

**LGBT *Políticas Públicas* in Rio Grande do Sul  
as social and political performative spaces:  
process, participant regimes and identities**

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Doctor of Philosophy

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## Abstract

Brazil is growing economically and, as one of the BRICs, claims to have created 40 million new middle-class persons during the past decade. Participation among lower-income neighbourhoods has been a part of politics in Porto Alegre since the early 1990s, and in most neighbourhoods basic needs have now been met. Middle-class identities unite people across space and different neighbourhoods, and identity politics is emerging, focused on issues of race, gender, and sexual orientation. This means that individual identities can be explored and provided for. The result is the growth of more vocal identity-based groups, while governments have a greater capacity to engage with their needs.

*Políticas Públicas* engages with more groups than ever. Locally, more globalised cultural models and identity classifications have emerged, adapted to the cultural specificities of Rio Grande. LGBT identities are integral to this. These groups seem to be riding the wave of middle-class power, nationally. Locally, they are building on the cultural receptivity of the State as being liberal and cosmopolitan with which to engage. This is a heartland for LGBT political mobilisation and of public engagement with participatory politics. This research explores how participatory spaces are used, asking what they are; their claims; who uses them; what sort of identities are invoked in them; and what social and institutional relationships of knowledge and voice/power are at play.

In answering these questions, the research utilises a range of methods including an ethnographic suite of tools to engage with a range of local groups, both within and outside of participatory settings. This establishes the world views and motives of different groups and individuals within these groups, revealing diversities among those defined as LGBT. In turn, this has enabled understanding of the minutiae of the local social worlds and through so doing makes an original contribution to the furtherance of existing academic knowledge.

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# Glossary and Biographical Details

## A note on terms

The standard international application of the T in LGBT is 'Trans', applying but not limited to transvestites and transsexuals. In a Brazilian setting, the definition of a *travesti* is deeper and culturally-specific; it may or may not include transsexuals. In terms of bodily modification, its meaning is wider than that generally associated with English-language concepts of 'transvestite', and it is a distinct way of being, including appearance, attitude, mindset, and behaviour. For this reason, the Portuguese term *travesti* is used throughout this piece. Although a separation of *travesti* and transsexual is made within the base texts, the latter is not generally referred to in the analysis, not to negate its visibility, but to emphasise the blurred boundaries and overlapping interests of the former as a more culturally-sensitive blanket term.

The English term 'state' can mean two things, and while in many cases sense can be established by context, the study makes use of a capitalised 'State' when referring to the organised political community/area forming part of a federal republic, and the lower case 'state' when referring to those aspects relating to the nation/territory as an organised political community under one government.



## **Groups and organisations referred to in text, with biographical details**

- Coletivo UFRGS: The LGBT group of students within the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul, the main local public university, which mounts campaigns within and beyond the institution.
- GAPA-RS: Support group for the prevention of AIDS in Rio Grande do Sul, funded by the Ministry of Health, and established in 1989.
- Igualdade-RS: Translated as “Equality”, this is the major Trans group in Rio Grande do Sul, with its focus almost exclusively on Porto Alegre.
- LBL: The *Liga Brasileira de Lésbicas* [Brazilian League of Lesbians] is a national but federated group, applying radical feminist perspectives to issues of gender and sexuality.
- Nuances: A student group established in 1991, this is the oldest exclusively gay group in Porto Alegre. Activism has embraced the rights of the margins and, to some extent, Trotskyism. It is currently a shadow of its former self with few younger members, yet maintains its academic calibre through flexible relationships with academics and legal professionals in influential positions.
- Outra Visão: An alternative LGBT group in Porto Alegre, its members are few and its position in relation to issues variable.
- PT: *Partido dos Trabalhadores* [Workers’ Party] is a leftist political party that pioneered participatory regimes in Porto Alegre, and has held the presidency of the republic since 2003.
- SJDH: The Secretariat of Justice and Human Rights at State level.
- SOMOS: The largest gay male group, established in 2001, after the pioneering São Paulo group of the 1970s. It specialises in health prevention work, sexual theorising and communication, and has been successful in both recruitment and engagement with younger Porto Alegrense men. It has benefitted from substantial governmental and international funding.

## Biographical details of prominent participants noted in text

Alexandre Boër:	Senior SOMOS activist, specialist in health and veteran of GAPA-RS
Bernadete Medeiros:	From SJDH, and State facilitator
Cássio Martin:	Coletivo UFRGS activist and law student
Célio Golin:	Director of Nuances and veteran of GAPA-RS
Cristyane Oliveira:	Igualdade-RS activist
Eduardo Piza:	National activist and academic
Eliane Almeida:	Human rights specialist at the SJDH
Endrigo Valadão:	Parliamentary Assistant to Senator Catarina (PSB)
Everlei Martins:	Councillor for Cruz Alta RS (PSB)
Fábulo Nascimento:	Sexual Diversity Secretary at the SJDH
Guilherme Gomes:	SOMOS activist and municipal officer for human rights
Gustavo Bernardes:	Federal Secretary of Human Rights, previously General Coordinator of SOMOS
Luisa Stern:	Long-time Igualdade-RS activist and prominent lawyer
Marcelly Malta:	Igualdade-RS director and highest-profile local <i>travesti</i>
Maria do Rosário:	Federal Senator for Rio Grande do Sul (PT)
Mário Morocini Azambuja:	Human Rights Coordinator, Municipality of Porto Alegre
Roger Raupp Rios:	Academic and long-time Nuances associate
Roselaine Dias:	Senior LBL activist
Sandro Ka:	Head of Communication and Culture, elected to General Coordinator of SOMOS midway through the project
Silvana Conti:	Senior LBL activist
Tâmara Biolo Soares:	Human Rights and Citizenship Director at the SJDH
Thiago Battista:	Sociology student, and chair of Coletivo UFRGS
Víctor Barreto:	Law student, and Coletivo UFRGS activist
Virgínia Feix:	Lawyer with the SJDH and facilitator

# Chapter One: Introduction

## *Políticas Públicas*

### Background and rationale for study

*Políticas Públicas are sets of programmes, actions and activities undertaken by the state directly or indirectly, with the participation of public and private entities. They are intended to ensure certain rights of citizenship, either in a diffuse form or with a focus on the social, cultural, ethnic, or economic. Políticas Públicas correspond to rights guaranteed constitutionally or that are affirmed thanks to their recognition by society and/or by the public powers as new rights of people, communities, things or other tangible or intangible assets (Paraná 2013).*

In 1988, the Constitution of the Federative Republic of Brazil was established. It marked the transition from military to democratic rule and a key aim of the constitution was to bridge inequalities in Brazilian society through promoting “the wellbeing of all, without prejudice as to origin, race, sex, colour, age and any other forms of discrimination” (Article 3, paragraph IV). In local elections in Rio Grande do Sul, the southernmost State in the Federation, and one of the three political axes (along with São Paulo and Minas Gerais), the PT (Workers’ Party) was elected to municipal government in its capital, Porto Alegre, where it remained for four terms. With its origins in the grassroots labour movement, the PT looked to civil society to shape its policies and budgetary arrangements and developed the system of *Orçamento Participativo* (OP – Participatory Budgeting). The process of OP that has been developed in Porto Alegre since the late 1980s was simultaneously matched by the Brazilian economy “taking off” (*Economist* 2009). Indeed, the BRIC nations (Brazil, Russia, India, and China) have until recently been seen as an unstoppable economic force and it has been claimed that forty million Brazilians have become ‘middle class’ (Neri 2011). As a result, Brazil was getting richer, and its society is increasingly cosmopolitan and it is engaging in new, diverse and dynamic modes of contention and self-conception. Accordingly, as the country moves towards consumerism and beyond the fetishism for Latin Americanists to understand class-based contention, it is the aim of this piece to understand the social changes that are emerging through political participation.

With OP, as well as the city’s association with the World Social Forum, the city came to be regarded as a beacon of progressive politics, taken by international policymakers as a model of enlightened democracy that closed the perceived democratic deficit (Halpern 2011). With the extension of participatory programmes to the women’s movement, and following a

national LGBT conference in Brasília in 2010, the PT government, at a national level, mandated LGBT participatory conferences at State and municipal levels. This resulted in the first municipal LGBT conference in Porto Alegre in August 2011, and the second Riograndense LGBT conference in October 2011. Concurrently, the political mobilisation and influence of the middle classes has grown. After the fall of the PT government in Porto Alegre in 2004, OP was demoted from a flagship programme, but it, and the preceding Municipal Health Councils, have served as models for decision-making amid an increasingly vocal civil society. Organised LGBT activists in Porto Alegre mainly came together through GAPA-RS, a local branch of a federal initiative to combat HIV/AIDS in the late 1980s and in 1991 a combination of GAPA activists and academics within the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul, the first LGBT NGO, began to act. The unswaying preoccupation of Nuances, the oldest and most traditionally left-leaning LGBT group, with 'guei' male marginality led to splinters with its female wing, and gave rise to the formation of SOMOS – *comunicação, sexualidade e saúde* – in 2001. SOMOS, as a more pragmatic social services organisation, was better able to attract municipal funding and interned youth activists, leading to its growth into the largest LGBT-focused NGO in Porto Alegre.

## **Focus of this research**

The general aim, in the crudest terms, is to assess how accurately the Porto Alegre political model can and does deal with the 'democratic deficit', which is a concept broadly understood to refer to any situation in which there is believed to be a lack of democratic accountability and control over the decision-making process. The specific research questions, as detailed below, focus on three aspects of this: 1) the ways in which the *Políticas Públicas* programme is structured; 2) the relations of power and repertoires that these structures (interpellated with individual agency) produce and; 3) the discovery of meaning in processes of identity construction and the formation of public policy through *Políticas Públicas* in Rio Grande do Sul. These programmes focus increasingly on identity-based groups, in this case the LGBT movement, and it is this that forms the object of study. I was able to work closely with these groups, negotiating access and participation with them, to ensure ethnographic participant observation over a period of five months, attendance at both formal and informal meetings of the groups, and engaging in 'conversations in place' (Anderson 2004) with individual participants. This allowed deep understanding of the social worlds of actors. I also negotiated participation in the 1<sup>st</sup> Municipal LGBT Conference in *Políticas Públicas* of Porto Alegre, and in the 2<sup>nd</sup> State LGBT Conference in *Políticas Públicas* of Rio Grande do Sul, enabling the application of a range of academic theories to understand operators of political

contention, power through participant regimes and account, functions of inequality, policy-making and participation and, of course identity in a Brazilian *gaúcho* setting.

Porto Alegre was a natural focus for the study because, as noted, other ways of doing politics and policy-making have become part of the political and social fabric of the place. In addition, the relatively good economic position of the country, State and municipality, increasingly cosmopolitan society, and increase in environmental, women's, black, and LGBT groups, are all well-represented in Porto Alegre. Further, my own personal biography made the selection of environmental and LGBT groups most convenient for liaison and negotiation for entry. Having negotiated access to the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS) on an exchange, I contacted all of the main local LGBT groups – SOMOS, Nuances, LBL and Igualdade-RS – at local events. Through persistence I was able to negotiate access to three of these.

Nuances, a networked group, maintained a core of a single activist, Célio, who was helpful in several extended walking conversations and giving access to a wealth of archive materials. Igualdade-RS, a nucleated group, was very welcoming to a foreign researcher, but held lingering suspicious following previous negative dealings with academics. SOMOS, the biggest LGBT group, had been successful at securing funding for various projects. It had five people in its executive, and a further ten in administrative and project management roles. Their office was located in the affluent Santana neighbourhood, close to Farroupilha Park. I engaged all members and participated in several programmes. While an original intention was to undertake a mixture of formal focus groups and pre-scheduled interviews, it soon became apparent that a combination of irregular schedules and non-appearance of interviewees required a change of tack. Indeed, a combination of walking conversations and 'conversations in place', often when socialising, gave better access to situated data (Anderson 2004).

Alongside these groups, I attended the 1<sup>st</sup> Municipal LGBT Conference in *Políticas Públicas* of Porto Alegre, held in late August 2011 at the Municipal Council Offices. Through participating here as one of 71 registered delegates, I was also able to gain short interviews with key politicians, and was elected a delegate for the State conference held in October 2011, which brought together circa 400 delegates from across Rio Grande do Sul. This gave me the opportunity to observe front-stage performances and understand backstage workings and contextualised understandings of the process. I recorded the proceedings of the whole of the conferences, transcribed them and numbered their lines for account analysis purposes.

Taking the conferences as front-stage performances, and the backstage ethnographic work (Goffman 1959) it was possible to gain a better understanding of what went on in these public fora and it is the analysis of this that forms the basis of this thesis. Indeed, working with these groups over the longer term gave me an appreciation and everyday knowledge of the workings of local movement, local power relationships, local identity and local policy development that would have been invisible to me as an outsider. Through a systematic



analysis of identity and *Políticas Públicas* construction in LGBT-relevant events and literature, and a comparison of identity and *Políticas Públicas* construction within and outside public forums, this thesis analyses three primary themes around the concepts of process, participant regimes (power) and identity. It is these, therefore, that form the basis of the specific research aims and objectives that this thesis answers in making a unique contribution to the furtherance of existing academic knowledge.

## **Research aims and objectives**

The primary research question answered by this thesis is:

How can the roles and functions of civil society organisations and the state be understood in *Políticas Públicas*, and can this process address the 'democratic deficit' locally, nationally and internationally?

In answering this primary research question the following subsidiary research objectives, respectively centred on process, power and identity, are also addressed:

1. How does *Políticas Públicas* enable/constrain civil society repertoires/discourses? How does the process operate and what is it about? To what extent is it a system of social control, controlling access and engagement?
2. How do participants relate to the format and concept of (LGBT or other) *Políticas Públicas*? Whose voices come to the fore? Whose are silenced? Who allocates participation rights?
3. How do actors invoke identities in *Políticas Públicas*? Which identities are most salient? Which identities are marginalised? How are these produced interactionally? What evidence is there of intertextuality?

The thesis begins with a review of the political and social context in which the research is based, looking at participatory policy-making in Porto Alegre. From this contextual base, the literature review highlights some of the key concepts and ideas through which these questions can be addressed. In particular, it explores theories of social mobilisation and contentious actions undertaken by citizens to gain influence in policy domains through social movement studies, allied with concepts and relations of power. The review notes the ways through which social groups understand themselves and are understood through processes of framing. Thereafter, it explores identity construction and its social outcomes, both public and private, looking specifically at the most common identity-based groupings in the research context. This review also considers concepts of inequality specifically related to Porto Alegre's contextual position in the context of a developing country.

In terms of methodology, the subsequent chapter explores the extent to which social constructionism is the most appropriate epistemology with which to investigate these settings and answer the research questions. It therefore discusses the most appropriate methods with which to translate this into empirical work. This is supported by consideration of appropriate analytic techniques, and determines that combined membership categorisation analysis with aspects of discourse analysis tradition was most appropriate. This, in turn, enabled a deeper analysis of ethnographic field notes and the conference transcript through grounded perspectives.

The empirical chapters are divided into three, each addressing one of the subsidiary research questions. Chapter Five looks at the process, structure and delivery of *Políticas*

*Públicas* conferences. This takes Schumaker's (1975) framework of political responsiveness, considering five features – access, agenda, policy, output and impact. The chapter reveals that physical access is open to all, yet discursive access is restricted to those 'experts' displaying the correct 'objective' knowledges, while embodied and emotional knowledges are excluded. This is compounded by the movement groups themselves limiting the agenda to larger statement issues rather than fully reflecting the LGBT lived experience, and dissenting voices are silenced. As a result, these settings do not meet Escobar's (2011) criteria for empowerment. Policymaking is restricted to a metropolitan core of senior activists who, through linking 'expert' LGBT knowledges to wider *gaúcho* discourses can better guarantee wider impact and LGBT visibility. Yet, in terms of the overall impacts of these systems, the existing wider Brazilian political system has not adequately made space for and integrated *Políticas Públicas* into existing governance structures. As a result it cannot live up to its aims of full faithful grassroots progressive politics. While OP achieved success in enabling citizen ownership of a defined amount of the local budget for local improvements, this was well supported by a political structure that could deal with quantifiable evidence. It is necessary to re-examine the whole basis of the 'objective' rationale of the existing Brazilian political structure to enable engagement with embodied identity-based claims.

While Chapter Five notes that the structure of *Políticas Públicas* produces its own distinct inequalities, Chapter Six considers participant repertoires and power relations and social movement construction, structure, interaction and impacts of and on *Políticas Públicas*. It looks at how delegates insert themselves into structures and matrices of power, whether within groups or within the setting itself, responding to social movement literature on the basis of capitalist consumptive spaces, and developmental literatures on the basis of the emergent nature of these economic contexts. It shows that *Políticas Públicas* are officially-sanctioned spaces within government, yet are kept at arm's length away from the heart of the business of government. Much of the work in conferences involves actors deriving meaning, significance, and identity from the (changing) functional roles they play; playing politics as in the moves in a game; establishing some inequalities that are situational, yet some that are structural. Though senior delegates can play the game better, there is room for resistance, through interjection and subversion of established rules. It also demonstrates the power in language – a gendered and sexualised power. Participants can use this effectively to get the better of others, or to establish powerful groupings and alliances against a morally-suspect 'other' (e.g. the Church; men; politicians), yet this language is saturated with local contextual meaning and sense-making.

Through accounts, boundaries and hierarchies are established between and within organisations. Chapter Seven examines identity and its invocation and relevance to policy-



making. It addresses the performance of social and political identities within participatory politics, picking these apart to dissect and discern categories within the broad term 'identity'. These are used to explore ideas of social movement mobilisation and to assess how they are performed (or not) in the public sphere. Using the idea of the public sphere, albeit not in its historically-situated form, identities themselves are seen as "sites of argument" constructed in and through language. Despite the egalitarian aims of *Políticas Públicas*, governmental identity categories are considered the highest status yet remain mistrusted. The identity category LGBT masks a huge variation in perceived and actual marginality both in wider society and within the movement itself, and while certain categorical inequalities are made visible and addressed (i.e. the elderly, the sick), other markers of difference are ignored and further marginalised – closeted away from the public sphere (i.e. Afro-Brazilians). Finally, the concluding chapter summarises that *Políticas Públicas* is symbolic as an alternative system of decision making and progressive politics, but in reality it is so marginal to the work of the Brazilian governmental system that it cannot hope to achieve civil society emancipation. Fundamentally, the state is set up to deal with objective and quantifiable issues, having established mechanisms to respond to traditional class-based contentions – it cannot deal with situated and embodied knowledges and identity politics, so cannot hope to succeed as OP did. Furthermore, movement groups do not understand this either, and often think of themselves as successors to labour movements. The current format and requirements of *Políticas Públicas* amplify the impacts of internal group politics and structures which further serve to silence all but a select few senior participants who are already experienced and can articulate proposals that are theoretical and technically acceptable to become Brazilian law straight away. A clear re-evaluation of the system and its integration with the wider political structure is needed if it is to achieve its aims of promoting empowerment and progressive politics. This should be combined with a much greater critical eye on the potential for exploitation within civil society groups.

## Chapter Two: Literature Review

This chapter outlines previous work on Porto Alegre's governance structures as a model for democratic deepening and rebuilding, gives an account of the philosophical ideas behind them, and extends this to cover some of the logical gaps explored by this thesis. A discussion of social movement mobilisation ensues and this is linked with a brief exploration of LGBT theory. Thereafter the chapter notes how these play out in everyday life in Brazil, and particularly Rio Grande do Sul. Finally, methodological perspectives through which spaces of participatory deliberation can be interrogated are outlined. Cumulatively, the literature review enables an understanding of *Políticas Públicas* to be garnered and this provides both a context and topical lens through which to understand the process of policy deliberation and creation.

### Process

#### Policy-making and participation

Porto Alegre's participatory processes have been well-studied, by Novy and Leubolt (2005), for example, who opine that post-dictatorship municipal governments were struggling to work out how to govern. Whilst OP was pioneered in other municipalities across Brazil in the late 1980s, it was only when it was applied in the State capital, Porto Alegre, by the very leftist (at the time) Workers' Party (PT) that dissemination of methods and outcomes became widespread.

In this process, each of the sixteen Porto Alegre districts is allocated a proportion of the discretionary part of the municipality's budget. Spending priorities are drawn up through several rounds of deliberation and consensus based on broad city-wide categories including planning and development; transportation; health and welfare; education; and economic development. These go through several rounds of deliberation, lasting most of the year. The process commences in March each year and runs through to February of the following year, often successfully integrating deliberation on measurable criteria into policy and spending outcomes. This proved a reasonably successful and transparent way to engage local communities in municipal governance (Abers 1998; Menegat 2002), through the production of objectively measurable outcomes.

Schönleitner (2006) questions the basis on which the PT posited that civil society participation is a way to deepen democracy by suggesting that civil society is not necessarily pro-democratic in itself. In a critical evaluation of PT policy, he questions whether participatory fora are free from or embedded in political power relations, and whether or not

civil society has the scope to think beyond parochial issues to tackle bigger issues. Through evaluating the *modus operandi* of each, Schönleitner (2006) uncovered irregularities in the PT approach to participation, with allowances for bottom-up processes in the Southern Brazilian municipalities, but incorporation and forced participation in the North Eastern municipalities. To varying degrees, this suggests that the most favourable municipal conditions for deepening democracy are a combination of deliberation and integration of civil society. This, according to Schönleitner (2006), was demonstrated in the PT's Caxias do Sul municipality, and yet the benefits of this type of arrangement cannot be made universal using deliberative systems; only with a reform of representative democracy across the country in all municipalities in a political "culture characterised by... clientelism" (Santos 1998:462).

Baiocchi (2005) attempts to 'demythologise' the OP process in Porto Alegre going beyond the idea that when municipal vision and innovation allow civil society to take part in and become responsible for deciding its own developmental path, social activism is stopped and incorporated into the participatory process. He selects three wards in Porto Alegre in terms of the level of pre-existing civil society organisation prior to the introduction of OP in 1988. These are Partenon (strong organisation), Nordeste (some organisation), and Norte (very little organisation). This is undertaken through ethnographic investigation and biography-creation of identified community leaders. A relational approach is resultant, contrasting with traditional social actor theory, social capital theory, and other neo-Tocquevillean society-centred approaches. He demonstrates that militant social activism is the best initial condition for participation to engage with the state. Using a local neighbourhood example, Partenon, he argues that the strong social organisation of these groups smoothes the process of debate and deciding priorities without the barriers of parochialism interference, as in the Norte zone. The second part of Baiocchi's argument suggests that, despite initial problems resulting from a lack of social organisation in some zones, these barriers can be overcome through continued participation and engagement with citizens, so that even the least educated and those with the lowest income can participate effectively with municipal will, thus opposing social capital theory. What this shows is that barriers to entry are negligible and, in theory, full voice is open to all. This is important in understanding the political context of this study, and it can be seen that participatory failures can be blamed on the structures of civil society groups, making attention to group structure an important consideration here.

Fedozzi (2007) undertook a critical analysis of potential improvements to the OP system based on historically collected data from surveys undertaken by NGOs, the Porto Alegre Municipality, and other researchers. Fedozzi's data dates from 2005, a year after the PT was removed from the Porto Alegre Municipality for the first time since OP's inception. The report

statistically reviews the participation rates of sectors of society, by gender, race, age, education, employment, and income, to report on the success or failure of OP to meet its aims of improving the lives of all city residents. Particularly since 1998, gender equality has resulted; youth participation has risen despite remaining small; the scheme has increased overall education levels; representation of the 'black' community doubled between 1995 and 2002; and 'unskilled manual' workers are the biggest participants. Thus, OP has been a success in terms of its measurable material impacts, but it has also brought about decreased membership of grassroots associations during the 1990s, leaving institutionalised government-directed programmes the dominant spaces for contentious action and citizen voice. This may constrain what can be said and done by groups for fear of being excluded from material benefits, and it would be important for this thesis in that it would suggest that participatory processes have the potential to act as a cynical tool of governmentality (Foucault 1991). It also suggests that identity-based groupings are becoming increasingly important for consideration in the public sphere. Although Fedozzi's report is comprehensive, but one notable omission is data on participation by sexuality given that Porto Alegre was the first city in Brazil to allow proto-civil unions in 1995, at the same time OP was developing, hence the attention to LGBTs here.

In a context of economic liberalisation and municipalities controlling only 14% of their overall budget, "harsh limits" to social improvement policies exist across Brazil, resulting in an intensification of social exclusion, as Baierle (2003:310) notes. In Porto Alegre, the ability of the OP to create a third space of 'popular sovereignty' (as opposed to the market and the state) is challenged by limits simultaneously to promote plurality of opinion and deliver real results. The continued expansion of social inclusion cannot be matched by ever-expanding social improvement. For this reason, Baierle (2003) proposes the need for this third sector to take political control of policy-making tools in a translocation of the mechanics of OP. Here again the risk of institutionalisation of civil society into government-controlled spaces is flagged, highlighting the delicate power relationships that need to be maintained for equitable participation to result.

In discussing misconceptions of participatory processes in examples of civil society as an agent in challenging old, clientelistic models of governance, Wampler and Avritzer (2004) trace the development of participation in Brazilian municipalities, using two competing theories to explain political change in Brazil: institutionalist and civil society perspectives. Porto Alegre's success is a result of its strong civil organisation, generous percentage of the budget that is negotiated, high completion rate of negotiated projects and the ability of civil society to forge links with (leftist) politicians. The failure of other cities has been through low civil organisation and political disinterest that has perpetuated cynicism of programmes with

emancipatory potential. The following section explores how citizens organise themselves and ensure their own emancipation.

## **Political activism: types, skills, tactics**

### **Organisation and *modus operandi***

Castells (2004) comments upon the format of social movements and contentious groups in response to aims and general context of contention, especially in relation to identity-based movements, but it is by no means clear that Porto Alegre's groups have a uniform format and form. Evidence indicates that, when groups enjoy even partial success, changes cause them to become more institutionalised (Buechler 2000), a view greatly supported by the Frankfurt School's communicative rationality theorising (Calhoun 1992).

