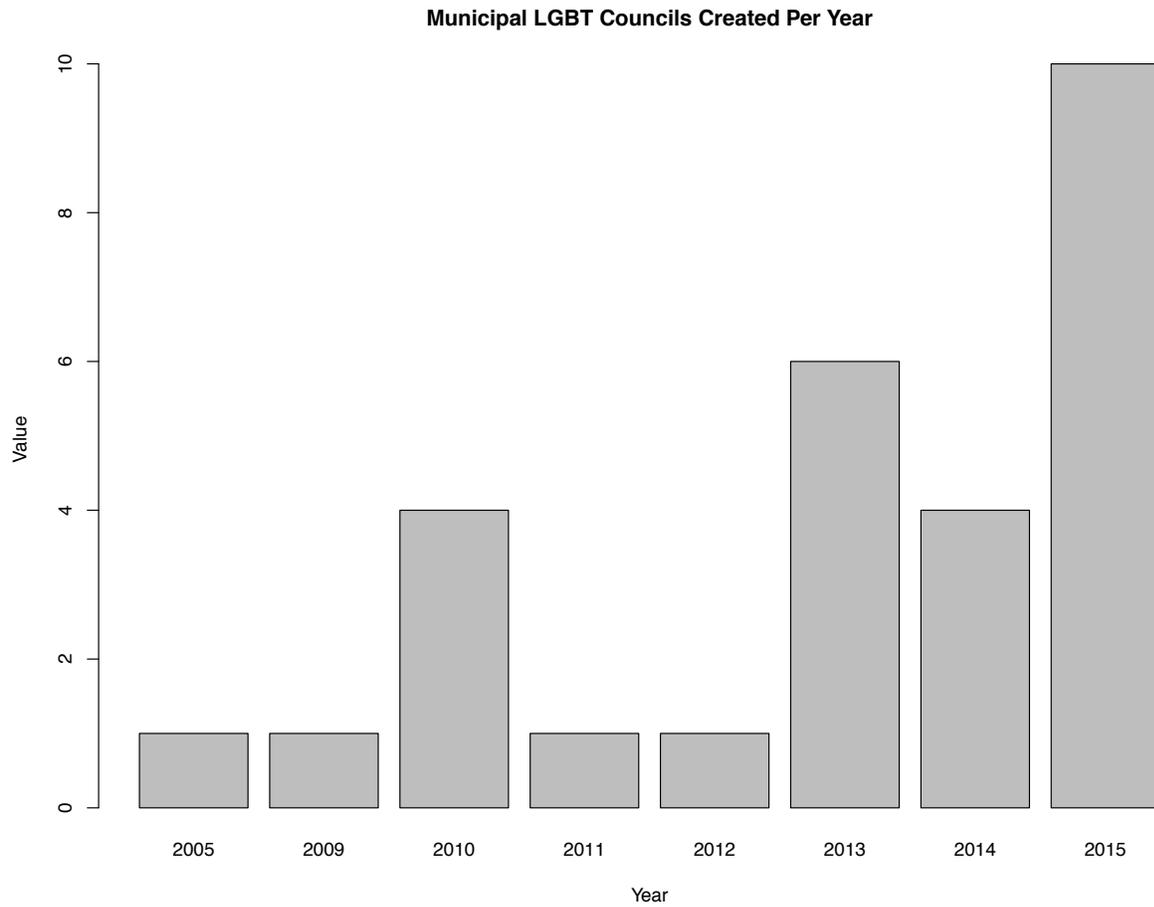
APPENDIX 5.0: TABLES AND FIGURES

FIGURE 3.4 MUNICIPAL COUNCILS OVER TIME