In commenting further, Habermas (1984/1987) highlights that over the past decades the (economic and political) 'system' has become integrated and has colonised the 'lifeworld' (everyday civil society relations). It follows, with reference to this study that, to a greater or lesser extent, communication and discourse take on the same formats and characteristics in Brazil as they do elsewhere. Habermas' work also raises questions as to the efficacy of participatory fora and their ability to dissociate 'lifeworld' and 'system' from each other. Far from being abstract systems, Miller (2001) implies the former can be understood as the state and the latter the movement. Accordingly, an examination of the process of *Políticas Públicas* deliberation needs to take account of the ways in which group interests can be met, or whether the format serves the interests of those nominally in positions of power. In addition, Habermas' (1992) concept of the 'public sphere', despite its original formulation as being historically-specific, can be useful in understanding the contextual performance spaces through which social movement both challenge and produce new forms of inequality.

It may well be that groups "challenge some forms of inequality [and] inevitably sustain and recreate other forms of inequality within their ranks, including class, race, or gender relations" (Buechler 2000:105), but the nature of these inequalities is contextual and/or situational in response. Across societies, the structures that are prevalent in one may be absent in another, so the specific nature of these structures/contexts must be detailed so that the specific, underlying dynamics of the situation may be delineated. In terms of general understanding of the movement, the situation or the politics at hand, Habermas' (1987b) concern is that the problem is not so much false, as fragmented, consciousness, the roots of which can only be traced through genealogical work. That is, an exploration of discursive activity and the implication of power, through working closely with participants and conference delegates.

Collective action and its allied idea of the 'social movement' are integral parts of understanding the social world. The concept of the 'social movement' offers valuable sociological insights as to social and collective bonds, it is an important concept in local Brazilian higher education, and a theme taken up by many local group members. Therefore, a brief exploration of local academic understanding of the concept is warranted. Boaventura de Sousa Santos, the Portuguese sociologist, is arguably the most influential figure in modern Brazilian sociology and adopts Dalton and Kuechler's definition of a social movement in his opus, *Pela Mão de Alice*, as "a significant sector of the population that develops and defines interests incompatible with the current social and political order and that pursues non-institutionalised avenues" (Santos 2010:257). This broad definition was developed to account for many of the common social movement theories in the lusophone world of the past 40 years, and appropriate in the context of *Políticas Públicas* as different strands of social movement theory come to the fore situationally in interaction. It is debatable whether the collectivity encouraged by Porto Alegre's political programmes can be understood as a 'movement', yet those pre-established groups coalescing around particular social categories certainly should be. It is these groups that provide valuable units of studies here.

Porto Alegre's movements engage in collective action, which Tilly and Tarrow (2006:8) define "as a sustained campaign of claim making, using repeated performances that advertise the claim, based on organisations, networks, traditions, and solidarities that sustain these activities." Of course, repeated public displays of worthiness, unity, numbers and commitment shown by wearing colours, marching in ranks, and the like may not immediately define social movements in different contexts. There are many groups that may use such techniques but still not count as a social movement *per se*, yet those in Porto Alegre do in fact constitute a cohesive movement. They draw on organisations, networks, traditions, and solidarities that sustain previous activities, through various projects and events throughout the year. Accordingly, *a priori* solidarities exist on the basis of a linking mechanism to qualify them as a 'movement'. Indeed, a movement is based on traditional solidarities such as class, labour, or nationalism, or more modern solidarities such as race, gender, or sexuality and, as Castells (2004) claims, religion. Movements are more or less compatible with existing governmental and political structures. Yet identity-based groupings have a large impact on modern societies, and *Políticas Públicas* provides a certain disciplinary model to enable this.

In terms of contextualising the national political context of this case, Brazilian society has had a history of strong socialist tendencies and radical Marxist mobilisation, strongest through the *abertura* period of the 1980s to redemocratisation (Novy and Leubolt 2005). Buechler (2000:16) highlights the debt of social theory to the dialogue with socialism and

with the economic system in general, and adds that knowledge of the social world “continues to be shaped by periodic challenges to the expansionary logic and instrumental rationality of the capitalist system”. In the modern era, however, socialism is only one of the competing logics of social movement theory. This is especially evident in the idea of mobilisation based on resource availability and opportunity structure, and OP and the participatory structures in Porto Alegre have been framed in terms of these concepts by the majority of commentators (Abers 2001; Fung and Wright 2001; Baierle 2003; Baiocchi et al. 2004; Navarro 2004; Baiocchi 2005; Gret and Sintomer 2005;). Despite the increasing importance of consumer identities in contentious action, the end of class is not at hand, though there is a reconfiguration and increasing complexity of class formation and relations. Carroll and Ratner (1994:16-17) reflect, via Gramsci, that “despite the emergence of new sites of struggle that cannot be comprehended in terms of class dynamics, capitalism remains the dominant structure in the contemporary world”; rather than ignoring this, it remains important to understanding social interaction in *Políticas Públicas*. Instead of organising as class-based subjects in relation to labour over issues related to the control of production, Stoecker (1994:5) argues that people treat class as an object of struggle and organise themselves as citizens and consumers in relation to their social roles in reproducing themselves outside work. Brazilian structures were formed around an often restless class-stratified civil society. Yet LGBT identities have been traditionally implicated in elite middle-class consumptive habits of “bourgeois decadence” (Thorstad 1995). Class is clearly of concern to LGBT engagement.

The paradox is that Fisher and Kling (1991) explain identity-based movements insofar as they represent the addition of cultural and identity issues to ongoing equity and distributive issues traditionally associated with working class politics, rather than dichotomising material and cultural concerns. Participatory systems decrease the costs for movement actors. Generally, the idea is that low-cost access to powerful decision-makers is reserved for special interest groups and that social movements need to pay higher costs for a comparable degree of influence (Buechler 2000). Participatory systems in Porto Alegre have apparently remedied this by lowering the tariffs and increased densities of association have resulted. A polity can be open and encourage collective action.

In democratic regimes, Johnston (2011) states that four variables combine in different ways to produce state structures: citizenship, equality, responsiveness, and protection. As Meyer and Tarrow (1998) proclaim, we are living in a ‘social movement society’ in which any great perversions of the representational form of governance will be met with resistance and, in any case, regular social and political participation keeps the worst abuses in check. This conception of society is echoed by Melucci’s (1989) use of the term ‘movimentation of

society'. There are risks, though, to this society, and Piven and Cloward's (1977) study of low-income movements revealed that the centralisation of decision-making and the formalisation of positions reduced the ability of the movement to organise disruptive campaigns. Thus it seems that professionalisation of movement organisations can greatly impact on their tactical repertoires while at the same time undemocratically centralises power (Martin 2010). Of local groups, SOMOS is the only purely professionalised groups, with salaries paid to the executive. Igualdade RS has professionalised aspects, and LBL lesser still, while the other groups are kept going purely by dedicated volunteers. That is not to say that there is no advantage to the movement organisation that does professionalise, for democratic political systems provide points of access to those political decision-makers, thus enabling them to "impart advantages to those organisations that can 'isomorphically' adjust to the system's points of access" (Johnston 2011:73). However, this is rather more at the expense of those movement organisations that do not do so, whether this is because of their technical capacities, their political positions or due to the configuration of the group. SOMOS benefited from this at the expense of other groups.

### **Towards the theory of new social movements**

With the rise of neoliberalism and the state-backed destruction of organised labour, the viability of working-class politics has been undermined across the Western world, and thus despite the continuing capitalist ideology, paradoxically, the class-organised basis of the system has receded (Aronowitz 1994). Thus, a vacuum in contentious action has been filled by social movements based on identity politics, as per the European theory of new social movements (NSMs) (Melucci 1980). In Brazil, the late 1980s and 1990s saw the uptake of new social movement theory, despite the country's heavy insertion into the US economic sphere.

A concise historically-situated view of the importance of NSMs as the perspective of choice both in a Brazilian context in general and for a situated study of *Políticas Públicas* in Porto Alegre, is advanced by Alonso (2009:75) who sums it up, as follows:

TNMS [*Teoria dos Novos Movimentos Sociais* – New Social Movement Theory] gradually changed from a theory of social movements to a theory of civil society. Criticism received more empirical evidence of the bureaucratisation of activism, deepening the crisis of distinction between new and old movements. TNMS was therefore left to associate innovation with an actor, the movements, and to link it with a locus, civil society. It is defined in largely negative terms: civil society is neither state, nor markets. ... Its core demands for autonomy unconnected into politico-institutional power, nor material benefits, nor self-interest... but about social participation, deliberative democracy and its related concepts."



Whilst a broader examination of activism is important in understanding group identity, this perspective considers groups in public policy formation and interaction. In the move to NSMs providing an understanding of contentious group behaviour, there is not a complete separation from previous epistemes, but a mere a reordering of priorities. For example, resource mobilisation theory has shown that pre-existing social organisation is critical to mobilisation, as demonstrated by Baiocchi (2005), but this become a variable rather than a constant in a context of individualism and shifting identities in the postmodern context (Buechler 2000).

This theoretical examination of contentious action and group mobilisation highlights the universal importance of power in social relationships. This section also alludes to the importance of identity and its impact on power relations between individuals and groups. It follows that to appreciate participatory *Políticas Públicas* as socio-political spaces and the relationships between civil society and the government, attention needs to be paid to both of these ideas. Whilst groups organise themselves around multiple and intersecting factors, the increasing importance of identity issues in collective action must be tempered by the social and political environment in which the group assembles (Tilly 1999). *Políticas Públicas* proposes to offer freer spaces for identity groups to perform a more essential version of themselves. However, as the following section discusses, the literature argues that this will not be possible in practice as individuals can never escape structures of power, and power relations in organisations are structured by and through participant framing and repertoires.

## **Participant regimes**

### **Power and society**

For Foucault (1979: 93), 'power is everywhere', diffused and embodied in discourse, knowledge and 'regimes of truth'. Moreover, the forms of power at play in the postmodern age may very well be more fluid and open to change than at any other point in history (Bauman 2000). It follows that, in this postmodern age, the validity of social movements 'taking back' power, as various Latin American caricatures portray, may well be marginal compared with their perceived subjectivity within the structures of advanced capitalism. Within collective action, Melucci (1996) contends that individuals have become the core of what was hitherto called the social structure, and that even 'cultural' movements contain oppositional elements that challenge power in the social systems in which they operate. Movement groups were instrumental during the twentieth century in Brazil, reconstituting the nation whether suppressed or encouraged by the political regime (Cardoso 2008). Yet it is unclear in the present time how the landscape of power is constituted in *Políticas Públicas*.

Aligned with Foucauldian theories of power, control and discipline is the idea of 'governmentality' (Garman 2010). It is necessary to consider this concept, in conjunction with Lefebvre's (1991) concept of 'spatiality', to understand how spaces between state and civil society are ordered as social worlds, and how pre-existing contextual dynamics can shape interactions. In addition, it is useful in considering the research questions and, specifically, how participants relate to the format and concept of *Políticas Públicas*: whose voices come to the fore; whose are silenced; and who allocates participation rights.

### **The social construction and framing of groups**

In practical terms, the objective empirical assessment of regime type and relationship between actors is mediated through social realities and relationships. An empirical study that is sensitive to its objects of study may reasonably be expected to take into consideration the views, performances and actions of its participants (Buechler 2000). Accordingly, within this study, all aspects of collective action are understood as an interactive, symbolically defined and negotiated process among all actors and interactants. Framing is a useful interactionist way to understand social interchanges.

According to Goffman (1974), framing is used to focus attention on some bounded phenomena by imparting meaning and significance to elements within the frame and setting them apart from what is outside. Relating this to social movements and contentious action, Snow et al. (1986) explain frame alignment activities as referring to the likening of the interpretive orientations of individuals and movements/groups, so that individual interests, values, and beliefs become congruent with the activities, goals, and ideologies of the larger body. In this study, there are several potential master frames; the most obvious are provisionally titled as '*Políticas Públicas*' and 'LGBT'. For the purposes of contention, though, it is the LGBT combined identity and its associated frames that provide the impetus for contention, yet its grounded definition will necessarily depend upon contextual and interactional features for, as Snow and Benford (1992) maintain, the construction of protest necessarily operates through several interacting levels of social reality.

The relevance of framing in this epistemological approach has proven itself extremely salient to studies of the nature I am proposing. Examples include Bernstein and Taylor (2005), who explored identity politics and framing among lesbian movements in North America; Ackland and O'Neil (2011), tracing the framing of the online collective identity of the environmental movement; and Langman (2013), who analysed the framing devices used by the 'Occupy' movement. Accordingly, this study builds upon these identity-movement-based studies, making use of framing perspectives and applies the theory to a middle-income context.

Finally, it is worth highlighting the ways in which group alignment is created and how shared affinities are produced and sustained through emotive storytelling – through ‘war stories’, ‘horror stories’ and ‘happy endings’ (Fine 1995). While more specialist, this integrates well with discursive psychology. ‘War stories’ speak of collective experiences within a group and promote the value of community; ‘horror stories’ highlight affronts to the group but that the movement is just (McAdam et al. 1988). ‘Happy endings’ reaffirm the value of groupings achieving positive ends. Fine (1995:136) notes that it is especially “the emotional tenor of a horror story” that is especially prevalent in LGBT storytelling. It follows that within the context of this study, it is very much worth examining in extended transcripts to understand rituals and linguistic mechanisms of collectivity and belonging.

Power is implicated at the very heart of social fabric, and it must then be implicated in social performance within and around *Políticas Públicas*. In terms of the idea of the power of the state and the idea of the state as a guarantor of power structures, the question arises as to whether or not *Políticas Públicas* makes sure of this and, indeed, from the discourse around public sphere, whether or not the state should be a separate sphere outside of Habermas’ historically-situated example. The role of the state in *Políticas Públicas* is thus investigated, as is its nature, in the first of the subsidiary questions. As all institutions and groups are saturated with individual and collective power relations this must, within the confines of this study, be an important consideration in understanding not only state-society relationships in *Políticas Públicas*, but also relationships within and among groups, which is a particular concern of the second subsidiary question. Given that power both mediates and is mediated by displays of identity this, as is subsequently discussed, this must also be a key concern in understanding *Políticas Públicas*.

## **Identity**

### **The battleground of identity**

In general terms, identity provides “a major battleground because it is an active conduit for the exercise of localised power as well as the expression of individualised resistance in the modern world” (Buechler 2000: 151). In addition, as Giddens (1991) underscores, in relation to social movements the self-actualising self and the political self become one and the same, which he calls ‘life politics’. In movement, there can be no difference between the ‘essential’ identity that is theorised by some to exist and the performed identity and, thus, in this conception identity only comes into being when invoked in particular settings and situations. While the movement groups and the conferences they participate in are labelled ‘LGBT’, such a label serves merely as a signifier which, like any identity, must be performed to become meaningful, and is thus always bound by the parameters of social context.

Buechler (2000) adds that, independent of an essential identity, within the resistance situations of social movements the notion of identity and the very idea of the subject is challenged as identity categories are imbued with power forms that use these to impose regimes of control/surveillance. Therefore, local LGBT identities are as much products of their spatial and political context as any essential attributes of individuals. The link between the three concepts of process, power and identity, the bases of the three subsidiary research questions, is therefore intimately intertwined. Yet it is to the third of these questions that identity, in the context of process, relationships of power, and spatially constituted, is considered in order to test *Políticas Públicas*' empowering potential.

### **The importance of identity**

The postmodern condition, the increase in migrations, and the rise of the 'network society' (Castells 2004) have meant that identities that may have previously been viewed as spatially anchored have been detached to become free-floating signifiers. As Bauman (2004:51) explains, in this age of 'liquid modernity', we "are passing from the 'solid' to the 'fluid' phase of modernity; and 'fluids' are so called because they cannot keep their shape for long". Thus, this idea of 'identity' can only be conceived of as something that is constructed and invented rather than discovered, upsetting the Kantian perspective of *a priori* social life, and this construction is in constant flow.

In this conception of 'identity', defining features such as race, gender, country of birth, family and social class become "less important, diluted and altered, in the most technologically and economically advanced countries" (Dencik 2001:194) and, increasingly in middle-income countries like Brazil (Santos 2010). There remain ideas of 'cultural authenticity' in forms of identity that may become intertwined with nationalist myths, resulting in the creation of 'imagined communities' (Anderson 1991). In Porto Alegre, the idea of the *gaúcho*, rural macho vagabonds and cattle thieves turned noble warriors (Oliven 2000), is prominent. Moreover, the narrative of the nation can be a very powerful force in the construction of these communities, sustaining a sense of belonging that becomes "as much by fantasy and the imagination as by any geographical or physical reality" (Chambers 1994:25), and our own self-image is configured into a particular story that makes sense. The *gaúcho* memory of a colonial past plagued with uproar, mutiny, sedition and struggles against authorities remains (Luna 2004).

In latter days, within advanced capitalism, the logic of the economy and the productive system permeates not just economic consumption but also human services, social relation and, indeed, personal identity (Melucci 1988). This is not just a cause for concern in the global north, but increasingly in Brazil as a result of neoliberal advances (Antunes 2004).

Individuals may experience in daily life simultaneously intersecting social realities that act on and within the subject in complementary but competing ways (Buechler 2000:119), affecting individual agency and (discursive) repertoires and performances in interactions and, in turn, responding to the setting. In other words, 'essential' identities are heavily mediated by spatial context, yet successful contention depends on being able to construct a coherent narrative story. Such a conception indicates both complex matrices of interacting forms of domination that contain "few pure victims or oppressors", and a more complex and nuanced range of intermediate positions "combining various degrees of penalty and privilege" (Collins 1990:229). Elite privilege in Brazil is at the same time characteristic of political systems yet resisted by inclusive political programmes (Abers 1998), thereby engendering complex structures for individuals to negotiate.

Postmodern commentators point to the myriad conflicting meanings and fleeting symbols forcing plurality and diversity in identification. This results in a "homelessness of personal identity" (Melucci 1989:109), and while movements and groups inevitably focus on particular identities, the complexities involved often downstream impacts. For example, SOMOS' projects focusing on young gay men in particular areas engendered feelings of antipathy and even hostility both to and from the black community, and feelings among certain individuals of split loyalties. Similarly, the local Black Movement (MNU) would not engage with LGBT issues as these were not viewed as culturally compatible.

Johnston et al. (1994) distinguish between individual, collective and public identity – a triad very much aligned with Lefebvre's "Spatiology". These are different dimensions of identity which act within and between groups in interaction. At the level of a shared salient characteristic, collective identities coalesce and form a consciousness in opposition to some form of other (Johnston et al. 1994). With this, the determinants of who is in or out of the group are established and interpretive frameworks are agreed. This very much resonates with local LGBT collective identities having been established in strict opposition to broad Christian identities. Public identity is managed through 'boundary maintenance' work, as in the case of LBL whose membership is restricted to women, although men can ally with it, and speech becomes important as the object of study. Identity work is central to the framing processes and, thus, is an essential object for study among Porto Alegre's groups and within the conferences. A focus on performances and repertoires is important as these are theoretically compatible with queer theory, gender studies (especially Butler 1990) and the study of identity-bases of social movements and, when applied to movement groups interacting and deliberating between themselves and with government in LGBT *Políticas Públicas*, prove important in critical analysis of these spaces.

In investigating talk and performance, the mark of a skilful organiser is the ability to adapt to local circumstances a generic form – to embed a modular form in the languages, symbols, and practices that make them compelling in those situations. The evolution of repertoires may, therefore, take place on a pragmatic basis and in response to various external influences and conditions. For example, with the emergence of HIV/AIDS in the early 1980s, Porto Alegre gay groups advocated almost exclusively for health-based citizenship (Boër 2003), whereas now they are often more culturally-focused. There is no guarantee that repertoire-change will result in increased success. As movements adapt, sometimes they meet dead ends “either because they fail to inspire people or because they are too easily repressed” (Margadant 1979:267). Yet, in any contentious action there is always the presence of a claimant and an object of claim (Tilly and Tarrow 2006) taking part in its performance, which has traditionally been bounded as civil society and state (Fraser 1990).

Interaction is the object of study, linking ‘agency’ and ‘structure’ through specific episodes, settings and performances, both ‘front stage’ and ‘backstage’ in LGBT conferences. This is combined with the acknowledgement that the social and the spatial are mutually constituted (Soja 1996). The contentious action that is explored here is, to a great extent, middle-class contention. NSMs and, in particular, the ‘newest’ of these (including LGBT and environmental) are often equated with the middle classes as defined by their consumptive behaviour. These groups have come together beyond seeking basic material needs such as sanitation or housing in specific local spaces, but for more cultural and broad-reaching changes in mindset and behaviour (Bagguley 1992; Munt 1994; Kriesi 1995; Petras 2013). Many younger members of local LGBT groups define their identities as much by the clothes they wear, the music they listen to and the brands they consume as purely by their sexual attraction. In the broad trajectory of the institutionalisation of participation in *Políticas Públicas*, the expansion of OP to middle-class groups through the invocation of ‘thematic groups’ is an important consideration and the opening of engagement and mobilisation among middle-class groups has been much neglected in Brazil. This study, therefore, once again makes a unique contribution to the furtherance of existing academic knowledge.

### **New social movements: identity at their heart**

NSMs have been variously described as embodying and emphasising “symbolic, expressive, postmaterialist identity-oriented values and themes” (Buechler 2000: 95) while, by contrast, ‘old’ social movements addressed the distribution and allocation of material resources” and concerned themselves with material security. With reference to how NSMs should be conceived, Melucci (1996) argues that identity has become an explicit characteristic object around which movement action takes place, and the ability of people to act may be

increasingly linked to their ability to define identity in the first place, thus encouraging this era (post-1960) to be specific in this regard.

Several theorists (Melucci 1989; Gusfield 1994; Mueller 1994) discuss the internal organisational forms of such movements, as decentralised, egalitarian, participatory, *ad hoc*, or prefigurative, in relation to previous structures, and due heed is paid to such formats of the groups within the Porto Alegre LGBT setting on an observational basis, with the evidence arising that there is no one single perfect model. In terms of values there is also division, for Johnston et al. (1994) argue that NSMs are defined as having a myriad pluralism, while Inglehart (1990) and Dalton et al. (1990) express this plurality as centring on 'postmaterialist values'. This is an important consideration in LGBT politics, for the historical trajectory of this movement across the world, and in Brazil, is that initial focus was placed on 'quantity' of life in the form of HIV/AIDS research and activism (Boër 2003). Several commentators (such as Cohen 1985; Offe 1985; Porta 2009) also state that NSMs serve to promote ways to widen member participation in decision-making, and that "participatory democracy and collective decision-making are characteristics of these groups' methods of strategising and planning that stand in contrast to hierarchical and cadre-led organisations of the past" (Johnston 2011:93). However, in terms of their ontology, it should be questioned whether or not the concept of NSMs "transcends, bypasses, or is simply layered on top of these old social cleavages" (Johnston 2011:89) – as class-based contention in an atomised society.

Within the general class of NSMs, Collins (1990) highlights that within the concept no power structure or identity may have any priority over any other, making each of these simultaneously present and mutually constitutive of one another and, thus, perhaps maintaining "a politics of a class but not on behalf of a class" (Offe 1985:833). Ontologically as Canel (1997) proposes, NSM theory can be seen as a general theory of collective action in response to the metatheorising and economic reductionism of traditional Marxism that disallowed an adequate understanding of contemporary collective action. Beyond the collective behaviour tradition, "there was a tendency to toss out the symbolic interactionist baby along with the functionalist bath water" (Buechler 2000:186), but NSM theory reintroduced symbolic interactionism as useful in conceptualising social movements in the network society.

Buechler (2000:94) writes that, in terms of their formation, "movements should be organised as microcosms that foreshadow the macro-level social order that they are seeking." This raises a challenge for ideas of NSMs as transparent political representations of 'essential' identities. What is clear from the history of OP in Porto Alegre, however, is that material gains in the resource mobilisation sense were assured only when effective channels of

communication between civil society and government (envisaged as discrete entities) emerged following tutelage of participants in community groups. Self-interested individuals were marginalised and silenced. Buechler (2000: 95) continues that “movement involvement can turn potentially anomic individuals toward a reflexive consciousness that critically examines the foundations of social authority and seeks a rational grounding for social values and movement orientations.” As a starting point, this conceives the state as an embodiment of the macrolevel social order – as a key actor in a wider public sphere; while the microlevel social order may be understood as an organic, dynamic system. In modern contentious politics, Tilly (2006:32) argues that, if an actor or group is without a recognised (even recognisable) identity, “it is hard to demand political standing; without standing, it is hard to voice support for a programme.” This alludes to a point that Klandermans and Oegema (1987) advance, that NSM “activism is grounded in new and diffuse social statuses such as youth, gender, lifestyle, sexual orientation, or professions that do not correspond with structural explanations.” The issue remains whether or not these identity-based groupings have indeed emerged from a process of individual self-reflection and realisation or, rather, act as best-fit hodge-podge arrangements, or acts of consumer choice, for diverse interest groups.

NSMs do not necessarily need an injustice component to engage in resistance activities, and Benford and Snow (2000:615) insist that groups may create a well-elaborated collected action frame across almost any religious, self-help or identity feature. Identity can be understood as a key organising social principle in the current economic system. It is central to any understanding of collective action and relationship-building. It is a major conduit for localised power and resistance, and many forms of identity are imbued with such power to impose regimes of control and surveillance. While actors in *Políticas Públicas* will be expected to fight on behalf of a broad identity (in this study LGBT), aspects of this and other identities are likely to emerge, yet have to be heard as both relevant and acceptable to the wider social setting.

Recognisably local LGBT discourses became evident among Porto Alegre’s groups, and these at once displayed locally-specific and global cultural tropes. LGBT identities are often cited as Western sociological impositions on the developing world through processes of neo-colonialism, especially in recent political discourse in certain African countries (Bohlander 2014). Chapter seven in particular focuses on how these are taken up, structured, resisted, and hybridised, individually and collectively and especially in the process of *Políticas Públicas*, paying attention to internal dynamics, contradictions and struggles, as well as amplification of some identities to consume and subsume others in these local settings.



## **LGBT: queer theory and theories of sexuality**

While LGBT theorising has been criticised as being a white endeavour focused on the global north (Brown et al. 2010), there have been important studies focusing on Brazil's economic and social peers in the global south, further mandating attention to Rio Grande's LGBTs. South Africa's racial legacies of identity in particular have often been compared to Brazil's (Marx 1998), and Tucker's (2009) analysis of the experiences of self-identified queer men of three different racial classifications, white, 'coloured' and black (Xhosa), inequalities in visibility to policy-makers. While white queer men are visible, Xhosa gay men remain invisible through exclusion from queer space and the threat of violence among racial communities who view homosexuality as 'alien' to them, much like the Black Movement in Porto Alegre. The challenge is posed to policy-makers to tackle the root causes of invisibility through policies aimed at the removal of class barriers based around race, increasing state support for LGBT groups; and attempts to integrate Xhosa groups into the wider queer community for visibility and addressing HIV transmission and treatment. The ways in which different sub-identities are invoked in another middle-income country in policy formation serves as an important link with a Porto Alegre-focused study. Intermingled in local context are international discourses of health and deviancy closely linked with class position and, following Oswin's (2008) commentary, the realisation that while whites are sexualised, non-whites are raced.

García and Parker (2006) discuss discourses around sexual rights and possibilities for linking different solidarity movements (e.g. feminist, LGBT, HIV/AIDS) in Latin America in a movement beyond the current "fragmented, heteronormative, and focused on negative rights" movements. García and Parker (2006) also highlight the need for sexual rights in citizenship and discuss how different sexual-related groups contribute to this, escaping from what they perceive as patriarchal, heteronormative, pathological discourses surrounding feminism, queer rights, and HIV/AIDS activism. Civil society is cited as the location of the formation of citizenship, and therefore the setting for the struggle for sexual rights. However, civil society is interlinked with government and a relationship exists between the receptiveness of civil society and that of government. This shows how LGBT identity has been constructed in the popular Latin American imagination, and how local groups have seized on particular aspects of this, especially in response to imminent threats and to force change in alliance with other groups. It shows, too, that success is related to interactive ability and the setting and quality of debate.

More nationally, Kassahun (2009) explores the formation of gender identity through its formation and performance in a context of 'dominant hegemonic structures' in society. He

undertakes ethnographic interviews with members of *Grupo Gay da Bahia* (GGB), the first and most influential gay rights organisation in Brazil, based in Salvador, Bahia, regarding the idea of personal testimony, combined with participant observation and archival data. Kassahun (2009) provides an invaluable perspective on the construction of gender identity in a context of hostility and perceived discrimination in Brazil's North East. This is especially important in the context of public health policy, but Bahia is not Rio Grande do Sul, and while they are part of the same country, neither local socio-historical nor political contexts are the same. While elements of gender identity construction will be similar, Bahia has seldom been successful in promoting participatory programmes.

### **Inequality**

In exploring the general social context of identity in its historical and economic context, outlining how identity-based social groupings have been understood in a Brazilian context as a base for social interaction in public discourse is pertinent. Brazil is an unequal society, and programmes for equalisation and poverty alleviation have been prominent for some time. Inequality is measured not only on the basis of income, but on social status and type. Development theory and, in particular, the work of André Gunder Frank (1975), has pushed a critical examination of inequality to the heart of public policy-making on a global scale. The Human Development Index (HDI), as produced by the UN on an annual basis, is a statistical attempt to assess development and inequality on a country-by-country basis, while the GINI-coefficient measures (income) inequality within countries. The 2014 HDI ranks Brazil 79<sup>th</sup> in the world (high human development), while income inequality remains among the highest in the world in the most recent assessment (UNDP 2014) at 54.69.

Afro-Brazilian mobilisation emerged to challenge predominant ideas of "racial democracy" that became widespread during Brazil's drive to modernity during the Vargas era, having been promoted by the philosopher Gilberto Freyre (1933) as the explanation of Brazilian social makeup. Through the *abertura*, and particularly between 1977 and 1981, the *Movimento Negro Unificado* [United Black Movement] questioned the traditional portrayal of Brazil as a racial democracy; the feminist movement confronted the sexism of both the orthodox left and Brazilian society at large; and a lesbian and gay rights movement forced the discussion of the personal as political (Green 1999:59).

Certain social categories are particularly implicated in the development of new social movement theory due to an obvious invocation of identity as their uniting principle. These are race, gender and sexuality.

## **Race**

Brazilian conceptions of race differ markedly from examples such as Germany, South Africa and the United States in the twentieth century. Gilberto Freyre's (1933) casting of 'racial democracy' set the tone in which Brazilian identity cast itself as inherently colour-blind and open to all. In reality, economic and social data indicate worse life chances by degree of 'darkness', and Brazilian *quilombola* movements arose through the nineteenth century based on racial divisions and contestation, even resulting in contentious action from the eighteenth century slave revolts in Minas Gerais. The modern *Movimento Negro*, however, arose during Brazil's modernist period at the beginning of the twentieth century, rearticulating itself in the same period as similar groups in the USA. When considering identity-based mobilisation, therefore, the local specificities of identity concepts are utilised in this thesis for, as Lichterman (1995) explains, any differences in experience, organisational traditions, and approaches to mobilisation tasks can complicate mobilisation and make it deviate from standard accepted models.

## **Gender**

The women's movement is the political wing of the school of thought that classes 'gender' as the "socially constructed, culturally learned, and normatively reinforced characteristics associated with the scripts of 'masculinity' and 'femininity'" (Buechler 2000:117). In Brazil, Thayer (2010) reveals that the insertion of the Brazilian women's movement into the transnational network has undercut and undermined the role of local organisations offering assistance and support as a result of unbalanced power relations and dominations eroding local forms of social organisation in the periphery. This is an especially important consideration given the insertion of Porto Alegre's LGBT groups to a greater or lesser extent into global discourses and networks. Frame amplification and extension of the 'gender' debate, the women's movement has enabled consciousness-raising and mobilisation strategies of the global LGBT movement. The frame commonalities and intersection between the gay movement and the women's movement has led to an appreciation of the internal diversity within the 'gay' frame, and the impact of feminism outside its boundaries forced the substitution of the acronym GLBT to LGBT to emphasise the visibility of the female form.

## **Identity-based contention and the politics of class**

One cannot divorce the idea of identity-based contention entirely from what went before them in terms of class-based struggles. This is because, as Kriesi (1989:128-129) explains, "the cultural, subjective, postmaterial quality of [identity-based movements] reflects both the

supposed relative privilege and opportunity structure of middle-class actors as well as their attempt to cultivate a class culture that will provide a coherent sense of identity to this group as a whole.” Accordingly, the process of self-realisation and identity formation is dependent upon the attainment of a higher standard of living than basic survival. This is interesting in Brazilian terms, for the trajectory of change from community-based mobilisation to identity-based participation in municipal policy-making may prove to correlate with periods of economic transformation from a failing economy in 1988 to a powerhouse by 2010.

What needs therefore to be recognised with the emergence of “middle-class movements” is the presence of cultural difference between classes and how they manifest themselves in the political sphere. It is necessary to recognise that middle-class locations must affect contention and insertion in social movements as much as other class locations do. The general characteristics of gender-based and sexuality-based contention represent, in Buechler’s words, “the politics *of* a class, even if we cannot always fit them into the model of a politics *for* a class” (2000:130, original italics).

In a context of greater material resources, therefore, as “much social movement activism in core countries derives not from the most disadvantaged sectors but rather from groups and classes who enjoy some resources and privileges and use them to pursue others” (Buechler 2000:73). Given this, Porto Alegre is a logical place to focus on as a case study given its history of participation and mobilisation among lower economic strata within various economically-informed frames. Porto Alegre’s OP even split itself into neighbourhood and thematic fora, serving respectively different strata of society delineated along class lines. This is a scenario that is in keeping with existent literature that indicates economic affluence affects mobilisation and interaction, and thereby further validates the choice of area for this case study.

Certain literatures, therefore, contend that as economic conditions improve, social cleavages based on other criteria come to the fore (Moen 1998). Within civil society, there has always been animosity between the black movement and the LGBT movement. This is exacerbated in Rio Grande do Sul where ‘whitening’ was greatest (Seyferth 1986). At the same time the women’s movement and LGBT movement have extended their frames to include each other in locally-produced documentation. Compounded with this, too, is the reality of persistent poverty in some regions even of Brazilian metropolises. Inequality, then, should not be understood purely in class-based terms, but in regard to a nuanced understanding of identity and power relations to be able to understand the substance and meanings of interactions. Brazil is not the peripheral country of the past. It is growing in influence and aspiration, and its society is changing and diversifying. This needs to be understood in a deeper way, and this piece aims to understand social relations and policy-making in this context.

This section has explored literature relevant to the situational context of *Políticas Públicas*, the economic, political and social context of Brazil (and Porto Alegre in particular), and some key theoretical concepts to develop an understanding of its dynamics of the underlying processes. It has outlined that participatory democracy may be seen as a top-down mechanism for community-building when the communities under action are disengaged with and outside of target political processes. In this way, in particular in OP's neighbourhood action focus, it allows the power of the state to penetrate communities that previously were excluded, or perceived themselves to be excluded, for whatever reason. What OP does and continues to do in localism agendas across the world is to establish proxy political engagement mechanisms that force potentially problematic citizens (such as social movements, and so on) through official government-approved channels, forcing buy-in to resulting policy but potentially blunting the full expression of contentious demands.

Literature on political activism explored the ideas and roots of the theorisation of collective action groupings and, later, social movements, to be able to understand how civil society might organise itself in relation to powerholders or gatekeepers. Governance can often take the form of measures to divide populations into easily-manageable sectors. Participatory *Políticas Públicas* offer appropriate settings within which to explore power relations, observing what performances and statements are prescribed, tolerated or forbidden.

A major way through which power can be operationalised in localised situations is through identity, as a key organising social principle. Many forms of identity are imbued with such power and impose regimes of control and surveillance. While actors in *Políticas Públicas* will be expected to fight on behalf of a broad coalition, aspects of this and other identities will be invoked both to push this by force yet will have to be heard as both relevant and acceptable to the wider social fabric. Despite LGBT discourses being well developed, they must be constantly reinforced and, in doing this, redefined to some extent to the audience and situation in which the performance is taking place for maximum effect.

Finally, the background to political engagement projects, such as those in Porto Alegre, through a history of top-down initiatives to ensure bottom-up policy-making, has been explored. Contemporary evaluations of these programmes pointed out material benefits but treated Brazil as a developmentally-challenged place. Social and economic conditions change. Twenty years after these programmes commenced, and in light of strong economic policies, inequality in Brazil is falling, and Porto Alegre in particular is a wealthier place. Participatory *Políticas Públicas* are continuing and diversifying in local government in Brazil, yet this is in a context of an increasingly diversely-identified society with differing and often contradictory demands. While participation is a proven tool in development, this study

questions how it has been implemented in Porto Alegre to engage adequately with identity-based movement groups.

The following chapter outlines methodologies for investigation and interrogation of Porto Alegre's *Políticas Públicas*, locally-situated social movement/contentious action, collective identity formation and the power relations inherent in local socio-political life.

## Chapter Three: Methodology

### Epistemological basis and theoretical assumptions

LeCompte and Preissle (1993:91-92) claim that it is the researcher's identity that is the "essential research instrument" that most affects the conduct of qualitative research, in that this "mediates all other identities and roles played by the investigator." The epistemological basis for this piece is a social constructionist view of reality-creation. Some critics, such as Gergen (1999) and Baudrillard (1994), argue that social constructionists believe that if all knowledge and identities are contingent, everything is in flux and there are no constraints. To overcome such issues, a focus on identity and power in a specific process and situation means that a constructionist stance is ideal for answering the research aims of this study.

The main theoretical assumptions of this study are informed by social constructionist and hermeneutic traditions. As Punch (2005:151) notes,

human behaviour is based upon meanings which people attribute to and bring to situations, and that behaviour is not 'caused' in any mechanical way, but is continually constructed and reconstructed on the basis of people's interpretations of the situations they are in.

This has its roots in symbolic interactionism, but recognises that underlying assumptions (sense-assembly equipment) are taken for granted by social actors (Garfinkel 1967). This means that the researcher must uncover preconceptions and see through the eyes of the informant while providing a descriptive account of interaction in an "ongoing creative process that constructs social realities through the meanings they develop" (Davies 1999:42-43).

Accordingly, Spradley's (1980) conception of culture as a shared (cognitive map) set of meaning is adopted within this study as an ethnomethodological framework. Thus, a group's shared cultural meanings must be understood to appreciate its behaviour; the ethnographer must be sensitive to local meanings (or better yet be an insider of the group); observation occurs within its natural setting (of which the researcher becomes a part); the study is not prestructured but is a naturally unfolding event; data collection is prolonged and repetitive; and an eclectic suite of data collection techniques may be employed (Punch 2005).

The social constructionist perspective takes a critical stance towards taken-for-granted knowledge, in the process of challenging "the view that conventional knowledge is based upon objective, unbiased observation of the world" (Burr 1995:3). This position generally frowns on the supposition that the idea of indiscriminate categories such as 'LGBT', 'activist', or 'politician', are any more relevant to the situation than categories such as 'Martian', 'amphibian', or 'dinosaur'. However, it is evident that these categories are valid in that they

are used widely in the movement's day-to-day activities and, therefore, there is a need to step back from the extreme relativism of constructionism. Nevertheless, any categorical label that may be inferred from the title is historically and culturally specific (Burr 1995) to this particular set of people in this geographical space. This is important to note because it means that the study will have a methodological relativism only with regard to the situation of particular terms within context, as without it social constructionists contend that the sociologist "becomes the vassal" of a dominant participating group (Potter 1996:99).

This study of *Políticas Públicas* involving LGBTs in Porto Alegre employs a case study strategy, with a 'case' defined by Miles and Huberman (1994:144) "as a phenomenon of some sort occurring in a bounded context". In this study, the general case is conceived as the city of Porto Alegre, but within that specific study, areas have been identified. These are the conferences in which the movement/government makes its claims. From there, the opportunity to participate with movement member groups deepened, and access to these often suspicious groups was secured through careful and sensitive negotiation.

## **Politics and ethics**

The study incorporates 'ethnomethodological indifference' (Garfinkel 1967). Accordingly, it has little concern for the deep psychology of the participants, and is indifferent to the "ultimate value or validity of members' methods" (Pollner and Emerson 2001:120). Indeed, it adheres to the assumption, noted by Goffman (1959:24), that "an individual who implicitly or explicitly signifies that he has certain social characteristics ought in fact to be what he claims he is." There are, however, certain ethical issues that have been considered in the undertaking of this research. Thus, the researcher has been mindful to incorporate the diversity of social experiences within an overseas LGBT group, without reproducing values from his own society as far as possible, yet with the knowledge that the research process is embedded in complex power networks. This is especially true in a potentially 'marginalised' group. This marginalisation can be seen in daily reports of bodily harm and murder against LGBTs or those labelled LGBTs. In Porto Alegre itself, *Zero Hora* (the local newspaper) carries regular reports of the murder of transsexuals, and assaults upon LGBTs at known congregation points. The study of such a 'marginalised' group is helped by my identification as LGBT, though this could also interfere with ethnomethodological indifference. Politically, too, the potential for harm in academic work is partly mediated through Žižek's (2010:49) idea that "today's celebration of 'minorities' and 'marginals' is the predominant majority position."

There may be concern that qualitative techniques may produce personalised data. Whilst this could be mitigated by the use of pseudonyms, this is not particularly appropriate for this



case, because the public nature of these debates and the high profile of the politicians mean that anonymisation is both unnecessary and overly obfuscating. In addition, the terms of participant observation were agreed in advance and the researcher explained that data would be collected for the purpose of an academic study.

In the spirit of non-maleficence (Kent 2000), an 'informed consent' document was prepared so that respondents knew exactly what to expect from the study. In terms of the meetings themselves, Heyl (2001) suggests that ethnography requires researchers to have established ongoing and respectful relationships with participants and, as noted throughout later chapters, the main research group was happy to receive me as researcher and offer me access to all their documentation and practices.

## **Methods**

### **Ethnography and participant observation**

Ethnography, as defined by Punch (2005:149), "means describing a culture and understanding a way of life from the point of view of the participants", whilst Goffman (1989:125) asserts that ethnographic field research involves "subjecting yourself, your own body and your own personality, and your own social situation, to the set of contingencies that play upon a set of individuals, so that you can physically and ecologically penetrate their circle of response to their social situation." Thus, the task of the researcher is to appreciate participants' situated meanings through the medium of his own social situation by engaging in some activities/relationships rather than others. This logic was followed when interacting with SOMOS in particular, participating in their daily activities, and compiling a field diary at the end of each day. Group meetings were recorded for later transcription, for ease of memory. To understand the community better, I endeavoured to become an integral member of the group, and this enabled a significantly deeper understanding of SOMOS, its vision, its target market, its function and its particular take on LGBT issues compared with other groups within the movement. Ethnomethodology and the pursuit of embodied knowledge are complemented by participant observation, and the triangulation of methods allowed better contextualisation of lived experiences (Garfinkel et al. 1981). Many methods, including interviewing, impose on a situation particular ways of knowing (May 2001) but incorporating participant knowledge permits the ethnomethodological standard of 'anthropological strangeness' to be maintained (Garfinkel 1967). In interviews, a participant may deliberately or unintentionally document his or her past to fit with certain features of the outcome or the question and may, therefore, engage in a rewriting of history (Garfinkel 1967). For this reason, an emphasis was placed on observation within this study.

In terms of Gold's (1958) four potential roles in participant observation – complete participant; participant as observer; observer as participant; and complete observer – the participant as observer role initially seemed the most suitable. It became apparent that complete participation was necessary to establish my credentials as an 'insider', and to establish trust with other groups. This placed me in a paradoxical relationship with the idea of maintaining an 'anthropological strangeness' but, at least in the fieldwork stage, the highly participatory researcher role (as promoted by Adler et al. 1986) enabled an opening up of certain participants (though not all). This was overcome as far as possible in the analysis stage of the material through the combination of ethnographic notes, conference transcription, and the use of existing documents.

In a process of "thick description", field notes were produced that "inscribe" social discourse (Geertz 1973:19). Though these were tremendously useful in reconstituting the setting, as representations they "are inevitably selective" (Emerson et al. 2001:353). Thus, triangulation with another method is necessary, and field recordings and documents subsidise the findings.

### **'Studying through'**

Asad (1973:18) highlights that in fieldwork there has been a tendency for even progressive researchers to 'study down' – "this is when anthropologists investigate a problem as framed by (but not including) those in power". Marcus (1989: 25) argues, however, that (cultural) activity is a construction by multiple agents in varying places; research should be conceived to represent the "chunks, cross-sections, [and] bits of interaction between different locales, their multiplicity and their unintended consequences."

Wright and Reinhold's (2011) solution to this problem is the idea of 'studying through' as a method of avoiding the presumption of a hierarchical relation between policy-makers and the governed. 'Studying through' follows a discussion/conflict/discourse "as it ranges back and forth and back again between protagonists, and up and down and up again between a range of local and national sites" (Wright and Reinhold 2011:101). Wright and Reinhold used this method in charting the progress of discourses of homosexuality in Thatcher's Britain, so this approach has been applied to Porto Alegre.

Within (ethnographic) fieldwork, both the scale and the perspective of the research should be made clear. In this case, although the primary purpose is to analyse the interactions of particular actors (the LGBT movement) in a particular place (Porto Alegre), these cannot be separated indefinitely from the "large-scale systems of power and processes of change, in which multiple actors and distant institutions could have great influence on people's lives" (Mitchell 1966:56). In operationalising this, Fox (2002:180) advises focusing attention on a

predetermined outcome and questioning how that outcome arose, for “by tracing the processes that create a particular manifestation [it is] possible to answer the question of why one outcome prevails over others.” In this case, Fox’s argument better represents the known fact that Porto Alegre is/has been special because of its participatory *Políticas Públicas*. In parallel, its LGBT movement, in conjunction with its politicians, has paved the way for civil unions and increased rights for same-sex couples. Such factors once more underline why Porto Alegre was chosen as the study area. In addition, this thesis addresses previously under-researched areas, including how social relationships play out in public settings, as well as the nature of the everyday discourses and identity categories at play in this setting (and which may or may not be at play elsewhere).

## Language

An important factor in this study is language itself and its use. This study was undertaken wholly in Portuguese by a non-native speaker – myself. In choosing a linguistic-based social study in a foreign language, I was fully aware of the challenges and willing to embrace them.

Portuguese is a gendered language, which is incredibly important when studying LGBTs in particular due to their subversion of gender norms on many occasions. The detection of otherwise throwaway pronouns and articles was imperative, for example, with the use of ‘as *travestis*’, as opposed to the masculine ‘os’ which would normally be used, being a material part of T identity construction. Important too was the increased visibility given to the feminine form of collective address that is usually subjugated by masculine forms, so that extra care was taken to welcome ‘*todas e todos*’ (everyone) as opposed to the generally-used ‘*todos*’ only.

My knowledge of Brazilian Portuguese emerged as a regional, *Caipira*, form spoken in Northern Paraná and the interior of São Paulo States. Thus, I had to learn the colloquialisms of the *gaúcho* dialect, including its use (the only dialect in Brazil to do so) of the ‘*tu*’ (informal ‘you’) form of address. The issue of translation, too, had the potential to subvert meaning and, thus, I have tried to keep the structure of transcripts as close as possible (although hopefully understandable) to the original Portuguese forms.

This section has established the need for a methodological stance and methods that are sensitive to the operation of power, and that can encourage participant voices from all social strata to emerge. Social constructionism conceives of the world in situated terms, and encourages close working with a select group of people in more longitudinal studies that involve participant contribution to the direction of the research. Whilst the ability of participants to influence the view of their social worlds is important, and consideration of participant wellbeing is essential, the relationships of power between researcher and

researched here are finely considered through both the process of data collection and its tools.

## Analysis

Having collected a large amount of data, there was a need to make analytic techniques more nuanced so that the data could be interrogated in such a way as to maximise the potential to gain the most complete understanding of the local social and political landscape. For this reason, different analytic techniques were combined as detailed below.

The use of a multiperspective framework, through the combination of ethnomethodological, interactionist and discourse analytic approaches, serves to illuminate the phenomenon of interaction in Porto Alegre's *Políticas Públicas* from complementary angles. From an epistemological perspective, Silverman (2007) encourages 'multiperspectivity' in social constructionism if it is based on dialogue within the field of study that emphasises the contingent nature of the data. The advantage of combining techniques from the same epistemological toolbox is that the 'same' field of study may be emphasised in different ways by the different approaches. Social constructionism's 'perspectivism', is the idea that if "knowledge can only be obtained from particular perspectives, different perspectives produce different forms of context-bound, contingent knowledge rather than universal knowledge based on a neutral, context-free foundation" (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002:155). Thus, combined perspectives offer a broader knowledge and supports critical research. As Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) argue, discourse analysis and non-discourse analytical work can complement each other. The investigation examined the discourses involved in identification work of the social and political landscape through process, power and identity. As Burr (1995) highlights, identification is socially-bestowed in social constructionist thinking and provides a focus for examination. Therefore, by treating identities as discourses, they become "a system of statements which construct an object" (Parker 1992:5). McCrone and Bechhofer (2008:1247) further note that,

*"People make... identity claims more or less overtly, as well as receiving and assessing those of others. They may also make judgements about others, attributing ... identity to them, again more or less overtly. How claims or attributions are received, assessed, challenged or upheld depends crucially upon how identity markers are interpreted."*

Adoption of this approach integrated levels of reflexivity into the study, establishing relationships (not necessarily directly) between the respondent, the wider community, and the researcher. Berger and Luckmann (1967:89) explain that "the origins of any institutional order lie in the typification of one's own and others' performances. This implies that one shares with others specific goals and interlocking phases of performance, and, further, that

not only specific actions but forms of action are typified.” This adds another layer to the study in the measure of discourse. It follows, that, as on a stage, discourses are played out through the actions they produce, which are interpreted and internalised by the individual actor to “maximise player advantage” (McCrone and Bechhofer 2008:1246). Sustained performance of certain configurations of these discourses leads, resultantly, to the construction of social reality.

### **From the ground up**

The initial mode of data analysis utilised in this study consisted of a social constructionist interpretation of grounded theory. This approach took Charmaz’s (2008) formulation of ‘constructivist’ grounded theory but applied more weight to the effects of the social setting and its sociology rather than individual psychology of individuals within the setting, given that the aims of the thesis focus attention on interactive spaces rather than backstage opinion. This approach is a form of ‘abductive reasoning’ and accords with the ethnomethodological tradition in emphasising the construction of action and meaning towards middle-level theory development (Charmaz and Mitchell 2001). Although labelled ‘grounded’, this is not necessarily an exercise in going in to a research setting blind. Context was considered closely, not simply through the lens of (Brazilian) theorists, but through local interpretations as well. Using this approach in combination with membership category analysis and discourse analysis, the project was assured of a strong constructionist framework.

### **Interrogating the data**

Despite the need for ‘ethnomethodological indifference’, ethnomethodology insists on the importance of background knowledge for the intelligibility of talk, adding significance to its signature method of embodied presence in the social world, focusing on the ‘indigenous’ (Goode 1994), the ‘endogenous’ (Heritage 1984), or the ‘lived order’ (Maynard and Clayman 1991).

The ethnomethodological tool membership categorisation analysis (MCA) was useful to understand the construction and deployment of identities in interactions. In this setting, therefore, identity categories emerging for the data, most obviously ‘gay’, ‘lesbian’, ‘*travesti*’, may be assigned to the main familial category ‘LGBT’ if that is how they are understood by the movement. However, this also enables other groupings, such as the categories ‘*travesti*’ and ‘elderly’ into the wider group: ‘vulnerable people’. One group can, within such a framework, belong to several familial categories and within these settings, role titles such as ‘facilitator’, ‘reporter’, and ‘chair’ are allocated to the collective group, with ‘politicians’ being the label given to state representatives. Such allocations help, linguistically, to understand

the allocations participants make and garner an understanding of their social world and its relationships.

Francis and Hester (2004:20) claim that MCA “concerns [itself] with the ‘observability’ of ordinary social life, and its principal method of investigation is that of observation. Its focus is upon the methods by which observable social activities are produced. It seeks to investigate how social activities are accomplished by members of society.” MCA reveals how the respondents orient themselves around issues emerging from participant observation. The strength of this analysis is the capacity to provide “rigorous and generative explanations” of human conduct which are not dependent upon theoretical methods of action or on extraneously-formulated analyses (Heath and Luff 1993:311).