Municipal LGBT Councils
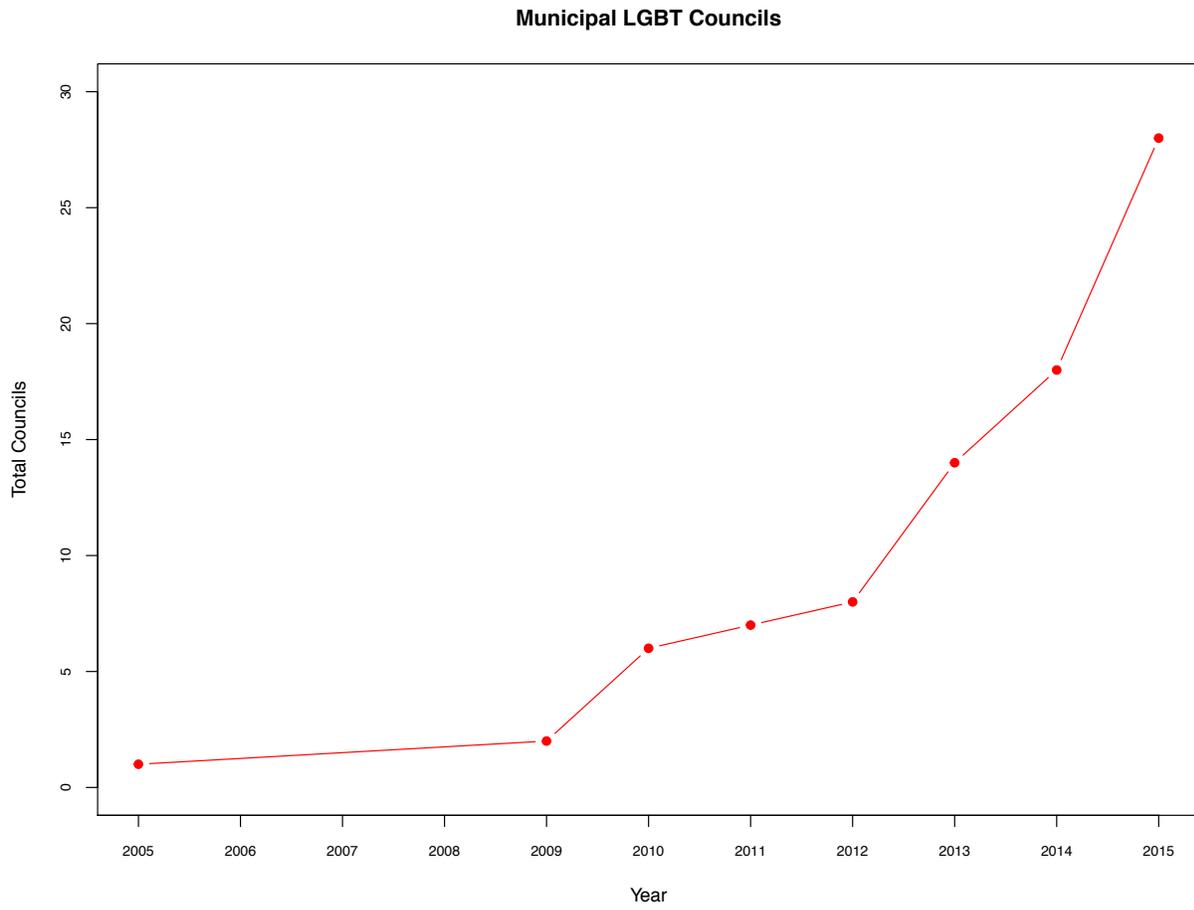
APPENDIX 5.0: TABLES AND FIGURES