The data collected from the field had the potential to offer a lot more than would be possible to draw out from account analysis and MCA alone. Thus, discourse analysis is also used in this study. The compatibility of discourse analysis with social movement studies is highlighted through a comparison with the latter’s ‘frame analysis’ (Snow and Benford 1988). When viewed as frames, discourses can be seen as instrumental devices capable of fostering common perceptions and understandings (Howarth 2000), for example for understanding the conferences’ as organisational spaces, whilst simultaneously keeping a keen eye on power relations and the contextual features of interaction to which ethnomethodology is blind. The approach to power relations comes from Foucault’s ‘genealogy’, within which the relationship between power and knowledge emerges as the primary focus of analysis, with agents and structures playing second fiddle to power inherent across all social practices. Power is not an oppressive force or as something that some people have and others do not. Foucault’s (1980:119) conception of power is more nuanced, noting it is a “productive network which runs through the whole social body”. It is this ability to deal with the concept of ‘power’ that makes discourse analysis appropriate to this study, as power permeates every aspect of the social relationships within and between groups and actors in the LGBT political and social landscape of Porto Alegre.

This is operationalised, as seen in chapter five, in the idea of an ‘order of discourse’, from Foucault (1970) but recontextualised by Fairclough (1992). This describes discourse in general terms as the ‘fixation of meaning’ within a particular domain, while necessitating the need for a conceptualisation of the different discourses that compete within that domain. In reference to this study, while certain categories (i.e. LGBT) are imbued with certain attributes in discourse. It should be borne in mind, however, that the order of discourse is not a closed or rigid system, but rather an open system, which can be changed by what happens in actual interactions, further emphasising the compatibility of this type of analysis with ethnomethodological and interactionist traditions.

With the advent of new LGBT political spaces within municipal and State governments examined in this study, new configurations of discourses may emerge. Indeed, Fairclough (1995) states that change in discourse configurations are most likely when discourses are transported 'interdiscursively' between 'orders of discourse'. In terms of its formation and framework, discourse analysis focuses on several features of text. It is the task in discourse analysis to explore patterns across what is said and written, and attend to the social consequences of the different representations of identity within. Within this tradition, the 'interpretive repertoire' is most useful, as a community's common sense base is in constant evolution, flux and change as actors enact their agency on shaping the discourse. Potter and Wetherell (1987:138) define this as "a lexicon or register of terms and metaphors drawn upon to characterise and evaluate actions and events". It is not the case that the LGBT movement's common sense is uncontested or homogeneous. The movement's common sense-making must be performed, and it is within these performances that repertoires may mutate and shift in dialogue with other member performances. The LGBT movement in Porto Alegre, like all groups of people, is located within the everyday practice of communication and performance.

It is unlikely that performances will differ greatly within the short term for, as Melucci (1989) highlights, all social movements gain their sustenance via 'submerged networks' of association, constructed around organised practices of the movement in a particular place. A helpful way to monitor the contestation of interpretive repertoires is through the idea of 'scripts' and 'codes' (Horton 2003). 'Scripts' are the baseline narratives that activists must conform to in order to be recognised as belonging to the group (whether or not that is the individual group of the LGBT movement *per se*). 'Codes', however, are those behaviours that may be breached so long as they can be made to fit the main 'script'. The breaking of 'codes' depletes the potency of the movement's capital; deviation from the underlying 'script' spoils the whole identity. In conjunction with this, CDA's concern with discovering the 'order of discourse' is important.

Any conceptual category can become a floating signifier, for example in the local socio-political world 'LGBT' can point to an order of discourse within which different and competing discourses try to define 'LGBT' in their own particular ways. Equally relevant here are the concepts of 'human rights', 'participation' and 'citizenship'. The idea that these can be floating signifiers "indicates that one discourse has not succeeded in fixing its meaning and that other discourses are struggling to appropriate it" (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002:148). Although comparison is based on the structuralist idea that statements always gain meaning through being different from something else that was/could have been said, a comparison between different positions and social groupings can help to see "the contingent, culturally-

relative nature of aspects of the texts under analysis” (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002:149). Local orders of discourse provide evidence for power relations among and between groups in the public sphere in these LGBT conferences, while the concept of ‘scripts’ and ‘codes’ establish bounded limits for discourses and their relationship with the categories under study.

In this section, it has been shown that commentators positively encourage a multi-perspectival approach, combining techniques in an analytic suite of tools based on an ongoing dialogue with the field/setting. Slightly different techniques enable appreciation of different perspectives and ideas in the data. Membership categorisation analysis enables understanding of how identities are utilised to what ends based on commonsense knowledge and associations, often revealing broad contextual bases for social interaction than situations may ordinarily be expected to demand which, in understanding *Políticas Públicas* as a process, prove how intersecting discursive factors limit or enable access, agenda, policy, impact and output responsiveness as per Schumaker’s (1975) criteria to be addressed in the next chapter. Combination of this with discourse analytic techniques broadens what can be understood from the data, understanding the power relations inherent in interaction. The relationship between ‘scripts’ and ‘codes’, and other interactive linguistic devices, reveals hierarchies of power and regimes of control in the field.

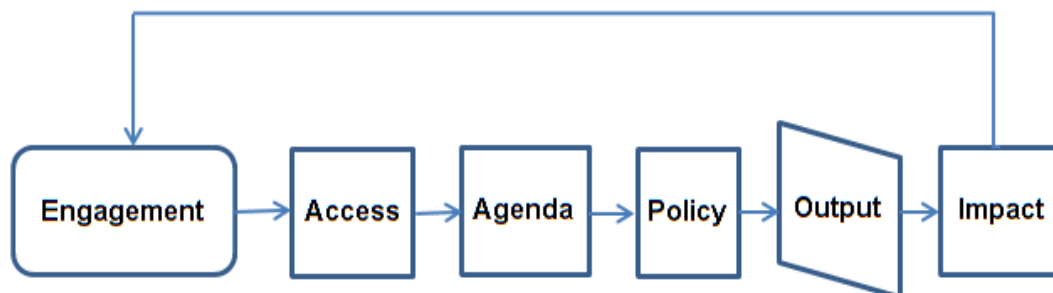
Subsequent chapters deal with the substantive body of the analysis, using these techniques, following coding drawn from ‘constructivist’ grounded theory, to answer questions of process, participant regimes and identity in *Políticas Públicas* and in the wider social and political context.



## Chapter Four: Process

While the previous chapter introduced the tools and the methods through which these settings can be understood, this chapter paints a grounded picture of *Políticas Públicas* and uses my transcriptions from municipal and state LGBT conferences that both took place in different venues in the state capital of Rio Grande do Sul, Porto Alegre to do so. The understandings in this and subsequent sections are predominantly taken from conference debate, contextualised with the background knowledge acquired from the ethnographic work. Process is the first meta-theme of enquiry, with subsequent chapters addressing participant regimes (of power) and identity.

This chapter also discusses how *Políticas Públicas* can be understood in the Brazilian political arena. Schumaker (1975:495) provides a useful framework for understanding situated political processes, as he differentiates five stages of the political process as a system – access, agenda, policy, output and impact. This provides a framing resource for this chapter. “Access” indicates the extent to which claims are heard by those assembled in this forum; “agenda” indicates the transformation of a claim into an issue and its placing on the political stage; “policy” refers to the way it is interpreted in political speak; “output” indicates the mode through which it is disseminated, referring to the adoption and implementation of such policy; and “impact” is the degree to which the process can deal with the issues at stake, and what purposes and ways forward can (or cannot) be drawn from this.



**Figure 2: Flowchart to show Schumaker’s (1975) idea of governmental responsiveness. This will be adapted and refined through the course of this chapter for this case.**

Initially, a systematic description of Brazil’s governmental infrastructure as both a sociological and geographical system and context is necessary. With the institutional

context, associated spatialities and functions outlined, the process of *Políticas Públicas* is described and analysed. In particular, the work of Lefebvre (1974) is born in mind when considering the importance of these spaces and their emancipatory potential. While the first four categories emerge well in the texts in front-stage deliberation, the “impact” stage is explored more in back-stage conversations and understood through close working with participants – taking a contextual approach.

Lefebvre’s (1974) concept of “spatiology” provides a further consideration. This places political and sociological interactions within a spatial frame. Indeed, this processual understanding situates itself in the space between civil society and state as discrete entities. There is an intimate relationship between physical space in which these conferences occur, mental space as formal abstractions, and social space as produced by human interaction. Consideration of this triptych enables understanding not just the spatial aspects of *Políticas Públicas*, but a three-dimensional appreciation of the importance of space in human interaction and political action.

Lefebvre’s ‘spatiology’ is considered in this chapter in relation to Schumaker’s (1975) delineation of five types of system responsiveness – access; agenda; policy; output; and impact. Schumaker’s five stages were formulated in relation to observable political responsiveness of the administrative system to civil society demands, and provides a useful model to evaluate the municipal and state process of *Políticas Públicas* here. Intertwined with this, Lefebvre’s triad breaks down the division between mental and physical space and forces an examination of each stage of system responsiveness with attention to spatial practice, representational space, and representations of space after geography’s cultural turn. This is implicit in the analysis, and considerations of these distinctions have a major bearing on the categorical reformulations that enable a better interrogation of the data to enable a development of Schumaker’s stages that are more appropriate to the context of engagement in a *gaúcho* setting. Space is a fundamental component in social and political relations in this understanding, rather than simply an empty background vessel, comprising production and reproduction (spatial practice); signs, codes and ‘frontal’ relations (representations of space); and complex underlying and clandestine contexts (representational spaces). When taken together, these provide a multi-dimensional and contextualised understanding of the local socio-political landscape in Rio Grande do Sul.

## **Brazil’s political spaces**

Space, as context, is very important and, in considering Brazil specifically, Antônio Cândido (1989) relates a dominant political narrative that has perpetuated since the 1930s, of “the new country”, or the “country of the future” still unable to realise its potential and ambitions,

but attributing to itself great possibilities of future progress (Zweig 1941). Unfulfilled prosperity has been at consistent tension in the context of aspirations for a new and fairer way of doing politics, and OP and participatory *Políticas Públicas* emerged within a narrative of “something better” to come. This chapter examines the process of governance and governmentality in *Políticas Públicas* through its process. It details the structure of the Brazilian state and its constituents at different levels of governance, considers the spatialities of *Políticas Públicas*, and interrogates the structure and functionality of meetings, and the relationships between actors and groups.

*Políticas Públicas* takes place within a defined national space with its form of governance integral this space. The government of the Federal Republic of Brazil is democratic and based on a presidential system and the 1988 Constitution of the "indissoluble union" of 27 states, the municipalities and the Federal District. These three all comprise governmental spheres. The Constitution formally establishes a *trias politica* principle of governance comprising executive, legislative and judicial functions. Executive and legislative systems are organised independently at federal, state and municipal levels, while the judiciary is only organised at federal and state levels (Federal Government of Brazil 2013). Direct elections are held every four years for executive and legislative posts; while members of the judiciary are appointed.

The political structure of the Brazilian Federation is summarised in the table below:

<b>Power / Level</b>	<b>Federal</b>	<b>State</b>	<b>Municipal</b>
<b>Legislative</b>	National Congress (Chamber of Deputies; Senate)	Legislative Assembly (State Deputies)	Municipal Council (Councillors)
<b>Executive</b>	President; Vice-President; and Ministers	Governor; Vice-Governor; and Secretaries	Mayor; Vice-Mayor; and Secretaries
<b>Judiciary</b>	Federal Supreme Court (STF); High Court of Justice (STJ); Federal Courts and Judges	Courts and Judges	--

**Table 1: Respective functions of each level of the Brazilian state.**

Brazil has had a multi-party system with proportional representation and voting is compulsory (for the literate) between 18 and 70 years old, with fines levied for failure to do so. While several political parties are represented in Congress, the four largest are the

Workers' Party (PT; left/centre-left), the Brazilian Social Democracy Party (PSDB; centre/centre-left), the Brazilian Democratic Movement Party (PMDB; centre) and the Democrats (DEM; formerly known as the Liberal Front Party, PFL; centre-right/right). Almost all governmental and administrative functions are exercised by authorities and agencies affiliated to the Executive.

LGBT *Políticas Públicas* emerged initially in 2004 when the Federal Human Rights Secretariat launched the '*Brasil Sem Homofobia*' programme to "promote GLBT citizenship, through the assimilation of rights to combat homophobic violence and discrimination, with respect to the specificities of each of these population groups" (Ministry of Health 2004:11). Despite its symbolic impact, the local movement related that the programme was not well funded and was allocated very few competent professionals to deliver it in the way envisaged by the Federal Government, while the movement carried the burden (Daniliauskas 2011). However, from the ashes of this programme, the first National *Políticas Públicas* Conference for LGBTs took place in June 2008 and, as a result, it was mandated through Presidential Decree that each state had to organise its own conferences; and following from these, municipalities were also ascribed the responsibility to organise their own conferences.

The Municipal Executive of Porto Alegre is bound by the powers conferred on it by the "organic law" of the municipality and of specific laws that apply to its enactment, mission, structure and organisation of the various municipal offices. The current Mayor of Porto Alegre is José Fortunati (PDT), having assumed office in 2010 after the previous mayor, José Fogaça (PMDB) resigned to run (unsuccessfully) for the office of Governor of Rio Grande do Sul, a post held by Tarso Genro (PT), thus indicating a degree of multi-level exchange of personnel. The different spaces of governance coexist and interact within the same overarching structure, but most of all they all impact on a particular space that overlaps. The focus within this study, the city of Porto Alegre, is overlaid by municipal, state and federal administrative bodies within a lived space of everyday interactions between multiple organic and inorganic subjects and objects. An understanding of space is thus essential to an understanding of the activities and outcomes of any activities undertaken within it.

The 1st Municipal LGBT Conference in *Políticas Públicas* for Porto Alegre took place in the Council Chamber of the Civic Centre – a space symbolic of the centre of local governmental power. The 2nd State LGBT Conference in *Políticas Públicas* for Rio Grande do Sul, by contrast, took place in the conference suites of the City Hotel, Porto Alegre, at the very heart of the historic centre of the city. In different ways, these spatial choices indicate that this is very much a government-led initiative that does not occur in the 'gay neighbourhood'

(*Cidade Baixa*) or any LGBT establishment, but in the symbolic spaces of centralised state power certainly in the case of the municipal conference (see Figure 3). Indeed, each was hosted by the respective levels of Human Rights Secretariat in an attempt to establish continuity and relevant levels of institutional responsibility and accountability for the process.

Space is a key consideration to understanding how *Políticas Públicas* enables or constrains civil society representation, and the ways in which the process operates. The following analysis considers these two sets of conferences as political and social spaces, with references to the spaces they represent and the representations that define these (including the ‘lifeworlds’ of participants). Space can be read in the text, and space itself is to be read as text (Duncan 1990). Space is not just something to be experienced and lived – concrete and opaque – but it is something abstract and transparent to be examined as a variable in social analysis (Lefebvre 1991). As in the city centre, in which both conference venues were situated, this is not a natural or convenient centre – yet it maintains symbolic power as the historic centre of local governance as well as being symbolic as the sprawling (and often characterless) modern megalopolis. However, all spaces can hold meaning, with space thus viewed both as a physical material place and as being symbolic and conceptual.

In relating this to the conferences, spaces can be understood in both ways through the embodied performance of the participants and the speech-acts they use to construct worlds, and *Políticas Públicas* themselves form both physical and symbolic closet spaces in which LGBT participants are made to feel free to perform their homosexuality in the “closet” outside of the view of wider society (Brown 2000).

As Lefebvre (1974) notes, space is not simply an area that can be marked on a map. It is not necessarily something that can be understood in positivistic terms. Rather, space is socially produced through an interpellation between spatial practice, representation of space, and representational spaces (symbols and intertextuality), mediated through hegemony and power relations. To be able to understand lived space (and thus perceived and conceived), Schumaker’s (1975) model of political responsiveness to demands – access, agenda, policy, output, and impact – is useful to understand *Políticas Públicas*. This focuses attention on how participants conceive of and describe the process in their interactions, particularly focusing on its make-up and structure, and providing evidence for its successes and failures. Access to these conferences is ostensibly open to all who express an affiliation with LGBT issues, yet only those delegates perceived as performing valid “objective” or “expert” knowledges are taken seriously, as demonstrated in their translation to policy priorities, and the dismissal knowledges framed to be personal and embodied. While a range of delegates from different spatial and embodied backgrounds “participate” physically, symbolic

participation is restricted only to the few due to internalised movement group dynamics, as the following shows.



**Figure 3: Map of the Central neighbourhoods of Porto Alegre showing conference venues, group offices (if any), and the main areas of LGBT socialisation, the *Cidade Baixa* and Farroupilha Park.**

## Access

Wide access to Brazilian democracy is a relative new occurrence. Despite Porto Alegre being at the forefront of the redemocratisation (Utzig 1996; Dias 2002), there is still a current of mistrust of the state. Participatory programmes have been viewed as a way through which trust-building can be carried out between the state and civil society (Gret and Sintomer 2005). “Access responsiveness”, as Schumaker (1975:494) relays, enables a consideration of how these participatory systems live up to their goals of universal inclusivity.

Spaces for participation are limited by the organising committees for procedural reasons to ensure all have a chance to have their say. This is a factor in both the municipal and State conferences, although barriers to entry are fewer at the lower level – all that is needed to

identify with LGBT-related programmes and to have some sort of civil society accreditation from a recognised body. These recognised bodies can be NGOs, political parties, or academic institutions. While this can act as a barrier to some, this is by no means incompatible with the aims of participatory governance to create strong, associative civil societies (Fung and Wright 2001; Baierle 2003; Navarro 2004; Baiocchi 2005). It is more problematic in these scenarios than in OP given that all of the above are generally associated with class-based categories (Harriss 2006), and the spatially-bound local community/neighbourhood groups are not represented. In practice, NGOs and political parties are ostensibly inclusive institutions, yet representation of lower income and spatially marginal participants is less obvious.

The hierarchy of stages of the participatory year are well understood by delegates, with municipal conferences representing the local grassroots; the State conferences a choice crop of the most usefully articulate actors, and the national conference the crème-de-la-crème of activists to articulate LGBT contention in modes understandable to policymaking bodies. For selection for the Riograndense State conference, this should have been uncontentious inasmuch as supply exceeded demand, but municipal officers were still careful to deflect any potential for criticism. Participatory processes are idealised as open and emancipatory, and any governmental-sanctioned exclusion is accounted for. As the following extract makes clear, the limiting agent to participation is made out to be the state government:

*[Extract from Conferência Municipal VII – Final Plenary]*

*Mário: Just remember that the question of delegates is important for the following [reasons]....In principle, the State provided to Porto Alegre what it provided for regional conferences that Rio Grande do Sul held separately, so there are 90 places. But there is a view, judging by what Fábulo passed me over the weekend, to decrease the number of vacancies of delegates. As we've talked about too, we will give our support to avoid this.*

Fábulo and the state government become scapegoats not only for limiting participation but also emphasising the hierarchical structure format of the relationship between the tiers of government. Mário, as a mere municipal officer, becomes less culpable for a potential attack on the movement's democratic exercise. In aligning himself with the movement, he shows an example of fluid identity within the conference setting. The government representative must have a foot in both camps to avoid tension stemming from his institutional identification. This turn adds something about the tension inherent in Brazilian society – that of hierarchy, status and class – yet this does not accord at all with participatory democracy's idea of itself as progressive and egalitarian.

It is no mean feat to challenge this hierarchical structure for, as Chauí (2000) outlines, the foundation of the Brazilian mentality of governance is three Biblical passages (Proverbs 8:15-16; Paul's Letter to the Romans; and Peter's epistle), detailing that all power comes from on high, and governors are willed that way by God. As holy law in a Christian country, hierarchy is not normally discussed and there is acceptance of a stratified society. In this way, accounting apologetically for top-down decisionmaking shows the radical basis of *Políticas Públicas*. While there is still exclusion and limits on access to these spaces, there is an element of reflexivity engendered both within and by the process.

*[Extract from Conferência Municipal VII – Final Plenary]*

*Mário: Luana, no, sorry, she arrived only now this afternoon. I know her, I like her, but that's not fair. She arrived just now, and didn't come yesterday nor this morning.*

The issue at stake in the municipal conference is undersubscription rather than oversubscription, potentially undermining the mandate these conferences as participatory fora to serve inclusive and emancipatory aims. Despite this, as there are fewer delegates in the municipal conference than spaces in the State conference, subsequent debate focuses on whether all should have the right to participate at upper levels by virtue of their attendance here. Rules and structure are deemed highly important to participants, and it is decided that those in attendance had priority over those absent. Only 44 delegates, accounting for fewer than half of the available spaces for Porto Alegre, go forward to the next stage, but rules and norms of behaviour are too important to the movement to allow for transgressions and 'free riders' who do not attend early meetings. Selection for subsequent stages occurs within each conference, but some spaces are reserved for known professionals, considered 'experts' by their peers. There is some opacity in these decisions, but many of the movement's actors are instrumental in holding the forum to account, especially over the selection of movement members not present. This, too, limits access to those perceived as most experienced in policymaking language, and therefore it is often the more cosmopolitan urban activists that fulfil this criterion.

*[Extract from Conferência Estadual V – Working Groups Axis III]*

*Grassy: A black man enters a shop and he has less prejudice than a gay. He enters a shop – this happened in Canoas. A black man entered to buy a 42-inch TV. The guy looked at him, right, and it led to a whole scene. Unfortunately this happens. Being gay is the same thing, they don't think you're gonna have money for a 42-inch TV....*

*Bernadete: Going back to the text...*



Participants exhibiting more embodied and emotional modes of communication are perceived as weaker and their contention less valid, thus limiting their access both to speech rights in the immediate setting, and to selection for subsequent stages. This is difficult to reconcile with the principles of participatory democracy as empowering and egalitarian. As Healey (1997:29) comments, knowledge and reasoning take many forms, “from empirical analysis to expressive statements in words, sounds, and pictures”, and if the idea of deliberative policymaking is to explore knowledge through reasoned debate, this means that the debate cannot be fully representative as certain types and modes of knowledge and debate are being excluded (or disallowed access). Dyson (1993) notes with growing concern that knowledge and authority are inextricably linked through particular types of mastery over that knowledge and, to be considered an ‘expert’, one is required to express oneself in pseudo-positivistic and scientific language. Yet Fischer (2000) calls for an appreciation of knowledge that is expressed different forms, which include the interpretive, reflective and relational as well as the functional knowledge so often associated with the ‘expert’. The lack of appreciation of other forms of knowing in these settings ultimately leads to exclusion of particular groups who express themselves in alternative ways. This has spatial implications in particular, impacting more on delegates from the interior. Although the allocation of quotas mitigates this to some extent, within these settings their contention is silenced.

Delegates and organisers are especially keen to silence and discipline the *‘jeito brasileiro’* – the tendency to play the system to one’s own advantage, is disallowed in favour of a transparent system of no attendance, no participation. This is reinforced by senior group leaders, who come down heavily on other groups (not necessarily their own). However, the quality of facilitation in the State conference, in contrast to the municipal conference, is significantly more disorganised, and this leads to openings for certain sectors of participants to try to overturn procedure and open up full unlimited participation even to those who had not been elected as delegates. The following extract establishes both the procedure of thematic debate in the State conference, and also emphasises organisational confusion by multiple repair work in the facilitator, Virgínia’s, turn.

*[Extract from Conferência Estadual IV – Working Groups Axes I and II]*

*Virgínia: Very good. Folks, so ok. Let’s try to be very objective. So, Axis I ...we have three axes to debate. It’s not much. Has anyone read the base text? No, no, ok, don’t worry, no problem.*

Virgínia, as chair, approaches the base text for discussion with unfamiliarity. Her first command to delegates, to collaborate in small groups to read it over, serves the dual purpose of familiarising delegates with its content and gives her time to scan the document, adding to the common backstage view of Brazilian government officers as disorganised,

inefficient and uninformed. Her instruction to delegates, though, is very clear – the command to be “objective”. It is only objective, rather than embodied and situated, knowledge that is valued and deemed acceptable in political contexts still, despite LGBT knowledges being inherently emotional and embodied and therefore denied voice and excluded. Spivak (1988) attacks such forms of knowledge as inherently Western, to the detriment of grounded local communities. This is redolent of Kennedy’s (1982:32) work on advocacy groups, who “had a genuine desire to assist the poor, but on their own terms, using their methods and their issues.” Virgínia appears to be a governmental advocate for LGBT groups, yet this advocacy work is simply plastered over the existing hierarchical organisation of the state and, as a result of this unawareness of LGBT modes of doing things, cannot be fully representative of them.

Contrary to Spivak (1988), however, ‘objective’ discussion here is conceived of as those common sense values and meanings drawn from a wider ‘Brazilian’ society – an Ibero-Western society. “Objectivity”, therefore, is related to the institutional knowledges inherent in governmental policymaking institutions rather than grounded local knowledge communities. This is problematic in a participatory setting, given that as a social practice it was developed to help the marginalised achieve emancipation as autonomous and responsible agents (Freire 1982).

Privately, the admission that many delegates had not read the base text prior to its discussion is treated by both State and other movement delegates as a sign of their lack of commitment. In turn, this reinforces the perception that under-educated delegates from the interior are liabilities in activism and present a poor image of the movement. This reflects Cândido’s (1989:145) notion of directionality in the relationship between development and place – separating rural and urban participants, he notes a “process rapidly converts rural man to urban society, by means of communicative resources that even include subliminal inculcation, imposing on him dubious values quite different from those the cultivated man seeks in art and in literature.” Urban delegates expect that their more rural counterparts will be without either the articulacy or the strategic knowledge and view of the wider picture. However, in reality, there is no action binary – as many urban as rural delegates admitted not to have read the document. Useful knowledge takes many forms: insider knowledge; information from records; analysis and systemisation of existing knowledge to create new knowledge (Cable and Degutis 1997). The Brazilian policymaking apparatus’ institutional structure is based on “objective” functional knowledge. Therefore, this type of knowledge is also expected of participants which, consequently, means that interpretive, reflective and relational knowledge types (Gaventa 1993) are excluded. This is not necessarily a problem in terms of ‘capacity building’, but it marks a preference for top-down processes rather than

the 'bottom up' practice promulgated by the literature.