FIGURE 3.5 STATE AND MUNICIPAL COUNCILS OVER TIME

Creation of LGBT Councils
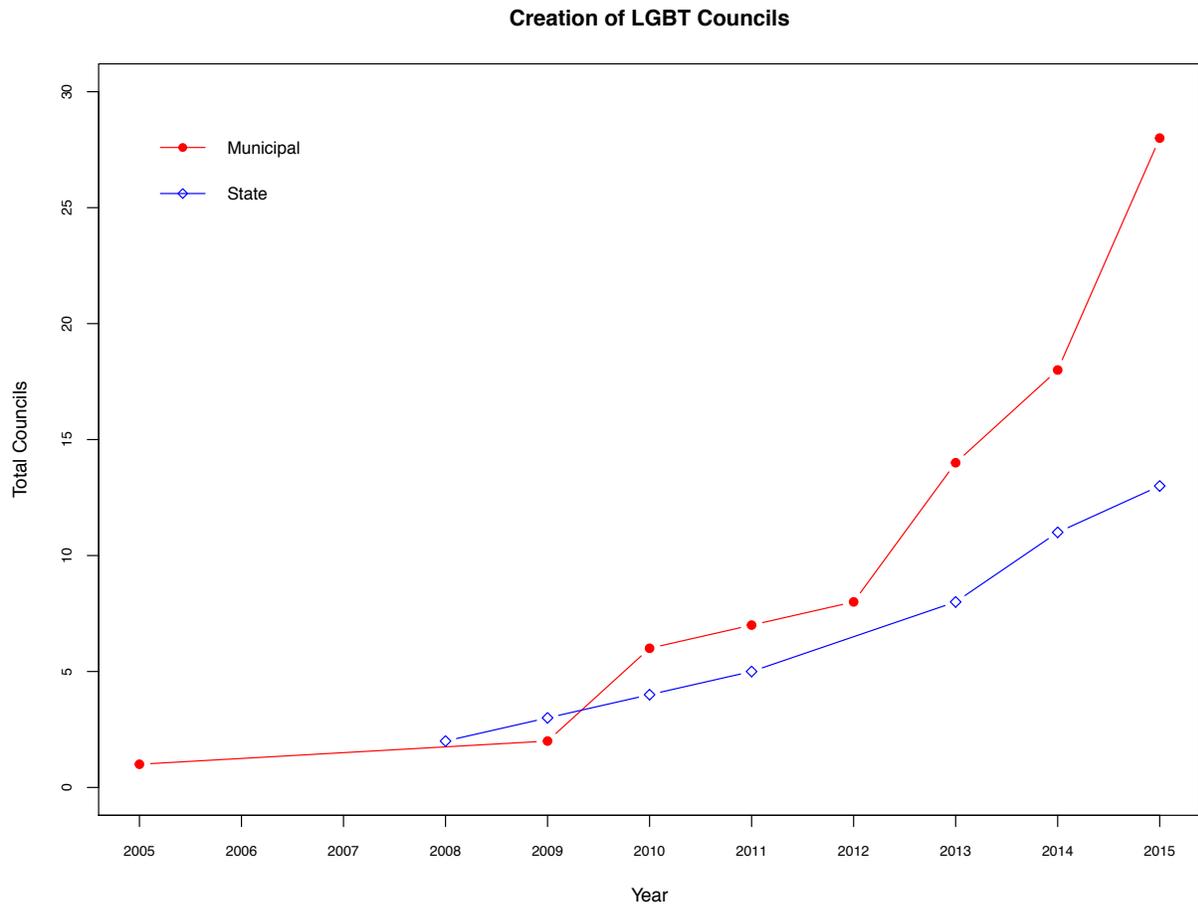
APPENDIX 5.0: TABLES AND FIGURES

FIGURE 3.6 MAP OF COUNCILS

The most recent version is available via the permalink:
https://drive.google.com/open?id=1WIlLGWFLdbNFJHsVgt05ZyF_a9s&usp=sharing
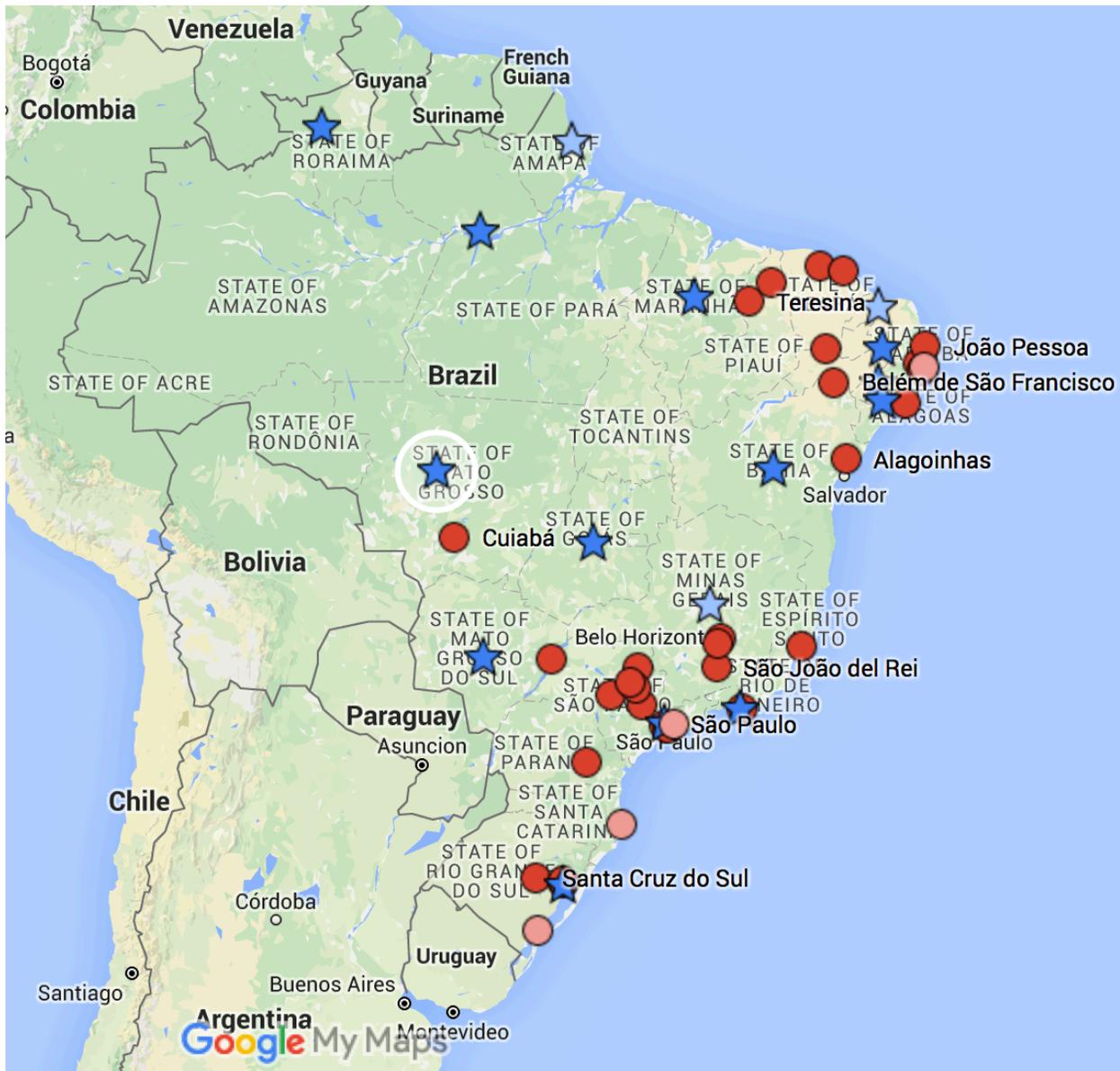
APPENDIX 5.0: TABLES AND FIGURES

TABLE 4.1 DISCURSIVE STRATEGIES AND TACTICS

Tactic	Relation: Collective	Construction of Identity	Goal	Solution	Alternative
Contention	Difference	Particular	Self rep.	Dislocation	*Transfobia* Discursive labor: *travestis e transexuais*
Negotiation	Sameness	Collective	Rep. within collective	Inclusion	*Homotransfobia* (GT) *Homolesbotransfobia* (GLT) *Homolesbitransfobia* (GLBT) *LGBTfobia*

APPENDIX 5.0: TABLES AND FIGURES

FIGURE 4.2 DISCURSIVE DOMINANCE OF *HOMOFOBIA* IN THE MEDIA

Media Counts for Discursive Field

Legend: Folha SP, Estadão

Data values shown:
- Parada Gay: Folha SP 2445, Estadão 1832
- Parada LGBT: Folha SP 78, Estadão 99
- Homofobia: Folha SP 3239, Estadão 4207
- Transfobia: Folha SP 36, Estadão 57