The dominant ideology of objective, functional knowledge perpetuates in this space and, despite many delegates not having adhered to the prerequisite requirements for its analysis and production, this work was brought into the main body of the conference with time set aside to go through and analyse the texts together. The opportunity for alternative knowledges is lost through adherence to European Enlightenment ontologies rather than wider emancipation and, as Fischer (1995) argues, the application of any principle or policy to a specific normative context requires an assessment of the empirical circumstances of the situation through a three-dimensional appreciation of local knowledges missing here. Access is not only mediated through the formats of knowledge a participant can display, but also depend on how these are conceived (Lefebvre 1974). While participant regimes form the basis of Chapter Five, spatial identity is at once a unifying and divisive concept:

*Gustavo: And they say that gay marriage is a gaúcho thing. Well, yes, it is a gaúcho thing, and I'm proud to say that, and it should be a universal thing too.*

Forms of knowledge (physicality) must be combined with a spatial referent (experiential) to be seen as appropriate for the space (in its ideality). This is not to say that framing of this process as a *gaúcho* process is inherently stable. Indeed, it is inherently unstable as the drive for urban-centricity is hampered by the "picturesque regionalism" discussed above (Cândido 1965). While it is used as a useful aligning device at both municipal and state levels, it is by no means a deterministic structure that guides interaction along particular lines. As may be expected, it is apparent that identity is not a binding factor in the face of perceived failure of political process. Access to participation is not universal, and forms the very basis of contentious action. An existential threat to the conferences occurred in the basic organisation of the State conference. A major rift opened up among different delegates even from the same groups as to the nature of permissible participation, and competition over meaning between 'delegate' and 'observer' in meaning and terms. This debate delayed the conference considerably and almost voided its emancipatory potential for the obstructions it brought on, simply due to the 'objective' rules not reflecting the lived realities of the process, and administrative oversight. As Tâmara relates:

*[Extract from Conferência Estadual VI – Final Plenary introduction]*

*Tâmara: Article 16 of the internal rules of the 2<sup>nd</sup> State LGBT conference features 350 participants selected during the municipal and regional stages of the 2<sup>nd</sup> State LGBT conference. That means that this article is in line with the charter of the National Conference that also only considers as*

*delegates those people who participated in the preparatory plenaries for the State stage.*

Tâmara, with overall responsibility for the conference, tries to invoke structure and order. This extract focuses on control over delegates who can vote, and *de jure* there is a list of delegates who have the right to vote and they use wristband as their performative symbols. *De facto* these were given to everyone present so all have a vote, and the success of the rules, therefore, depends upon honesty. This comes up for debate later, given the failure of organisation to differentiate between statuses. Requesting the return of the wristbands that had been given out as symbols of the right to vote displays a sense of confusion of this event, by extension, the state government.

It may be rather harsh to judge this episode in Cândido's (1965) terms, complaining of a weakness and disorganisation of institutions constituting an inconceivable paradox in the face of grandiose natural conditions. Local opinion is that this is exactly the case, with weak institutions inherited from weak colonial powers in Latin America (Spain and Portugal) in general, resulting in a dialectic of order and disorder with which Brazilian institutions have traditionally been associated (Cândido 1970a). In comparison with Anglo-Saxon puritanical systems based on moral values, Cândido (1970b) argues that in Brazil historically there was never such a concept of an in-group and an out-group, and that there was never an obsession with social order, except as an abstract principle. Spontaneous forms of sociability operated with great ease and thus mitigated the collisions between norms and conduct, making conflicts of conscience less dramatic. However, this still appears to be an example of Brazilian "corrosive tolerance" since the rationale behind the exclusion of some delegates is based on factors outside of their control. "Brazilian corrosive tolerance", as Cândido (1993:51) outlines, does not see "liberty except as caprice", and relates to the perpetuation of injustice simply due to ease and convenience.

Tâmara justifies the denial of voting rights to those from municipalities that did not hold a municipal conference, on the basis that the top-down criteria is out of her control, deflecting blame and limiting moral come-back. This is the most contentious issue of all the conferences, and delegates become extremely riled, resulting in extended debate. Indeed, it is a demonstration that delegates will have had to have been vetted at local conferences before reaching higher centres of power, and gatekeeping access to those deemed to have performed 'correctly' (and, therefore, displayed the right kinds of knowledge).

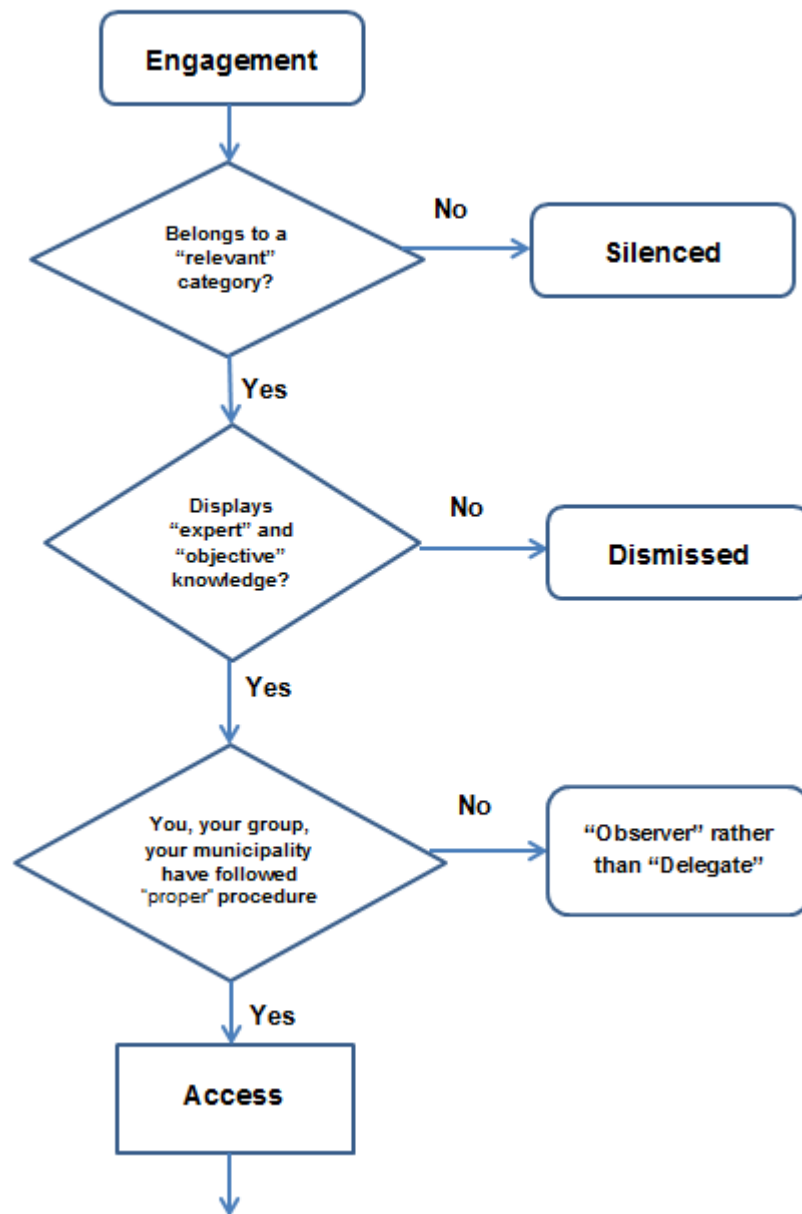
Conflict is an inherent part of the conferences, and discursive ideas of governance are fought over in general in a division between "cosmopolitan" core and "provincial" interior delegates (and, at the same time, subverting the traditional idea of the *gaúcho* relationship with the land through the idea of "picturesque regionalism"). Contention between them is

especially evident in the final plenary of the State conference, with Portoalegrense delegates defending exclusion - the letter of the internal objective law in respecting the due process that,

*[Extract from Conferência Estadual VII – Final Plenary Part 1]*

*...if there was a mistake, the moment to highlight that mistake I believe cannot be now when we're about to vote... There were people who missed registration as a delegate because they arrived late, or because they didn't turn up on the day. And because they didn't end up as delegates [selected] from Porto Alegre they didn't come here today. If these people had been here yesterday and seen that they could have been delegates, we could have had 50-100 more people just from Porto Alegre here. [Luisa, Igualdade]."*

However, delegates from the "interior", led by those from Cruz Alta, call for a more *laissez faire* inclusive reading of the rules, based in more subjective and emotional moral claims. Pearce and Littlejohn (1997) discuss the value of conflict in public meetings, and suggest that departures from normal patterns of interaction may move intractable/"moral" conflicts forward. Abnormal discourse and rupture implies a departure from previously defined patterns, and a move towards abnormal discourse from normal discourse, where participants relinquish patterns that may comprise barriers to communication (McComas 2001). This clear spatial contestation in the format of the process is indicative of a healthy process of debate through which, even though it emphasises spatial bloc divisions in positioning, it is evidence of equal voice. This links closely with how the movement wishes to be viewed by the wider community and by the state. This is reminiscent of Tilly's (1999) argument that movement groups need to be considered moral, unified, large and attention-grabbing to have clout. Here unity is missing, but division would remain without deliberation. The moral argument is divided between those seeking the full services of the state – citizenship, equality, responsiveness, and protection – and those who have internalised modes of governmentality that discipline and mitigate perceptions of full state capacity to deliver these (Johnston 2011). Movement leaders from the metropolitan area in particular push for leadership for their own groups, attempting to resolve and justify their morality aligned with the principles of Enlightenment rationality in the importance of objectivity of process and rules.



**Figure 4: The route from initial engagement with the process to ensuring access**

Based on the evidence in the conference, spatial considerations can be added to a ‘discourse-historical’ approach to understanding inclusion and exclusion (Wodak 2007a). While this considers the contents and topics of talk, discursive strategies and linguistic realisations, place is another key aspect. Participants as *gaúchos* are keen to prove their efficiency in performing governance based on the credibility engendered by the use of objective functional knowledges and structures as informed by the European Enlightenment as superior to non-European Brazilian modes of knowledge (Ribeiro 1995). This is based on a ‘proper’ transparent process that contrasts with the general assumption in these conferences that those who have not participated do not know how to, will hold up

proceedings, will not ‘add value’ and have little valid knowledge to add – they are not ‘experts’ with the right ‘experience’ (Fischer 2000), and therefore their knowledge is not valued. This is in contrast to tenets of community participation that seek to include all actors irrespective of previous participation or ‘expert’ status, adding to of the “tyranny of expertise” as a “conspiracy against society” (Illich 1989; Lieberman 1972), which means that these processes do not in fact live up to their goals of providing discursive spaces for all LGBTs.

It can be seen from this section and in Figure 4 that access to these participatory spaces is severely curtailed through various discursive, communicative and categorical criteria implemented mainly through government but also upheld by civil society organisations. The following section will explore how the agenda is shaped and how responsive it is to citizen demands.

## **Agenda**

Key actors were instrumental in the development of an agenda. Both conferences were organised by a steering group comprising members of the department of human rights at each level of government, as well as civil society representation by LGBT NGOs and LGBT sections of political parties. They recruited keynote speakers including academics, judges and politicians sympathetic to LGBT causes. Opening plenaries also brought leaders of the local executive (in the case of the municipal conference) or federal human rights directive (in the case of the State conference) to add gravitas and official endorsement to the settings.

The conferences broadly proceeded along similar structures, including a strong focus on thematic issues seen to be relevant to LGBTs. While the municipal version offered a simple structure of opening panel – academic presentation – thematic groups on Violence and Public Security; Health and Social Security; Education; and Culture – and a final decision-making plenary, the state version was slightly more complex and definitely more prescriptive. The State conference was divided into three panels, hosting academics, judges/lawyers and politicians, who would each present and then debate with each other – on homophobia (Panel 1), citizenship (Panel 2) and LGBT policymaking (Panel 3), with time for questions and answers. Instead of the broad-brush ‘anything goes’ grounded approach to thematic groups in the municipal conference, the State conference required the establishment of harder boundaries to deal with the greater number of participants. This focused debate on the national policy document in thematic groups as follows:

**GT1: Health**

**GT2: Education; Culture; Youth; Sport**

**GT3: Public Security; Confronting Violence; Confronting Machismo and Racism; Systems of Justice**

**GT4: Work and Generating Income; Combating Hardship; Social Security; Social Development; Environment**

**GT5: Human Rights; Exterior Relations; Legislative Power; Social Participation; Social Communication.**

These categories were decided and grouped by an organising committee consisting of government and NGO representatives prior to the conference behind closed doors, taking the various categories deliberated upon during the national conference, and grouping them in terms of their own common sense linkages. These broad categories for debate seldom offered unity of interest for participants or, superficially, any real coherence. Participants were less than sympathetic to the organising committee's "mish-mash" of categories, and were perturbed that their concerns were seemingly trivialised through the insertion of "irrelevant" categories as judged by several key senior NGO activists:

*Oh, let's all plant a tree shall we? Come on girls! That's what we're here for. So many of us don't find work, but let's all save the world, eh. (Marcelly, on GT4)*

The designation of thematic categories was deemed too broad by participants, yet the idea was to ensure all-inclusive policy relevance and incorporating all those requested by participants. It can be argued that all constituent topics of discussion are relevant for performing full citizenship. If these discussions are aimed at assuring full citizenship, on what basis can Marcelly imply certain of these are irrelevant to the discussion at hand? These are all relevant to a broad conception of citizenship, which is what the movement is striving for, yet not all of these are deemed relevant by delegates, and therefore not deemed worthy of action. McConnell (2010a; 2010b) addresses four explanations through which inaction on certain issues occurs: tactical inaction to achieve policy goals; risk aversion; inability to confront issues; and cognitive blind spots. Neither 'risk aversion' nor 'inability to confront an issue' explain the inclusion of certain categories in the base text that are deemed irrelevant by movement groups. The individuals and organisations present do not even acknowledge that ecological and environmental concerns are cognitive blind spots (Tversky and Kahneman 1982) these groups and their members do not yet class these threats as a social problems in the LGBT view, and they are not part of LGBT narratives, scripts or code, yet they are an increasingly important component of citizenship discourse (Dobson and Bell 2006). Also at play is the idea that tactical inaction on some policy areas is intended as a means to achieve a longer-term goal as part of an established political programme. Through membership categorisation, from Wodak's (2007b) examination of inclusion/exclusion of



policy priorities in the political institution, participants feel, in this situation, that it is laughable that the agenda should include those areas of policy not normatively associated with LGBTs – health, security and, to a lesser extent, education. There is tension, therefore, between ideas of full participation being facilitated by the organising committee defining the parameters of deliberation in advance, and the fact that certain participants not agreeing with these very parameters and therefore seeking to redefine the structure of the conferences rather than exploring topics within these parameters.

In building an agenda for policy, Cobb and Elder (1971) emphasise the importance of ‘gatekeeping’, whereby certain actors can determine what issues or proposals reach the political agenda. This is complemented by Cobb et al.’s (1997) idea of ‘agenda denial’, wherein cultural strategies are invoked by particular types of actors (mainly those with the most influence) to avoid, marginalise and redefine issues. While agenda denial is undoubtedly occurring through the derision of the applicability to environmental concerns to LGBTs as citizens (above), this reflects participant perceptions of priorities. It was not only participant groups that engaged in ‘gatekeeping processes’, for while the movement itself managed the topical parameters of discussion, the government managed the modes of analysis. For such a broad set of categories, these were martialled into three analytical axes for the state conferences:

**Axis 1: Analysis of the national and international contexts of the federative pact and the efficacy of LGBT *Políticas Públicas*,**

**Axis 2: Evaluation of the implementation of the National Plan, with an evaluation of each action taken by the appropriate ministries**

**Axis 3: Production of guidelines for the formulation and implementation of concrete and specific proposals for *Políticas Públicas* for the effectiveness of LGBT rights.**

These prescriptive structures served as conversational spaces and guidelines through which to channel and tackle the wide categorical subjects. Far from having been developed through deliberation and negotiation with citizens, these were established by a group of ‘experts’ as models through which to analyse policy. The perceived benefit was to ensure state conferences from around the country analysed materials and produced end reports on an equivalent footing, again within the logic of objective knowledge. The imposition of this structure on the State conference established a joint frame of reference, and also reinforced that this space is not a space for local forms of knowledge-production (Fischer 2000) The only “valid” agenda items were those made to fit within the confines of “objective” critical analysis, able to be used as a nationally-replicable governmental instrument across the country. In this way, both the agenda and the structure are pre-set due to a slightly different

configuration of discursive relationships. LGBT agenda-items have become so established and institutionalised that deviations from 'scripts' and appreciation of different forms of knowledge and areas of concern have departed from the sphere of individual experience. At the same time, discussion of these agenda-relevant items are only seen as valid if deliberated-upon in ways that accord with governmental structures as expressed through the criteria of the axes.

As with any social situation, there are anomalies in this explanation. While the LGBT agenda normatively includes health and security issues, there was a strong and sustained input under the topical category of 'culture' – referencing artistic and visual forms, which was able to occupy discussion time and heard as relevant (unlike other topics such as 'environment').

*LGBT Culture represents a set of significant elements and sense-producers for LGBTs, as aspects that make up their values, habits, language and forms of expression. Associated with this network, we have also identified artistic expressions. (Sandro, SOMOS Cultural Manifesto).*

Sandro's agenda was unflinchingly framed within the ambit of 'culture', which he was able to make relevant to the setting through a variety of activities, especially through outreach work for health prevention programmes through cultural production as a core SOMOS activity. Culture, so often viewed at best as a luxury or at worst a cynical money-making tool in the neoliberal discourse (Glyn 2006), forms a key component of the local LGBT imagination. It is certainly inextricably intertwined in the modern economic system, while the economic system is intertwined in cultural systems (Fraser 1995). This is telling inasmuch as it links a certain sector of it to the more affluent class-based castings (Liechty 2003) and demonstrates that these debates run beyond tangible assets towards exploration of the more ethereal as well as intangible components of human existence. In exploring the reasons that cultural appreciation should be so high on the agenda, certain delegates explained that *"it's because most Brazilians don't have any culture"*. This is a resource that delegates seek through recognition.

This echoes Cândia's (1989:145) depiction of Brazilian intellectuals "lamenting the ignorance of the people and wishing they would disappear so that the country might automatically rise to its destined heights." This further supports the idea of delegates seeing themselves as 'elite', 'knowledgeable', 'experts'. However, that is to do a disservice to the national character in general, as Cândia (1965) further highlights the Brazilian-ness having emerged through the Portuguese imagination from French conceptions of the importance of cultural products in the Continental European tradition. Culture, in this conception, is something nationally important – and it is, with a high profile Federal Ministry of Culture. The

importance of culture in a *gaúcho* setting is explained by Ribeiro's (1975) invocation of a 'transplanted' people of the European tradition contrasted with a cultureless rest of Brazil as 'emergent' people. Of these explanations, a mixture of the three explains 'culture' as an agenda priority.

There are also hints of elitism in evidence. 'Culture' is used as a key tenet of SOMOS' platform, and it is well-resourced for this, but there are many who see Sandro and the SOMOS executive in terms of management figures (Fischer 2000). Although these figures speak in the name of large numbers of people, a small group of people at the top of their organisations are disconnected from the grassroots and excluding in their agenda-setting. In SOMOS' conception of 'culture', the classification of Madonna and Lady Gaga as symbolic of LGBT culture is unsatisfactory and goes against Cândido's (1965) call for a Brazilian and Latin American resistance to the instruments and values of mass culture. This is an example of interest-group politics rather than genuine citizen participation and, while such symbols and icons may be seen as inclusive, they say nothing about spatially-specific local LGBT embodied experience. The potential offered by the topic 'culture' to promote this is squandered to populist sentiment, and while an appreciation of global mass culture is evidenced here when it is supported by a movement management figure – an 'expert' – when reference to US-culture comes from another, less known delegate from the interior his agenda is not considered in the same way.

*[Extract from Conferência Estadual V]*

*Paulo Bueno: I know that in the United States, the Military Police created a platoon, a special squadron with travestis, homosexuals with, to make this intensive policing with those that are LGBT in the United States - LGBT policing. We could think about that here.*

In many examples, the USA is viewed as an idealised model for LGBT contention among participants, yet in this case the delegate's proposal was dismissed as irrelevant to the agenda at hand. As noted, Gaúchos are most likely to self-assert along the lines of European identification and enlightenment principles (Ribeiro 1975). This is telling, as generally demands for objective structures and discourses of human sexuality are not based in Brazilian conceptions of homosexuality (Green 2000) and take more from the US and international LGBT movements so, rather than providing for real bottom-up change, international discourse is seen to work through the local to secure state and potentially national policy change. Such objective and secular structures are viewed as international best practice, and can result in international homogeneity and an ignorance of a proper appreciation of spatial difference in local and situated LGBT experience. Many of the

delegates draw from American examples of positive policy change, and suggest a wholehearted adoption of the same initiatives hoping for positive outcomes but without the empirical evidence of their necessity and suitability for the local context.

However, in this case, the suggestion comes from an unrecognised delegate from the interior, and consideration of this suggestion is shut down. This perpetuates the idea that participation is limited to a narrow-range of actors, mainly from the capital. This is not enacted through explicit exclusion, but their social status as professionalised movement 'experts', perpetuating the injustices of exclusion of other actors (Sassower 1997). It is not only topical issues that are excluded from the agenda; also off the agenda is the consideration of issues from different political perspectives:

*[Extract from Conferência Estadual VIII – Final Plenary]*

*Maurício: The point is, here people are saying that these things were voted on, but in reality it was not. That's what I'm saying. If it is added, in reality you won't be talking about that here, you will be going backwards from what you're saying here - human health is not a policy yet, so we can't talk about analysing these in panels.*

The lone voice of Maurício opposes the formal institutional establishment of LGBT councils and technical commissions. Speaking as a member of the 'diversity' group of the centre-right *PMDB*, his objection is based on his ideological conviction that the institutionalisation of *Políticas Públicas* would make them more liable to co-option by government, and they need, therefore, to be kept independent. The reaction to this is Maurício being treated very much as a pariah, being shouted down in the debates for his views and treated as an annoyance every time he sought to speak. Centrist and right-leaning political voices are silenced within this type of *Políticas Públicas*, not by politicians, but by intra-movement governmentality, meaning that traditional clientelistic models of Brazilian statecraft are not relevant here, and civil society is equally able to exclude agenda items and wield disciplinary measures in these spaces, mediating access between individual and policy.

This is not the only example of the governmentality of the movement itself in its framing of a valid agenda. Senior members typically adopt the system's own definition of problems, acting as management figures on the basis of their 'expertise'. Participants doubt the efficacy of the current political system and senior members in particular seize the opportunity to call governmental representatives to account for the perceived lack of material impact civil society has had on policy implementation. While this is a real type of consultative exercise, it is not the direct democracy that participants expect and that has been so closely associated with Porto Alegre's municipal administration (Novy and Leubolt 2005). In the following

extract, a senior delegate not only bemoans the style of participation, but also that the outputs of such meetings cannot result in material impacts.

*[Extract from Conferência Estadual VIII – Final Plenary]*

*Célio: Actually the challenge is repeating the consideration that I put before, right. Many proposals like this are not proposals, they are only suggestions, they are just putting a few things [in the mix], but they are not in the form of proposals. So I do not know how this comes about. Shall we take it as a proposal to Brasília? There are various like this, this is why I challenged this one, but not only this one, there are others, as it was said before, and not just by me. So I don't know how that came about.*

Célio accounts for and sees off potential moral challenge based on his repetition of the claim that the policy proposals are deficient in their quality. He accounts for restricting the nature of debate to the terms pre-established by the government itself through restrictions on time, and in doing so also perpetuates the idea that the only valid forms of knowledge and the only valid agenda follow objective rational knowledge and the principles of the existing system. Once again, it is evidenced that a participant-dominated model of participation is eschewed in favour of a managerial approach through which only those proposals formatted in ways the policymaking system can recognise as 'valid' (Fischer 2000).

Governmental actors respond positively to Célio's claim that many of the proposals being discussed are those that really should be acted upon within the movement itself. The fact that this is being picked up on only in the final plenary discussion points to the lack of capacity and participatory education given prior to and within the Thematic Groups. There is widespread agreement as to the validity of Célio's claim in that little may be done to analyse these policy proposals as they are neither appropriate nor enactable at national level under the existing regime, in contrast to the municipal level discussion in which delegates were very careful to ensure correct legalistic wording and concise claims. This was explained by Porto Alegre delegates as being due to the fact that many delegates were not used to this form of participation (symptomatic of a metropolitan-centric view of some participants), combined with a lack of municipal conferences in some municipalities, and the idea of poor organisation at the state-level conference. However, it is more indicative of the state's inability and unwillingness to deal with diverse knowledge forms that, in its objective rational incarnation, cannot process emotional or subjective forms of communication or knowledge. This is therefore excluded from any policy agenda. This is a failing of the state that is not unique to a Brazilian setting. However, this can be more reputationally damaging to it in a context of its extensive promotion of itself as a different type of state keen to preserve an image of progressive politics empowering its population, leaving this project incomplete and bolstering evidence that such processes are simply holding-cells for subversive behaviour

(Coombs and Holladay 2002). It is also a failing in particular of local movement groups, who engage at government-sanctioned receptor points and contort themselves to the formats required of them whilst failing to perform any radical contention.

As a senior delegate, Célio takes the initiative. He notes that it is beyond state governmental capacity to shape (embodied and emotional) group claims into a form that political system can deal with. In his words, there is a distinction between “propositional formats”, as ready to go policy initiatives, as opposed to the situated embodied knowledges, desired as unstructured “complaints”, of delegates. He is well aware that propositions need to be based on a transparent evidence base and, while still deliberatively reasoned in the thematic group, his expertise is what makes the difference between criticism of existing policy and implementable new policy potential, but this perpetuates debilitating social hierarchies rather than providing a model for inclusive empowerment. It is movement members, having internalised the disciplinary instruments of the governmental apparatus, who enact certain repressive governmental forms within their ranks. The interests and voice of the individual are subsumed and silenced by the interests of the group.



**Figure 5: Deliberation at the security thematic group at the State conference**

He is well able to defend his approach, educating other delegates and emphasising the moral superiority of his own position and approach. There is a clear multi-level superiority in Célio’s account, emphasising his own, his group’s and his country’s procedural and moral superiority. The state, in the form of Tâmara, following protocol, opens it up to delegates for further discussion, but Célio exercises his power as the ‘expert’ he has built himself up to be.

Paradoxically, despite Célio closing down the possibility for further deliberation and the organising committee not having been efficient in outlining requirements, the blame is placed on other GTs and their delegates for not having produced ‘useable’ proposals. This serves to alienate any potentially subversive elements incorporating different ways of knowing and providing different ways of doing policy, shutting them down and negating any ability for an evolution in the policymaking process.

It is clear that the structure of existing systems of government and their relationships with each other have a real impact on agenda-setting in these processes. The state government is constituted by three tiers of institutions: executive and governance, secretariats, and associated institutions. The secretariats comprise the following (with economic and planning matters incorporated into the executive and governance functions):

- Administrative Modernisation and Human Resources
- Agriculture and Livestock
- Culture
- Rural Development and Cooperativism
- Education
- Tourism, Sport and Leisure
- Farming
- Engineering, Sewerage and Housing
- Mines and Energy
- Justice and Human Rights
- Environment and Sustainable Development
- Transport and Mobility
- Health
- Public Security
- Work and Social Development

The (Justice and) Human Rights Secretariat, therefore, is only one of fifteen secretariats, but was given responsibility for LGBT issues and to collate, disseminate and implement LGBT policy that cross-cuts other secretariats’ responsibilities, as well as submitting policy proposals to higher levels of government. In theory, this should make it easier for LGBT activists to be heard with less effort and time – a one-stop shop. However, both movement and governmental actors complain that each secretariat is still rather ‘siloe’d’ and works independently, meaning a lot of internal work on governmental collaboration needs to happen before this model can serve its citizens efficiently. Indeed, while it cannot be advocated that it would be appropriate for ‘Farming’ to take responsibility for these

conferences, there clearly can be certain intersecting issues for LGBTs across all secretariats. The format of *Políticas Públicas* itself and the conditions of the secretariat in which it sits, necessarily imposes certain restrictions on matters deemed relevant to discussion. Participants are wise to this:

*[Extract from Conferência Municipal IV]*

*Anderson: Of course, it's clear, we have a debate here, but I don't know how it will be articulated by the movement when it goes to the Health Conference to debate it there.*

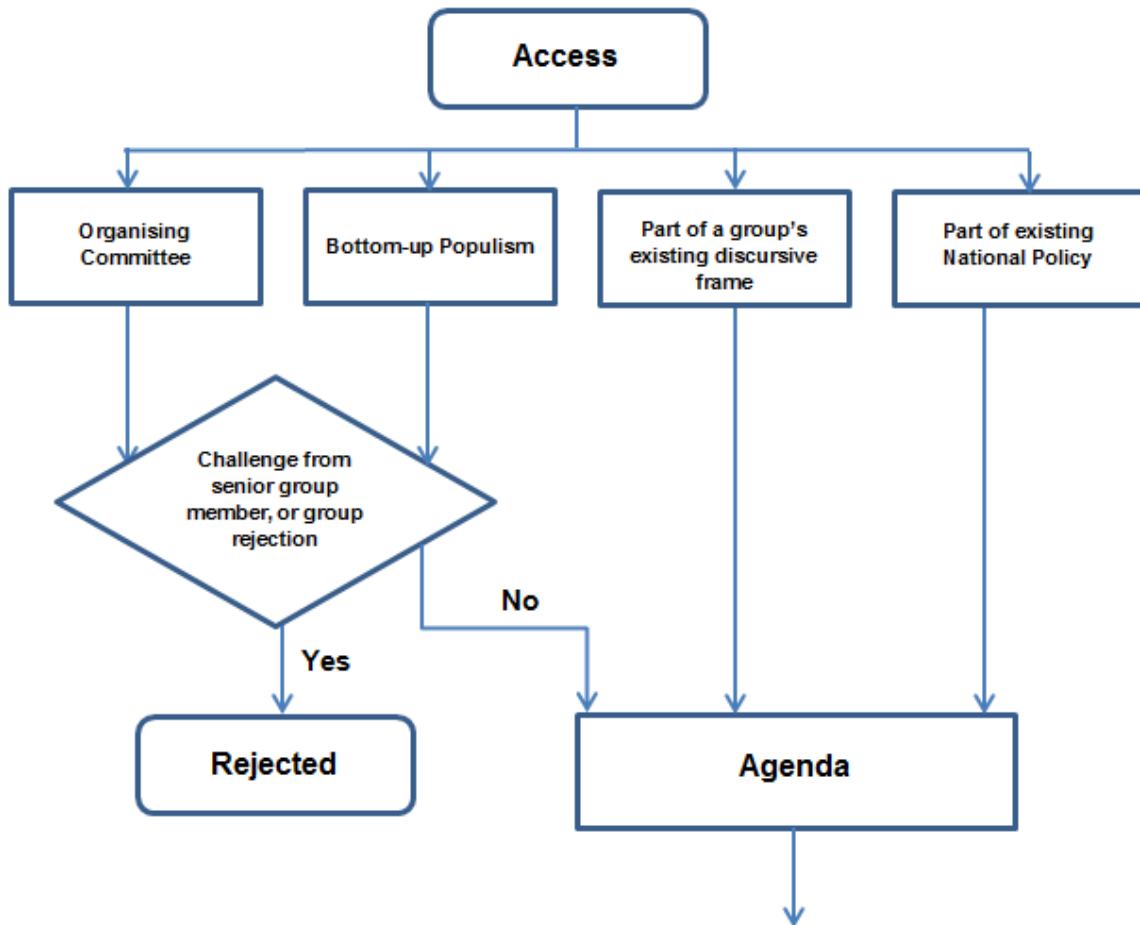
They are also very aware that, on top of the differences in perceived space between conferences, the conceived space of the present conferences as emancipatory is compromised by disinterest:

*[Extract from Conferência Municipal IV]*

*Alexandre: It's a wonder that this Secretariat couldn't call on Health – which is the thematic group that most people have signed up to, and Health does not participate! Nor does Health participate in the Health Plan for Prevention in schools. It's because the Health Secretariat does not think any of this is important!*

Such is the power of health-based narratives of contention in LGBT movements there is certain scope for overlap between policy initiatives, but access to health policymaking is severely curtailed through the secretariat's reluctance to attend these settings and, therefore, topic-related demands must be further framed to fit into the language relevant to human rights. The issues of human rights and health are not necessarily interlinked, but are made to be so in the context of a foundation of human rights discourse so that at least some action can be undertaken and passed on to ensure the Human Rights Secretariat, as broker, hears it as relevant to its mission.





**Figure 6: The route from access to getting onto the agenda**

### **Immaterial Products/Outputs: Capacity-building and empowerment**

Policy responsiveness is the next of Schumaker's (1975) labels, but the raw process of policymaking and the responsiveness of government to the policy needs of collective groups can seem to neglect the influence of culture and context (not only from Lefebvre, but also after Bourdieu 1977). Democratic governance assumes that the preferences of citizens are reflected in policy outputs, and thus the aims of democratic governance must be citizenship, equality, policy responsiveness and protection, with government action responding to the preferences of its citizens (Johnston 2011). Policymaking, therefore, must involve capacity-building and empowerment of wider groups to be able to manage the art of government. Although there is merit in discussing how responsive policy has been up to now as detailed in the conferences, such an examination does not really fit with the empirical realities of *Políticas Públicas*, and it is clearly not the case that government is in control in all matters of this process – this would defeat the point. A more appropriate object for examination here is capacity-building and empowerment (both process and output) as cultural and material, seeing as these processes ostensibly seek to lessen perceptions of state and society as

discrete entities, and to encourage greater agency on behalf of the latter.

The overall aim of this chapter interrogates *Políticas Públicas* as a process, and its capacity to enable or constrain civil society repertoires or discourse. Therefore, quality of this can be understood through the quality of its deliberation, and the responsiveness of *Políticas Públicas* can be assessed through the deliberative and evaluative quality of the conference and its concordance with the pillars of deliberative democracy. Empowerment has been usefully defined by Escobar (2011) under six parameters: seeking information and evidence; evaluating alternatives; giving (and taking) public reasons; re-examining and (perhaps) changing preferences; seeking agreement or consensus; and making informed and reasoned decisions. The ultimate aim of this must be to attain 'empowerment' which, as Eliasoph (2011) outlines, must promote civic engagement through equality, openness and reasonableness; must promote appreciation of local, unique people, places and customs; provide inspiration and challenge; raise up the "needy"; and provide frequent and transparent documentation. From this, therefore, deliberative democracy and empowerment surely must go hand in hand to be worthwhile.

In the second instance, empowerment can be measured by those LGBT claims that have actually achieved grounding in law, and the deviation of enforcement or adoption by target authorities as judged by participants. It can also be assessed through local buy-in to the process. Although there are two provisos in that, people do not criticise inaction on non-agenda items or those issues already resolved (McConnell 2010), and the professionalisation of social movement organisations means that narratives have to be structured in particular, and often negatively-focused ways. This builds on Parkinson's (2006) principles of process, insisting on reasoning between people as the guiding political procedure rather than bargaining between competing interests or the aggregation of private preferences, and the public act of giving, weighing, acceptance or rejection of reasons as opposed to private voting. These are the broad principles on which *Políticas Públicas* is built, and the ways in which these are carried out determines whether the process is an example of top-down governmentality, or empowering, bottom-up capacity-building.

In terms of capacity-building and empowerment, it is not only government officers that facilitate the sessions. The following sequence is an example of the inclusivity of these settings. The presence of multiple actors with an equal stake in the organisational aspects of the conferences creates extra levels of debate and, so, rather than debating the issues, time and effort is spent debating processes:

*[Extract from Conferência Estadual VIII – Final plenary]*

*514 Victor: [inc.] ... for someone to clarify proposals to the LGBT committee. And I'd like to take the opportunity not to start - that we don't*

*start with the thematic groups because the idea would be to establish proposals. The idea can be to inform [delegates of] the proposals to continue to make connections. I think it caused a bit of confusion in the thematic group, and now also in the plenary.*

*518 Tâmara: The axis of the national conference, the proposal is to formulate the analysis, right, as it is, to analyse the national and international situation. This is requested of Axis I of the national conference. Will someone from GT1 outline the technical aspects of the proposal?*

*521 Célio: How are you going to do analysis on this kind of proposal? Because really what he put there [inc.] with another, there are things that are not proposals and which in reality are nothing. They are simply, "you can't do that because of such and such". It cannot be a therapy session.*

*Sandro: It isn't, in fact, a proposal.*

Victor establishes that the discussion is an evaluation of the ways in which the Plenary deals with output in *Políticas Públicas*, and how this process is implemented. Indeed, the whole purpose of this session is to analyse the implementation and success of the National Conference's *National Plan* for LGBTs as a national template, while producing suggestions for policy intervention to improve this for this year's National Conference. This provides a useful frame to direct discussion, yet it limits the potential for thorough deliberation. This is because of the lack of sources of evidence noted by Escobar (2011). Such a process, while compatible with existing legislative frameworks, is not radical or challenging, and fails all tests for empowerment (Eliasoph 2011). Accounts by the two facilitators provide a level of transparency, but significant tacit and background knowledge among participants is necessary to understand the process, yet the model produced by the Organising Committee for these conferences was produced by a few key actors.

Célio is scathing about the outputs generated by civil society, which he casts as disordered and misdirected lists of grievances unable to deliver change. It is clear that the thematic groups engaged in thorough deliberation processes, yet real empowerment falls at this hurdle with the dismissal of local, unique ways in which people express their policy preferences. It is dismissal of those without the human capital to transform these grievances into acceptable policy goals, and thus not achieving the openness in output that constitutes 'empowerment' (Eliasoph 2011). Both Nuances and SOMOS (through their directors) undermine both the ability of all delegates to have their voices included, and the force of any radical challenge to ways of doing policy. Célio's public dissent very much mirrors his group's radical general approach. He explained at length in an interview that lasted a whole day that there is a tendency for the movement not to be able to come up with "practical solutions", following a normative view of policy. Rather, he laments that there is little

pragmatic drive for change, and meetings are used as a ‘therapy session’ that make people feel better in themselves but which have little material output. Nuances sees such action as superfluous and invalid to achieving change and outcomes.

Policy proposals may be produced, but are meaningless for any overall objective of empowerment if not enacted or enforced. There are further ways in which a sense of empowerment can be blunted, as outlined by the participants:

*[Extract from Conferência Municipal IV – Opening Panel questions, Day 2]*

*161 Silvana: the budgetary quotation that Porto Alegre has planned for LGBT Políticas Públicas. Because, without any budgetary provision for any policy, we’re just playing at politics. And us at LBL since 2004 have participated in every one of the conferences. More than 70 something, eh?*

While the idea of *Políticas Públicas* conferences as forums for resource claims does not sit comfortably with participants, a causal link is acknowledged between it and a materialistic form of capacity. Annoyance emerges because, despite copious rounds of talks and a lot of work, there has been little material difference in the quality of municipal authorities. Silvana claims that her group, LBL, along with her personally, are being prevented from achieving aims of material improvement and is instead fobbed off with a forum that serves only as a space to vent frustrations rather than having any material policy impacts. Participation must have real, tangible and observable outcomes, especially for those hardworking credible groups who have dedicated time and effort to policy development across “more than 70” conferences. As Baiocchi (2005) notes, OP almost stalled early on in its history as it was not delivering observable outcomes, and actors viewed participation as wasted energy. Here a struggle for language emerges, and the paradoxes and difficulties in applying an open system of deliberation to existing structures that require institutional talk becomes apparent as certain languages are excluded. It is clear that those with the best chance of having claims taken up as policy are not just those who gain widespread support, but those who can translate their ideas into suitable legalese. While group members communicate in one register among themselves, another different register is required to be taken seriously even in *Políticas Públicas*.

The conferences can be subject to significant interruption, and policymaking depends to a degree on a standardisation of modes of communication. The capacity, therefore, of delegates to participate on their own terms does in fact occur, but there is a gulf between those who are allowed to speak and those who are actually taken seriously in policy production. Therefore, participants do not necessarily have their capacity raised as a result of speaking. Participants regularly interrupt, redirect, and interject, but it is both their

positionality in relation to participation, and their category roles that dictate how they perform in relation to these breaches. As the following extract demonstrates, it is up to the governmental representative of the organising committee to keep order in the face of a breach. However, this must be done skilfully to maintain the appearance of domineering:

*[Extract from Conferência Estadual VIII – Final plenary]*

*226 Tâmara: Challenge? Challenges, afterwards...*

*Del: Just a question of order ... As there were two health groups, there are questions that are there [shown on the computer screen in the report of the other group] that we enhanced in the other group.*

*Tâmara: So you can make a challenge afterwards for us to unite the two proposals, making sure the challenge is made in both [the proposals to be linked].*

*Del: Ok.*

Tâmara, summarising the Health thematic group's priorities in the final plenary, is called to account by a delegate. This delegate, in turn, accounts for her interruption at this dispreferred moment, but still feels her voice and opinion can and should be heard despite the plenary having already voted on the contents of the final report. Once voted upon, the contents cannot be changed before heading to federal level, so the other health group needs to be heard before final health policy output is agreed. However, the structure does not necessarily support two parallel groups making two output recommendations, Tâmara responds to the messiness of this way of policy-making, coming up with a pragmatic solution whereby the two groups resolve the issue between themselves in the plenary rather than delegating an individual session for structured reconciliation. Delegates are empowered to take ownership both of the material output of the conference and, to a certain extent, to make sure these can be enacted. The governmental representative remains the central organising figure who possesses a strategic handle on the discussion. The extent to which participation is directed and managed by civil society representatives is mitigated inasmuch as a governmental 'facilitator' is always necessary, in an administrative function, to direct society. This shows that the process of deliberative democracy is still new and imperfect, and unlikely to be able to meet all civil society expectations. However, in terms of outcomes it serves a forum for the creation of public agreement (rather than private and behind closed doors) and capacity-building in the modes of government.

## **Material Products/Outputs – policy-making and resources**

Within this political context, material outputs are easier to achieve if the arguments framing their acquisition are inclusive but narrowed to be related to place. It is noted regularly that

policies have been formulated from a *gaúcho* perspective (Ribeiro 1995), appropriate to the format of the particular territory in which these organisations operate. Thereby, these serve as an expression of local embodied experience from across the State, and are brought together under abstract statements that usefully establish views associated with its cultural background. Such a configuration engenders contestation between the urban core and the interior; the modern and the traditional. Significantly, the role of delegates is understood locally as civil society organisations in dialogue rather than individuals with their agendas. These groups would theoretically bring elements of their policy positions to be discussed with others, rather than being individual, *ad hoc* proposals. Policy is shown to have been responsive to *gaúcho* citizenship in the following:

*[Extract from Conferência Estadual II]*

*“...it’s because of gaúcho lawyers that law 1,872 is a law that says this: “the State of Rio Grande do Sul recognises and protects diverse manifestations of sexuality, whatsoever the identity...”*

*[Gustavo]*

*“And they say that of course gaúchos are interested in [gay marriage]; it’s a gaucho thing – but actually it’s not only a gaúcho thing. It’s about the citizenship of everybody and a universal right”*

At various times throughout such interactions, the notion of *gaúcho* and its associated identities as delineated as distinctive in relation to the rest of Brazil, reaffirming the symbolic boundary between the sons of the Farroupilha Revolution and the rest of the Brazilian Empire (Oliven 2000). While the urban expression of the *gaúcho* identity has enabled a blunting of the traditionalist rural gender roles into more cosmopolitan interpretations, legends of “*negrinho*” [the little black boy] and racial difference remain.

Policy framing is shaped by *gaúcho* symbols of distinction and sense of self as an emergent people (Ribeiro 1970) – only in Rio Grande do Sul (and Santa Catarina) did Brazil experience a massive influx of white (and often northern) Europeans creating a distinct physiognomy and creating a distinctive type of Brazilian, with their hybrid customs and costumes (Golin 1983). Here, these customs have been broadened to incorporate an appreciation of “diverse manifestations” and progressive politics, as Gustavo establishes this as a factor differentiating a progressive Rio Grande do Sul from an implied archaic and backward Brazil. Historically, as Lopez and Mota (2008:731) note, Rio Grande do Sul had significantly more contact through all media with the Plata region than with the rest of Brazil, and while policy is integrated with the rest of Brazil, there is a tendency to be ‘different’ and ‘innovative’ along more ‘European’ lines. Cultural identity proves a uniting force in the design

of these processes, and it is this regional specificity that has helped shaped distinct local politics and institutional design.

*[Extract from Conferência Estadual IV]*

*Leandro: Here we have a proposal that builds on all of these - the governor of the state of Rio Grande do Sul, Governor Tarso Genro, he outlined, and I think it's the only State in Brazil that outlined and broadened the rights of public officers, partners of State officers. .... I think we can really support the policies of Governor Tarso Genro at the Federal level."*

Responsiveness to *gaúcho* direct demands is noted, and an image projected by the movement that this is the collective will of all those in Rio Grande do Sul – a place-based identification imbued with its traditional symbols and striving for new and compatible ones, to include LGBT tolerance and legal protections. This serves the dual aims of the movement as it provides for its demands, and for the politician as personal validation and support in his career. From Cândido (1965:41), the delegates offer an image of “picturesque regionalism”, drawing from the “golden phase” looking back to the difference of *gaúcho* character from the rest of Brazil. It is an image of *gaúcho* exceptionalism, whose symbolic differentiating aspect was its connection to the landscape and the rural.

However, despite its historic cultural difference, Rio Grande do Sul is integrated into Brazilian political structures. The degree of responsiveness of bureaucratic outputs to the preferences of citizens is a valid and important indicator of the performance of democracy (Jennings 2009). In some respects this mode of policymaking is freer and its outputs totally citizen-controlled in that, following voting, these reports should head straight to the next level of government unedited. In practice, however, those policy outputs that have engendered real social change in Rio Grande do Sul are those that have been ratified by the judiciary and enshrined in law, being subject to enforcement.

*[Extract from Conferência Estadual IV – Thematic Group Axes I and II]*

*475 Victor: ... the fact that all the actions envisaged in the National Plan. I thought it was a little ... somewhat open. It was implementation in fact of all the actions envisaged in the plan that they don't remain only on paper. And then going back to what Bruna said yesterday on the panel, I think it is important that the movement monitors the application of these measures.*

*Virgínia: Great, very good.*

*480 Victor: Because in reality it is very easy to suppose that they are enacted and they're not on top of the monitoring, I think that the role of the LGBT movement is to be on top of ... of ... of the implementation of the goals that we want. What do you all think?*

*Del: Certainly.*

Victor comments on the format and language necessary for a policy to be successful as part of national LGBT policy. If a policy is too open it can be interpreted too broadly and therefore may not be implemented as intended. He is well aware that if policy is to respond in the way these groups would like, it must be worded so that there is as little room for manoeuvre as possible for those responsible for implementation, yet cannot be viewed as normatively unacceptable for other (competing) groups. This is a delicate balance to tread, but this is how he sees the new format of PLC 122/06, loosely labelled as the law that criminalises homophobia and homophobic acts. The attainment of legal protection was a central LGBT movement aim according to group members, and its achievement was a moment of triumph, but confusion emerged as a result of the reformulation of the law. It is in fact the executive that is responsible for passing it, but the movement noted that it may construct supporting policy proposals to be ratified by the executive. Further, it is the movement's responsibility to oversee the application of measures decided at the National LGBT conference rather than the Federal Government's, and it is left to the movement to organise independent means of holding the government to account for policy implementation. This is the standard method for the movement, and may well suit the government through lower costs. Victor's account serves as a rallying cry for other members of the movement, arguing that it is easy not to oversee measures and policies, and that by definition the role of the movement is to take account of/oversee their own goals – a category-bound attribute of the movement itself. The fact that this is new to many delegates indicates that the movement in Porto Alegre has not been accountable. There are many new participants, but the majority are experienced activists, pointing to an emerging reflexivity of its *raison d'être* only as a result of its interaction with government.

To this end, the National Council for the Combat of LGBT Discrimination has already been established by the Human Rights Secretariat for evaluation of implementation, meaning all that is required of the movement is to take control at State level. It is also logical, as Victor suggests, that a State Council shaped by the movement is created also to ensure accountability of the State-level plans and proposals needed for successful movement participation. While it is evident that these settings cannot necessarily meet the needs of these groups in their present structure as highlighted above, these systems could be seen as works in progress, or stepping stones. This would enable exploration of alternative systems through which the state can understand the needs of this sector of the population, while civil society can understand the statutory procedures of the Brazilian system to eventually make a difference internally.



## Immaterial Outputs - Symbolic and Spatial Outputs

Output responsiveness in Schumaker's (1975) terms refers to the target's implementation of such new policies. Yet, following from the poststructuralists (Baudrillard 1994), and the cultural turn in geography, the output should incorporate more than the physical products of these debates – the final report – but should also consider the new configurations of relationships between groups and individuals. As previously noted, implementation can depend upon a wider variety of factors, including the successful gauging of public opinion, the receptivity of the state, and budgeting issues. However, evidence for this in deliberative interaction is not a straightforward process. Nationally, Rio Grande do Sul is symbolically-associated with LGBT legal and policy progress within and outside the movement. This is certainly as a result of the State government's policy responsiveness to LGBT issues and the effective communicative dissemination throughout the country. However, far from these participatory settings enabling free expression of views and proposals, talk is limited to those areas acceptable to the majority narrative and ideology, rather than reflecting a disaggregated public opinion as generally visualised in models of policy responsiveness. It is also clear that, in buying in to the *gaúcho* frame, this grants government more room for manoeuvre as it is difficult for a State government not to be seen as representative from that place. It is not just group-think that directs deliberation. As the following extract makes clear, those areas of policy under the control of other ministries are off-limits to debate if they cannot be framed in juridical or rights terms, or simply if participants fail to garner support for its relevance:

*[Extract from Conferência Estadual VIII – Final Plenary]*

*Tâmara: The working group has proposed changes to the base text of the conference that, actually, transcends the actions of the National Plan, (10.0) so we cannot propose changes to this National Plan, which is a plan that already exists. Does any delegate wish to make some clarification and ask for it to be changed, these proposed amendments, in proposals for deliberation in the plenary?*

*Representative for GT1 (Health): Is that so, what happens? We saw that a lot was there marked as "unrealised", right? So what did they do?*

Rather than providing the opportunity for policy intervention, Axes 1 and 2 took precedence over Axis 3 in the Plenary, so groups were limited to a structured evaluative exercise. While several activists have worked in health for three decades, they are not free to tailor the proposal template to how they see fit – it is a template that is taken from the Ministry of Health. This is not treated as a significant problem in itself, as even in the municipal conference - "...the one who analyses the proposal...needs to be sensitive in understanding this is an important term..." [Sandro, CMVI] - activists realised that they must make their

claims recognisable to those in government who expect submissions in a standardised format even if this does ‘closet’ local character. While at times this ‘closeting’ becomes an issue for delegates, here it does not (Boër 2003). However, the issue of valid knowledge emerges and this has an impact on the prerequisites for the polity’s responsiveness – access.

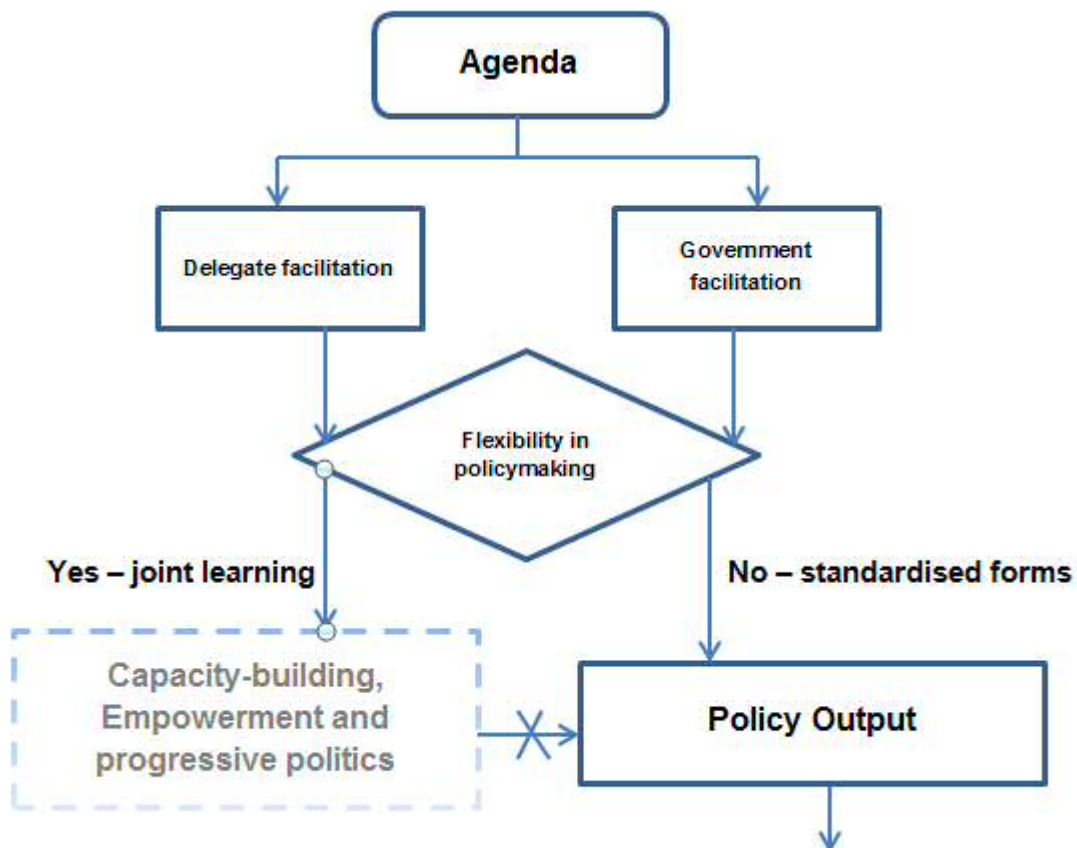
These conferences have prescribed areas for discussion. They are not about analysis or the evaluation of Health Ministry documents, so thematic groups can only be used as a space for analysis of Human Rights Secretariat plans. Many activists also take part in municipal and State health councils, the original spaces to deal with HIV/AIDS, but the opportunity to speak about health provision and service in this setting is double-edged as departments are so siloed. Therefore LGBT *Políticas Públicas* will not be and have not been able to provide the full range of policy responsiveness (as in, potential integration into wider social policy) they could due to their organisational format and governmental participant profile.

*[Extract from Conferência Municipal IV – Opening Panel questions, Day 2]*

*Alexandre: This here is the 1st Municipal Conference? It is! Only that we've already had a Human Rights Conference, where we had LGBT-specific discussions and have already built up municipal-level proposals, right? So it is not the first time that we are here discussing [these issues], because yesterday it was hinted that for the first time in Porto Alegre we were discussing these issues. We're not!*

This forum, in theory, offers an opportunity to highlight commonalities in health provision based on LGBT identity. However, policy responsive cannot arise if there is no contact between organisations. This reduces the value of the conferences. Alexandre corroborates an oppositional tension between the whole united LGBT movement and the government. While Alexandre concedes that there has been a ‘misunderstanding’ of what can actually be done within the context of existing political structures, and a misunderstanding of the role of government by the movements (as in, only a space for objective knowledge), he argues that international precedent should have already provided an effective policy model. This is not a question of “access” or “agenda” in Schumaker’s (1975) terms, but a lack of previous impacts in adopted policy of extensive interaction between government and movement. Having achieved a clear output and media impact as a result of previous meetings, these outputs have fallen by the wayside before implementation in policy. This means that movement trust is diminished and these issues must be recited in these conferences. Alexandre expresses his frustration at the lack of coordination among various movement groups, and views this as a major reason for the perceived lack of progress in policy intervention.

*Políticas Públicas* in this sense are presented as having produced copious documents and policy suggestions that have not received a policy response through their lack of enforcement, thus questioning the validity of the process itself. This is not, according to Alexandre, a tactic to get more out of the municipal government, but a plea for a greater willingness from the health secretariat to approach LGBT activists rather than activists having to chase them. Thus, in terms of policy responsiveness, Alexandre is cynical in terms of specific LGBT policy, noting that despite governmental pledges there has been substantial room for manoeuvre, and the contradictory opinion as expressed by the vocal and seemingly ever-increasing Christian conservative groups creates an impression of public unacceptability for LGBT-friendly policy. Indeed, as Manza and Cook (2002) note, contradictory views on key policy issues and the capacity of political actors to shape and direct views, reduces the independent causal impact of public opinion on policy responsiveness.



**Figure 7: The route from agenda to material (and immaterial) outputs, via capacity-building and empowerment.**

## Impact – including sensemaking and emotional affect

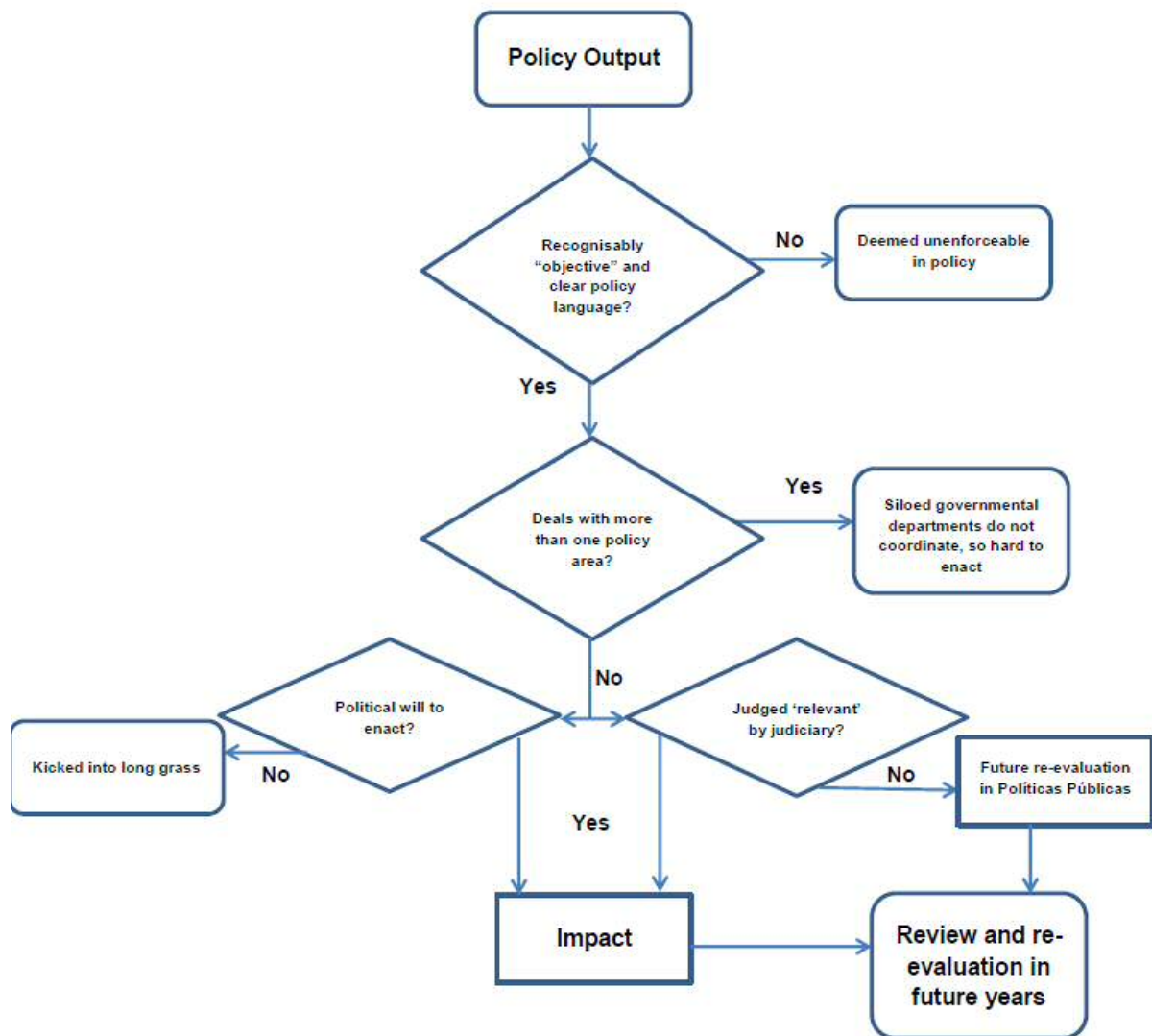
Impact responsiveness refers to “the degree to which the actions of the political system succeed in alleviating the grievances of the protest group” (Burstein et al. 1995:283). In this setting, this needs to be broadened to incorporate consideration of how participants make sense of these political space, and the feelings these spaces and processes engender. This follows on very closely from consideration of output, but is more strategic in its vision. An influential idea of power dynamics in Brazil is Freyre’s (1933) conception of the “master and slave” relationship, with the state’s power over the LGBT (or “negro” in Freyre’s work) body or, at least, a class-based subjugation. This combines with ideas of “the closet” (Brown 2000) and establishes a double-subjugation of Brazilian LGBTs. State-society relations are not perceived particularly well by activists. Although initiatives have been attempted to smooth relations between state and society, given their traditional gulf precipitated by negative views of Brazilian institutions, the general populace still mistrusts those in positions of power:

*“Politicians here are always on the take, Mateus. Politicians and officers; well... officers are mean and unhelpful. Politicians will promise the world, but by the end of their term they’ll have a wonderful house and be billionaires, yet will the country be better off? No.”*

The predominant discourse of the relationship is characterised by a one-sided mistrust and a belief in the maleficent attitude of the state towards its “citizens”. This extract provides an example of the predominant attitude of participants towards the state in general – in this case at State level – and how it seeks to change relationships and would envisage the transformation of society according to LGBT interests. There is a view, also, of movement leaders as professional, often experts in their field, reliable, accredited and trustworthy; yet they can also be arrogant, exclusive self-serving (and in some cases money-grubbing) careerists, gaining status by discrediting everyone else as “amateurs” (Berube 1996:15).

While the aim of *Políticas Públicas* is espoused as bottom-up emancipatory politics (Gohn 2004), the layers of other constraints both reinforce the master-slave dynamic with slightly different arrangements of masters and slaves than those based on the government-civil society binary – those who are ‘experts’ and those who are not (Fischer 2000), thus maintaining the stratification of Brazilian society but on parameters of knowledge. Those who do not operate within the existing political structure are marginalised and ‘closeted’, and remain disempowered. This particularly affects rural participants, *travestis* and non-executive group members. This is not a result of a directly predatory state, but a product of the tyranny of intra-group hierarchy whose leaders adopt the system’s own terms of reference and definitions of problems, receiving their rewards (largesse, status, authority) through new

forms of governmentality (Larson 1977). Even LGBT *Políticas Públicas* are not appropriate spaces for certain LGBT knowledges and expression, and therefore cannot be considered fully representative or emancipatory spaces for bottom-up politics.



**Figure 8: The post-conference process – from outputs to impacts**

Implementation, however, has multiple dimensions, some of which can be oppositional and contradictory to each other. *Políticas Públicas* is a statutory process with associated requirements, yet there are other competing objects of contention that are produced in the process that are made relevant to the situation through spaces of discussion. It simultaneously provides a space for and a symbol of local political colour. It is aware of its cultural positionality through the fact that separate cultural thematic groups offer space for reflexive discussion on this as a topic, but in itself the discrete system of *Políticas Públicas* operates in, is in simultaneously constituted through a cultural and political system that is a product of both its institutional setup and its grounded procedure. *Políticas Públicas* and

partner programmes are distinctive forms of Brazilian politics and therefore, as this thesis notes, constitute an intangible cultural signifier for Rio Grande do Sul in particular, and in turn help to support the blossoming of grassroots tangible and intangible cultural assets. Such an approach integrates well with social movement literature such as McAdam (1994) and their exploration of political processes as cultural “without making actors, interests, strategies, and resources simply figments of a culturalist imagination” (Polletta 1999:64). Culture is an inherent part of any political engagement, and it provides a symbolic dimension to *Políticas Públicas* as a structural institution and practice, as well as to those other institutions and practices discussed within this setting. Its cultural importance, therefore, is more important in many ways than its material impacts and benefits. However, this does not mean that the deficiencies of the process and its position in the political arena are any less troubling, and government is no more culpable than civil society in this.

When it comes to procedural matters, intertextuality is important to *Políticas Públicas* and it is embedded in the structure of policymaking apparatus. While the final report is nominally a citizen-produced text, these events are not isolated from the local political landscape but are very much inserted into a local political cycle. This cycle is in constant evolution, but nevertheless these conferences are statutory requirements in the ambit of Human Rights. In the following extract, Eliane echoes widespread frustration at Brazilian governmental structures having been formed independent of the culture of civil society grassroots and, as a result, the need of civil society organisations to work twice as hard dividing their time debating similar and cross-cutting issues at multiple “participatory” exercises to make their voices heard.

*[Extract from Conferência Municipal VII – Final Plenary]*

*201 Eliane: we finalised this document, the official document of the National Education Conference. Then following the suggestion of Alexandre this morning, to begin, already these documents have already been well worked, and we worked on [top of] these document.*

The autonomy of individual government departments prevents cross-sectoral exploration of intersecting LGBT issues. This is an ongoing complaint that impacts on movement organisation and mobilisation capacity. Eliane challenges the municipal government to take its lead not only from the movement’s demands, but from the federal-level National Plan of *Políticas Públicas* for Citizenship, highlighting the movement’s higher level of competence in public policy knowledge than that of the municipal authorities. This is a negotiation, and Eliane proposes the National Plan as a neutral frame in which to insert other demands which neither party has strict ownership over.

From this, it is evident that Habermas' (1984) view of movement activities as primarily defensive reactions to the colonising intrusions of states and markets into the 'lifeworld' of modern society is not entirely correct. There is a certain amount of negotiation. As has been demonstrated, individuals and groups have much more of a productive agency not only to resist, but also to exploit breaches in the system to make material gains. It is useful as a preliminary starting point, and responses to this, for example in Rucht's (1988) implication that modernisation in the 'lifeworld' produces conflicts around democratisation, individualisation and self-determination, and the identity-oriented movements this provokes having a progressive character, has moved the debate on somewhat. There has been little evidence that these movements can actually make material impacts rather than achieving more symbolic victories by participating in this process. The evidence here appears to support Habermas' view of civil society movements as carriers of "universalistic cultural potential" rather than in substantive change.

As an example, despite civil society representation on the organising committee, this is only symbolic in as much as they cannot structure the conferences to force more than one individual governmental department to attend. While activists can engage credibly with governmental actors, the audience is small. The balance of power is skewed very much in favour of the government inasmuch as it has less of an imperative to listen to LGBT demands. This makes it difficult for organisations to establish broad cross-disciplinary policy change. This is not as a result of any particular anti-LGBT leanings of government, but more a function of the inadequate relations between structures of government being without the capacity to enable a cross-disciplinary approach. This is, however, exactly what the movement seeks, as illustrated in the following extract:

*[Extract from Conferência Municipal VII – Final Plenary]*

*582 Thiago: Of course, we must create and foster the Municipal Plan for LGBT Políticas Públicas in an intersectoral manner, including its budgetary needs at the municipal level. Ensure in the public budget resources for structural and technical support to the work of civil society organisations that promote and protect the human rights of LGBT people.*

Thiago relays the objective of *Políticas Públicas*: the statutory duty of the conferences to produce a final report, a Municipal Plan of *Políticas Públicas* for LGBTs. He also outlines the governmental responsibility to set aside funding for 'structural and technical' aspects of civil society movements, including LGBT. However, it becomes clear that any policy intervention can emerge only within a Human Rights foundation and will not be cross-disciplinary. The format of the process significantly restricts how far any policy intervention can be rolled out, while the confines of the structure do not allow for 'empowerment' or voice for those participants unfamiliar with how things 'should' be done. This is a very blunt picture, and the

situation is more complex in that silent participants still have their priorities interpreted – as part of movement groups – by those better able to make areas of contention ‘fit’ with policymaking structures. There are, in fact, processes of tutelage and opportunities for learning, incorporating new actors into existing structures, but not to change these parameters.

All the early literature on OP highlights the benefits of participatory conferences in Porto Alegre as spaces of learning. These have evidenced increases in civic group affiliation that have increased citizen capacity to engage in existing policy structures on an even footing with more experienced activists (Gret and Sintomer 2005). Even though a vast majority of participants are seasoned activists, these spaces provide different types of engagement. Further, the presence of many ‘expert’ activists provides the means for pedagogy, and a range of examples of teaching and learning are observed in these interactions. Spaces and structures for learning and engagement prove a key concern of movement groups in participation, and the following sequence looks at ways in which this can be achieved, both to raise capacity and visibility:

*[Extract from Conferência Municipal V – Thematic Group]*

*Endrigo: Is there as part of the Municipality, on the municipality’s website an official LGBT section of the municipality or the government?*

*Sandro: No. The municipality scrapped the LGBT part. LGBT- LGBT is within the Human Rights Secretariat and currently has no LGBT coordinator.... Just that there isn’t a ... there is a boy who is interning there who’s the one who forwards, it’s Guilherme, who takes the role, but it’s only because he’s gay, he identifies himself [with it]. Because thanks be to God ... or not ... thanks to anything, he’s a guy who is, still, sensitive because it could be someone [in that position] who couldn’t care less. Sometimes the person could even ... Promote actions and promote ... spaces, no, eh, create?*

Group executive members are not wholly convinced they can make progress in their causes within the existing system – even in participatory politics – and so contingencies are made. In response to previous knocks and defeats, they engage in other methods and disseminate that information among other groups. Unlike those community groups that had their capacity built *because* of participatory processes in OP, the groups here are pre-existing with their own forms of association, well-established aims and modes of engagement. Tutelage and education are two-pronged. First, it enables other delegates to speak political speech (Sandro is particularly adept at this); second it makes provisions and plans for alternatives; hedging, which can be considered an example *jeito brasileiro* alluded to earlier. Relationships of trust are not yet cemented, between government and civil society as a result of decades of oppression, nor often even between civil society groups (Moisés 2005).



Sandro's final statement – that there is no one acting in the LGBT interest in government – is interesting, especially given subsequent interviews and social media postings by the group emphasising their inability to effect change within the government and the importance of following procedure. While working with SOMOS, I was always advised that proper procedure was followed in relation to the submission of draft bills and funding applications. However, other groups expressed disbelief at the need (rather than the moral issues associated) to go through proper processes to get their way. As a member of the *Coletivo LGBT da UFRGS* (Thiago) commented:

*“At the municipal level they have Guilherme who’s right there in the Human Rights Secretariat; at the State level Sandro and Fábulo are like that [links fingers]; and at the Federal level they have fucking Gustavo Bernardes there who is their ex-president. You can’t tell me that they can’t get their agenda noticed. Fuck their shit! They’re being disingenuous with you, man.”*

SOMOS suppresses the idea that Guilherme is a SOMOS “plant” in the Secretariat by downplaying his role in movement activities, highlighting the idea that these conferences do not provide a level playing field, but that certain groups use the *jeito brasileiro* to get their way through bending the rules, and that the foreign researcher was being deceived by this. However, this is not simply an example of ‘malandroism’ (Cândido 1970), but a way in which the “lifeworld” can colonise the “system” not only through an act of resistance but emphasising the permeability of these spaces (Miller 2000). Thiago’s assessment of my own relationship with SOMOS must lead to reflection on the relationship between researcher and researched and the power relations between them. While the literature review and methodology chapters focused on the skewed power relations in favour of the researcher, in actual fact the vulnerability of the researcher to deception albeit for a group to present itself is a key consideration in a study like this (Bellamingie and Johnson 2011).

This also raises fundamental issues for the utility of *Políticas Públicas*. The idea that policies are made through individual contacts means that conference participation may well be redundant, and that these are spaces for performance and posturing rather than places where there is any real expectation of action. This is an opinion expressed throughout the conferences, with a particular emphasis being given to the idea that participatory forums produce a lot of paperwork but little action. Although evidence from OP indicates that initiatives agreed upon in conferences have not been followed up in material action, this is not necessarily the case. Thus, while individual links are important, this is mainly limited to the extent of opening channels and securing support for *Políticas Públicas* rather than factional interests. A strong LGBT presence in the Municipal Secretariat of Human Rights

and its equivalent institutions at State and federal levels has hastened the need for open spaces of dialogue with this secretariat. Further, these are spaces for a certain type of capacity-building, but capacity-building with one foot in and one foot outside of the process. This is well-evidenced by the movement groups' own projects and programmes that, they feel, promote their causes independently of government

Learning does occur within these spaces, and they provide useful meeting spaces for existing groups and members of the government, but in terms of engendering a new way of doing politics, and uniting a divided civil society, they are among several different spaces for achieving movement action. In terms of impact they are useful spaces for deliberative debate between groups (though not necessarily inclusive for all members) to align their discursive agendas (Habermas 1984).

## Conclusion

This section looked at the process of *Políticas Públicas* to determine how it enable/constrain civil society repertoires/discourses; looking at how the process operates and understanding the logic as to what it is about. It also sought a preliminary understanding of the control mechanisms inherent to the system. The section also explored the Brazilian state and its existing structure, including how the *Políticas Públicas* agenda fits into this. Using Schumaker's (1975) division of state responsiveness into given components – access, agenda, policy, output and impact – it has been shown that while this is a useful overall framework, it needs a certain amount of refinement in application to this case, and to answer this chapter's overarching questions: How does *Políticas Públicas* enable/constrain civil society repertoires/discourses? How does the process operate and what is it about? What is it as a system of social control?

The chapter introduced the spatial context in which *Políticas Públicas* operates in reference to Lefebvre's spatial triptych of conceived, perceived and lived space, noting that Brazil, as Latin America's largest country, has been perceived as "the country of the future" throughout the modernist era yet has never lived up to its potential (Chauí 1993). Porto Alegre itself, having pioneered "progressive" forms of democracy and having hosted the highly symbolic "World Social Forum" on numerous occasions, is perceived positively and often uncritically as a beacon of democracy. This was questioned and explored in relation to Schumaker's notions of responsiveness.

In terms of access of all those wishing to participate in the conferences, it was suggested that this was, on the surface. However, in terms of allocation of voice and turn-taking preference is given to those already trained and indoctrinated into existing bureaucratic and administrative systems. The Habermasian ideal public sphere appears to apply whereby

there is an idea of the 'common good' as aligned with NGO institutional claims, within which communicative differences are bracketed. This is very much in evidence, and has a significant impact on access arrangements. At the same time, the fact that domination is merely hegemonic rather than brazenly oppressive is a significant shift, given that Brazil's is such a stratified society without a history of significant democratic engagement (and, indeed, recent calls for military intervention to impeach the President). The concept of "Brazilian corrosive tolerance" stretches to this forum too, so that many delegates, especially those unused to communicating in formal settings may not find ways to discover "that the prevailing sense of "we" does not adequately include them" (Fraser 1990:72). In fact, the interior delegates do establish themselves as a subaltern 'counterpublic' to the metropolitan dominant one, yet they remain excluded as it is the metropolitan's reliance on discourses of objectivity of process that win.

Agenda is established by those judged 'experts' – state actors and NGO members, demonstrating the importance of particular forms of knowledge and the exclusion of local situated forms. The agenda focuses significantly on self-recognition of LGBTs through broad cultural categories. This operates within a wider *gaúcho* cultural frame whereby the movement seeks to influence and be recognised outside of this frame. Any deviation from prescribed (NGO) scripts is disciplined within the movement so that subversive voices are drowned out. While there is potential for agenda-setting from non-senior NGO members, they act as gatekeepers for all suggestions.

In terms of capacity-building and empowerment, which are of course different things, senior members bemoan the quality of participants rather than bemoaning the fact that the current system does not hear participants on their own terms. There is evidence of polarisation, competition and a certain amount of fragmentation between delegates. The most important forces for capacity-building appear to be group membership, with back-room training and affiliation with a higher education institution making it more likely a participant will be heard. There is also evidence of delegate empowerment and ability to interact successfully in the public sphere, yet this is mainly limited to metropolitan NGO group members. One explanatory factor is that these conferences are relatively new, and wider participation beyond NGO members is in its infancy. While NGO group members do appear to be empowered as per Escobar's (2011) criteria, this is not simply as a result of these conferences, and this does not extend to unaffiliated participants or those not adhering to approved LGBT scripts.

*Políticas Públicas* themselves are depicted as *gaúcho* success stories, while the local movement highlights its stake in the wider *gaúcho* public sphere through its participation and output. In its outputs, the movement is keen to stress its place-based associations as a

unifying factor, within which dissent and inequalities of status are bracketed for the benefit of the wider whole. It is important for delegates to achieve this effect in its material products as, these conferences form only an interest-based public sphere, and they must, therefore rely on gatekeepers in public office to forward their claims into actions in the public sphere. This is therefore but a side-show to democratic processes, and seasoned activists realise the need for documentation to demonstrate that the movement is moral, unified, and attention-grabbing if it is to have a hope of policy implementation. Reviewing progress demonstrates that this is a successful strategy. However, there is a clear direction of LGBT travel, and deviation from specific and prescribed scripts are not welcomed.

Finally, in terms of impacts, while the movement has made progress in recent years there is no guarantee as to whether the proposals in the resulting reports from these conferences will be implemented. While the intentions may be there, LGBT *Políticas Públicas* constitute only one of several public spheres. Moreover, even if participants use the correct language and couch their claims for recognition and resources in the correct discourses, they can be forgotten and deprioritised without the correct support within government.

## Chapter Five: Participant regimes in *Políticas Públicas*

Whilst Chapter Four addressed the processes and structure of *Políticas Públicas*, this chapter interrogates the data as to how participants relate within this, focusing predominantly on power relations and social movement construction, structure, interaction and impacts of and on *Políticas Públicas*. It considers how delegates insert themselves into structures and matrices of power, and on what basis rights to perform are seized or bestowed. This is linked to debates around (urban) social movements and their spatial mobilisations and structures. In addition, relationships of power are addressed to evaluate the effectiveness of *Políticas Públicas* conferences, the nature of relations between civil society and government, and how these settings may serve to cultivate egalitarian and productive participatory relationships.

Social movement theorists agree that the age of grand theorising around these groups in terms of economic determinism and Marxism is dead (Jasper 2010b). Even the 'newer' political process models of McAdam et al. (2001) and McCarthy and Zald (1977) can be criticised for trying to cast too broad a brush over contentious action (Barker 2003; Koopmans 2003). In recognising the drawbacks of their theorising, McAdam et al. (2001) called for more of a cultural perspective of social movement organisation, including the opportunities and threats as recognised by participants, and the recognition that cultural work is situational and ongoing. It is through this that an understanding of the situated and embodied experience of participation can be established. Cultural social movement theorists call for a slower and more patient approach, taking into account episodes of strategic interaction – as here in *Políticas Públicas* – looking at social psychology and reading through discursivity “moods, reflex emotions, affective commitments, decision-making heuristics, identity formation, memories, feelings of efficacy and control, leader dynamics, demonisations, escalations” (Jasper 2010b:967). This will address the second of the subsidiary research questions, considering how participants relate to *Políticas Públicas*, whose voices emerge and whose are silenced, and who determines this through networks and relationships of power.

To achieve this, there are various aspects of debate that can be examined to explore how participants do *Políticas Públicas*. Participants account for themselves and their stances in interaction, using these invariably to support their own positions and solutions above others, and these then have the capacity to promote certain discourses and repress others depending on their credible use in the situation. Intra-movement contestation highlights the fact that, even though LGBTs are working as a united movement, competition between

groups, positions and ideas comes to the fore in these settings, through power relations. The movement's relationships with wider society and political structures is explored later on in this chapter, with a view to discerning where and how participants place themselves in the wider social hierarchy. Initially, however, the means through which power relations and participant repertoires are established – accounts – are explored.

## Accounts

Accounts are fundamental aspects of social interaction and discursive spaces (Wooffitt 2005). Attention to accounts must be an integral part of any socio-spatial research given the propensity for variability in textual and discursive materials used as investigative resources (Gilbert and Mulkay 1984). Accounts, as Anderson and Umberson (2001) surmise, are about excusing, rationalising, justifying and minimising violence against another subject or a group as a means of saving face and avoiding moral or social sanction. Silverman (2007) classes 'accounts' as useful discursive psychological tools with which to assess self-rationalising behaviours and talk and, for the purposes of this piece, evidencing how participants see themselves (and their colleagues) as conforming to social norms of action in a particular setting (often despite a challenge to the contrary). The following extract is from the end of the municipal conference as arrangements are being made for the nomination of delegates for the State conference and the in/out boundaries. Delegates who have not been caught transgressing rules, such as skipping sessions, may proceed to the next stage. However, an informal appeals process is observed if rules are violated:

*[Extract from Conferência Estadual VIII – Final Plenary Part 2]*

*172 Mário: Luana, no, sorry, she arrived only now, late. I know her, I like her, but it's unfair. She arrived just now, she didn't come yesterday nor this morning.*

*[inc.]*

*Mário: Sorry, I just think...*

*Del: We have to be fair.*

*177 Mário: Folks, any final thoughts from the remaining comrades? Just to make so clarifications as to what we'll do. The Commission... these texts are sent to the Commission. We'll prepare everything correctly. Before sending anything for the State Commission, as we agreed, we will get the coordinator of each group and send stuff to these coordinators to be reviewed.*

Mário moves from an impartial arbiter to enforcer of the rules. He accounts for the exclusion of a particular delegate, Luana, according to those rules but hedges his dismissal, shielding himself from potential moral or discrimination challenges. Luana belongs to the traditionally

marginalised identity category, *travesti*, whereas Mário may enjoys dominating power through both his governmental role and his identity as a heterosexual male. He mediates this identity through the apology, and emphasises that exclusion is not personal dislike but rule enforcement. This is supported by other delegates.

Resuming his institutional role, Mário appeals to delegates who have yet to speak, enabling voice, and pointing to benevolent power invocation. There is no meaningful response, indicating both the tiredness of delegates and a lack of confidence. Several 'new' delegates responded that they would have liked to contribute but did not feel they had the right or the skill set to make meaningful contributions, while others responded that other delegates had covered the topic for them.

Lack of delegate contributions allows Mário to clarify the organising committee's and Municipality's responsibilities regarding the conference. At L.179 he expresses that they will put the report together as they have the skillset and the legal responsibility to forward the proposals, but reassures the movement that it will be in line with what has been discussed. *Políticas Públicas* makes efforts to encourage participation, but only permits those forms that are sanctioned through an iterative structured process through which new forms of governmental disciplinary logic are produced.

## **Intra-movement contestation**

Social movements comprise groups that vary in terms of tactics, objectives and strategies (Gerlach and Hine 1970; Haines 1984; Benford 1993), and this is evident at both municipal and State level. Bourdieu (1986) explains competition between individuals within and between groups in terms of capital accumulation, and the logic of group adherence and boundary work as a result of competition for resources. This is well supported in resource mobilisation theory (Zald and McCarthy 1980). This is a deterministic position, but it is axiomatic that specific aims and requirements of particular groups and individuals may differ from that of the collective. Individual desires may not be completely subordinated by the will of the group and a continued struggle may be seen in debate. This is to be expected between groups because, as Habermas (1984) suggests, aims will converge on specific generalised common themes. However, in this case, in which there has never previously been a forum where all local and State LGBT groups come together in this particular configuration, the element of struggle still remains. While it may be expected that every person, let alone group, would wish to have his/her opinion heard and to receive representation if direct voice is not possible, this section looks at the struggle over meaning-making and compromise necessary between groups (Kurzman 2008) to allow strength of voice.

Conflict between delegates and between groups is characteristic of this space, but its resolution is important for understanding local and situated power dynamics between groups and between identities.

*[Extract from Conferência Municipal IV – Opening Panel questions, Day 2]*

362 *Del: Stop there, Cristiano. You're not seeing it. Because in the Vila Chocolateiro. Because when the church put...*

*Célio: Guys! Let's respect each other's turn. There are people waiting to speak.*

After an extended turn from Cristiano, a delegate tries to intercede to challenge his argument, but this delegate is interrupted by others trying to challenge a contentious line of reasoning. As the noise increases, Célio, an experienced activist, participant at national levels of *Políticas Públicas*, and head of Nuances, invokes his power based on experience and natural penchant for order to call for the structured fulfilment of pre-agreed speech rights. He does so based on his successful wielding of power on the transparency of the process of *Políticas Públicas* when undertaken according to this format. Deleuze (1988:25) offers a useful understanding of this concept for this setting, noting that “power is not homogeneous but can be defined only by the particular points through which it passes”. Power is not a fundamental attribute of any particular delegate, but is performed, and consistent performances of this type build up particular delegates’ status in the setting. It can be said to be situational in some way but, in a certain way related to opportunities to speak and space of contestation, but more than that, power is not based on gender nor particularly on the difference in group affiliation but on the more secular and objective need for relevance. It is clear that local group conceptions of hegemonic masculine power that subjugates all other categories is a fallacy, and therefore movements that take a blinkered view of the world that does not critically address the situational nature of power cannot hope to achieve emancipation (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). Relationships of power are based on situational social structure.

The most important member characteristics for speech and turn-taking in *Políticas Públicas* are expertise and experience which, in turn, bestow movement seniority. While the majority of the movement’s groups are structured along these lines, with a core of senior activists, they are not referred to in these positions in *Políticas Públicas*. Thus, despite these settings’ attempts to secure ostensibly equal participation for all delegates, pre-existing social cleavages remain, as do existing power differentials.

*[Extract from Conferência Municipal VII – Final Plenary Part 1]*

549 *Célio: In reality, in our [thematic group] Public Security, we had a proposal we didn't put down because we think it's more in this field here. I*



*think I'll make a proposal to see what people think, that is in relation to psychological suffering and the question of the suicide of young LGBTs. It's a proposal.*

*Luisa: Encourage the production of data on psychological distress...*

*Célio: And on the suicide of the LGBT population. It's like this, we don't know anything about it. It's one or other [piece of] research that happens here and there.*

*Mário: Is that it?*

*Roselaine: Yes.*

It is really only senior activists from the main groups who speak up and interrupt the flow of discussion. In this passage, Célio uses his position to force discussion of a particular point raised in his group into the health thematic group. He hedges his categorisation of the issue (L.550), framing it as an individual classification, and better oriented to the deliberative nature of the proceedings by deferring to delegate mood in a skilled performance of a reasonable, cooperative citizen. Despite discussion of emotive issues, Célio does not come across as emotional, and therefore has credibility in engagement with a wider politics. Amid the discussion of the 'health' category, discussion of suicide with psychiatric issues is raised within a medical discourse rather than linking suicide with homicide under the category 'crime' and 'public security'. This further emphasises opposition to the Catholic Church's moral stance on suicide. Accounts are not restricted to personal entitlements, but in this extract they are used by senior delegates as tools to undermine other interest groups that are perceived to be acting on public policy more centrally.

Foucault (2007:126) claims that modern (Western) political power is rooted in "pastoral power" as defined through its category-bound attributes of "care" and "beneficence", with an objective of "salvation" and "safety". Through this, the Church is the effect of governmentalised practice, knowledge and procedures (Mitchell 1999; Garmany 2010). The movement is attempting to diminish the spread and influence of the Church, which it regards as a competitor movement to both local and national influence and control, to delineate the boundaries of its own belonging within a secular frame in a context of mutual antagonism. As Soja (1996) attests, the social and the spatial are mutually constituted and inseparable; so while this competition is expressed linguistically, the competition for symbolic and physical space occurs in parallel.

While in theory any delegate can speak, in practice this is mediated. In the following extract, Victor, as facilitator, must account for this action through specific reference to objectivity.

*[Extract from Conferência Estadual V – Working Groups Axis III]*

*330 Victor: Afterwards we'll talk about how so many new people have arrived. We're working with a system of inscription to speak. Whoever would like to speak, I would ask to raise your hand and I'll note it more or less, I'll find a way to remember who raised their hand and we'll organise turns for everyone to be able to speak and we can hear you.*

*334 Bernadete: And I think that it also depends on the point at which we are.*

*335 Victor: We've already discussed a lot of things in reality. We're talking about Axis III which are the guidelines for formulation and implementation of specific concrete proposals of public policy for the realisation of rights. So the idea is that we take really specific proposals that can be made to take effect, created, on behalf of public power. Whoever wants to speak, raise your hand and I'll note it here and we'll organise it. Whoever wants a word, please, feel free.*

*341 Roselaine: I have my opinions on the motions already discussed.*

*Del: Let's hear from new people, who arrived now, [you] don't have any sort of proposal?*

*Roselaine: No, but I think that you should present the proposals that we've already discussed.*

The power balance within these *Políticas Públicas* is evident in this stanza. It is a dispreferred situation to both organisers and others in the group that new arrivals have entered the thematic group. The majority of the new arrivals have come from other thematic groups and thus should already know the rules for participation. They know, but they do not care. In informal discussions they highlight their 'lifetime of discrimination' and that they will not be told what to do by others. Roselaine assumes the role of organiser/chair, invoking power from her forceful personality, and suggests reviewing the points already discussed. This is an example of the subversion of power by a marginalised group, which also goes against the spirit of deliberation and equal participation and leads to conflict. Such competition is often downplayed in the literature (Hall 1995), but while Zald and McCarthy (1987) conclude that conflict is generally down to resources and legitimacy, in this case it is as a result of problems in reconciling repertoires of performance (Tilly 2006).

## **Accounts and power – competitive discourses**

Spaces of *Políticas Públicas* may have their own ontological realities but are necessarily produced by their own internal social relations and structures (Lefebvre 1991). These spaces, as they are socially produced and constituted, dialectically constitute social production and reproduction (Martin and Miller 2003). There is value in initiating flexibly democratic spaces, but this leads to conflict and contestation and to the playing out of power

dynamics either through social position or rhetoric and accounts. The very fact that these spaces are ostensibly bottom-up and that there is little top-down pressure allows space for debate and deliberation on social organisation in a very flexible manner. Participants enter into contestation that at once aims to produce new structures and dynamics and, in line with Goffman (1959), follow rules and conduct that affirm the moral order of society. It also aims to preserve networks of affiliation between groups and avoid alienation (McAdam 1988; Kitts 2000).

In the following extract, the most thorough account in all the meetings, senior delegate Alexandre argues against the principles of *Políticas Públicas* as inclusive spaces through a logic of transparency and democracy.

*[Extract from Conferência Estadual VII – Final Plenary Part 1]*

*7 Alexandre: I am vehemently opposed to this position at this time for various reasons. We made at the beginning of the process of this conference, the choice of delegates with numbers from all the states. My group, for example, had people that didn't come at the moment of registration and were excluded from this conference there at the municipal stage, right? I believe that this has happened in all other places. So this is a more serious problem than what's being put forward. The exclusion of members that were already included in the process, and they are not here today because they were not allowed to be included among the delegates from the municipality of Porto Alegre. And now at this moment we want to include everyone that's here. So I think we should vote on the internal regulations. I'm not wanting to exclude anyone, but I want people to reflect upon the entire process of exclusion that has already taken place up to this point. Either we admit this as a problem or an error that happened there [at previous stages], or else it's a joke what we're doing here. Because I don't believe that everyone here has been subject to the same conditions as those who have passed through the whole process. So I just want to leave this very clear.*

Alexandre takes it upon himself to insist upon the maintenance of the previously agreed interpretation of the 'internal regulations' of the conference, speaking as a senior civil society activist and not just a SOMOS member. He expresses strong opposition to the *laissez-faire* right of participation for those who had not been elected to do so. He must account for this opposition based on moral justifications to counter perceived support expressed for change. His argument justifying order balances the moral imperative for inclusion with the functional imperative of the rule of law. Alexandre substantiates this by highlighting that several of the members of his own group had already been excluded, proving that his reasons are not motivated by partisan politics, but fairness. Alexandre's final point is the implication that not all participants will have the expertise and rights conferred through election at the municipal level. This highlights the need for municipal vetting to secure good quality participation at

higher levels, lest outside opponents perceive this as ‘a joke’ (L.18). In arguing this point, Alexandre introduces an extreme-case formulation as a tool to preserve movement alignment. In this case, the participant validates the performance of movement organisation ‘scripts’ and ‘codes’ (Horton 2003), and it is the responsibility of the fora to evaluate and judge individual performances based upon these as essential components of credibility. Performing the correct script in public settings is imperative and, in LGBT *Políticas Públicas* the primary scripts and codes are those relating to process and practice of political engagement rather than embodied identities.

Struggle over power in shaping *Políticas Públicas* is interactive and negotiated. Individual participants, whatever their identity or social standing, must engage in reasoned debate to gain influence within the movement:

*[Extract from Conferência Estadual VII – Final Plenary Part 1]*

*22 Del: Microphone!*

*Tâmara: Yes, Marinalva made this proposal. So, Marinalva will argue for a wide stance. I’ll call it “a wide stance” I’ll say, too, that the reverse...*

*Del: What?*

*Del: My delegates didn’t come because they weren’t [chosen as] delegates. If I’d have known this, many more people would’ve come. So this isn’t fair.*

*Del: True.*

*Marinalva: Good evening, folks. I’ve nothing to do with the process. My point is that in the National Conference just gone [last year]... I sent an email... the municipal and State stages didn’t elect the delegates [m.] and delegates [f.]. They don’t elect.*

*Alexandre: But we did [were obliged to do] this process. So, now that’s just wrong from the beginning.*

*Marinalva: Participation in municipal and regional stages is desired, but it’s not a condition sine qua non for people to be signed up at the State level... Because it’s complicated. Yesterday people arrived here to have their say... delegates attended in the whole of the State level [conference], and at the end you’re going to say that that this person is no longer a delegate?*

*Alexandre: Because you were already enrolled.*

*[Cheers and whoops]*

*Tâmara: The panel will put it to a vote. Two... Ok. Two will come to the table. The panel will open up discussions for three minutes [each]. Two defences.*

*Tâmara: [inc.] Please... Please delegates*

*Tâmara: Gustavo and Luísa. Against Alexandre (3.0) and Maurício. Luísa and Alexandre against. Gustavo. A word in favour of opening to all participants the right to vote.*

In response to Alexandre's turn, tensions are high among opposing parties and Marinalva demands the microphone. Tâmara, in her institutional role as facilitator and governmental representative, intervenes to preface Marinalva's response, placing it in a context of controlled participation and serving to sensitise delegates to the expected content of the argument. Thus she guides Marinalva's content before she begins. However, given the heated nature of this particular aspect of the debate, contention abounds and a delegate interjects, ostensibly concurring with Alexandre's argument, but extending that argument within the category of 'fairness'.

Marinalva's argument serves to dissipate some contention within the setting, for, rather than serving as a counterpoint to Alexandre's. Like his, it is predicated on the concept of 'fairness' and that participation and good governance are category-bound as 'fair' settings. She bases her argument solely on her situated case of a particular city, Santa Maria which, although not a small municipality, did not adhere to the federal law mandating the hosting of a municipal-level LGBT conference. Thus, Santa Maria's potential delegates are those whose voices are silenced through the municipality's failures, and Marinalva views the only fair remedy to be the opening of participation even to unelected delegates. Alexandre immediately challenges this at L.33 on the basis that this is contrary to due process, and, while not blaming those excluded, he places the blame on – and calls to account – the organisers for the (moral) failing.

As Martin and Miller (2003:148) state, repertoires of contention are utilised "in the context of place-specific social norms, e.g., notions of place-appropriate social behaviour (to be violated), and place-based symbolism (to appeal to)." Participants cannot forge explicitly adversarial discourses due to the nature of the collaborative work to be undertaken. Both Marinalva and Alexandre, in their respective turn-taking, try to gain the moral high ground without attacking each other. The blame for the exclusion of delegates is firmly placed on the organising committee, thereby maintaining the cooperation of movement groups. At the same time they both seek to base their moral justification in legal terms (L.35). It can be inferred from this that those using legal terminology are more respected and that this is a key aspect in winning a political argument as a categorically-bound 'expert' (Housley and Fitzgerald 2009).

Marinalva continues trying to establish a moral connection between the work of contributing a voice in the conference, with work as the prerequisite of the right to vote, but her attempt fails among many delegates (L.39). Despite universal blame for this error being placed on

the organising committee, it is the committee that has the final say on the interpretation of the rules. From L.41, Tâmara attempts to unpack the issue with further discussion (albeit only from senior movement speakers), opening up even the base rules of the conferences to participation and movement sovereignty. This is generally interpreted by delegates as evidence that organisers cannot agree on objective rules and, as a result of poor performance and a lack of coordination across the State, these have been shown to have been interpreted incorrectly (or at least, unevenly) at previous stages. This is in substantial opposition to the movement's need to perfect every aspect of legislation passed to the government. The dissatisfaction with this is clear in the time taken for Tâmara to calm the delegates, but she establishes the procedure, enabling a balanced argumentation through the (self-)selection of senior delegates, Gustavo, Luisa, Alexandre, and Maurício.

In terms of the rural/urban balance, there are fewer representatives of rural groups who have engaged succinctly in the discursive process of argumentation over this point. Of these few, it is State Deputy Everlei Martins who, although on the political side of the equation, is able to put the case of interior delegates less experienced in political talk because of this occupational role and potentially liable to be sidelined:

*[Extract from Conferência Estadual VII – Final Plenary Part 1]*

*74 Everlei Martins:*

*Good afternoon directors, delegates, prosecutors, comrades [m.] and comrades [f.] who are here at this conference. I want to support the word of our comrade Gustavo from the National [level]. Aiming to present to you the case that occurred in our city. We had our conference scheduled twice with the State [sic] organisation, and through the impediment by the Leader of the City Council of our city the conference had to be cancelled and we could not hold the conference, but... I speak of a re-opportunity for us to be here participating, throughout the walk that we have made together in militancy and the construction of this space of involvement that we have in the [gay pride] parade of Santa Maria, the activity that we have been doing in our city... in the process of building LGBT policies/politics and we have not had the opportunity to hold the conference in our town. And it was not our wish not to have the conference. It was a failure of organisation, both the City Council there in Cruz Alta, on the issue of structure and location. So I think to remove us as a partner as we're talking about, is to believe is to believe that everything that we have built in these conferences is not worth anything.*

*[Applause and cheers]*

Everlei begins with a formal presentation as an institutional mark of respect, saluting delegates as co-fighters. His argument takes the form of a 'horror story' where extenuating circumstances in the municipality meant that the rule of law was blocked by the 'president of

the council'. This reveals a common complaint of personality politics and its impediment to the rule of law in municipal politics. In terms of its function, it is an account on behalf of non-metropolitan participants' lack of rule-adherence, excusing, rationalising, justifying and minimising violence against another subject or a group as a means of saving face and avoiding moral or social sanction. In response to a perceived threat of exclusion by the metropolitan bloc, Everlei takes it upon himself to act on behalf of the subaltern bloc which has been constituted reactively in relation to the conceptual idea of the backward rural participant, rather than proactively having been established to represent this space.

While Foucauldian conceptions of knowledge and power are dependent upon the social, historical and political conditions under which statements come to count as true or false (McHoul and Grace 1993), Miller (2010) calls for an acknowledgement of the intimate connection of power and space. While discursive conditions have established specific places or positions in which subjects can form – their member categorisations – at its widest the debate sets the cosmopolitan activists well used to these debates against those delegates from the interior who have not participated extensively and have been excluded from the wide range of experiences available to those within easy spatial reach.

Wolford's (2003) work with the Landless Movement (MST) in the northeast of Brazil demonstrates the importance of difference in spatial practice and its relationship to movement participation. Interior and rural realities have demonstrated varying and uneven gender and class relations within spaces and between places which are not reflected in egalitarian ideas of space found in Brazilian national policy, most specifically the 1988 constitution (van der Schaaf 2003). Urban participants are at an advantage as they live and work among a critical mass of other similar groups and at the locus of political power in the State, enjoying the "right to the city". Their everyday work involves interaction with decision makers and there are few spatial barriers to interaction. Rural participants in the State conference were at a spatial disadvantage in the first instance, with their everyday lived experience occurring far from centres of State decision-making. Their participation in *Políticas Públicas* became dependent on (1) ability to travel to the conference venue in the centre of the State capital and, having scaled this hurdle; (2) on their municipality having followed corrected procedure to allow them the label of 'delegate' and thus a right to participate; and (3) the scale and experience of contentious action as provided by urban social movement participation.

Everlei places the blame for the failing on his municipality, and though he negates his own agency in this in his positional role as councillor, he disassociates himself with that role by building up his role linguistically as an 'activist' rather than 'politician'. As a result, he is perceived as blameless (Housley and Fitzgerald 2008). He ends with the moral argument

that not allowing non-delegates to participate establishes a moral claim and flips the argument away from following due process towards a morally suspect binary of inclusion/exclusion.

*[Extract from Conferência Estadual VII – Final Plenary Part 1]*

*89 Alexandre: Folks, no one is talking about exclusion...*

*Dels: Ahhhhh... [boos]*

*91 Alexandre: Of course we... Everyone here... There was a mistake in this process which was a legal one. First, we have to recognise this. That the Justice Secretary made a mistake in the process when he put that it would be part of the process numbers of delegates by region and by city, right? There were many people excluded from this process in the conference in Porto Alegre because they didn't arrive in time. Am I right, Odete? Various people didn't register until the moment of the conference and didn't participate in the process. Why was it required that in the municipal conference there were both delegates and observers? Observers, it says here, are constructing [proposals] together with everyone. With right to voice, inclusion, just without right to vote. And it was this that happened in the working [thematic] groups until now, that people who weren't delegates didn't have the right to vote in the working groups. I admit that, in ten minutes we'll vote on who can be a delegate in the National Conference, and that this process will come to the fore... with all respect to Gustavo, who was coordinator of SOMOS before entering into politics, and other people who have nothing to do with Rio Grande do Sul [officially] having a say in how we organise at this time, when the whole process up to now has taken this [particular] form.*

*...*

*111 Luísa: I want to reiterate here what Alexandre put forward. He's correct. If there was a mistake, the moment to highlight that mistake I believe cannot be now when we're about to vote, eh? So like in other municipalities, as Everlei put forward the problem in Cruz Alta, Porto Alegre also had a conference called New York Teto. Many people weren't at the municipal conference of Porto Alegre. There were people who missed registration as a delegate because they arrived late, or because they didn't turn up on the day. And because they didn't end up as delegates [selected] from Porto Alegre they didn't come here today. If these people had been here yesterday and seen that they could have been delegates we could have had 50-100 more people just from Porto Alegre here.*

Here movement leaders act as brokers, engaging in a process that McAdam et al. (2001:142) define as the “linking of two or more currently unconnected social sites by a unit that mediates their relations with each other and/or with yet another site”. In this case they link the normatively understood state and civil society groupings of people engaged in this process. This is unhelpful insofar as these spaces are idealised as breaking down



boundaries between state and civil society. While neither Alexandre nor Luisa, in their backstage personae, express a desire either to dominate or act as a conduit between these two social sites, their 'senior' and 'expert' statuses give them gravitas and situational power that puts them in the 'broker' role. Indeed, although brokers can be mediators, "they may also communicate claims or positions that inflame tensions" (McAdam et al. 2001:152).

In the passage above, Alexandre reacts to and rejects Everlei's establishment of the inclusion/exclusion binary (L.89) to catcalls from various participants. He allocates any blame to the Justice Secretary in the original conference 'regulations', and not to anyone present/now included acting to 'exclude' others. Through this he deflects any source of blame, and dismisses Everlei's casting of his side of the argument as mean-spirited (Housley and Fitzgerald 2003). In doing so, Alexandre attempts to build delegate alignment and re-frames the conference as objectively lawful and desperately in need of defence from a degenerate populism (Housley and Fitzgerald 2002). To deflect the possibility of him being taken as a scapegoat in the face of a potentially hostile crowd, Alexandre looks to Odete, one of the organisers of the municipal conference, for alignment (L.95).

Alexandre challenges the contention by Gustavo and Everlei that it was the fault of the municipalities over and above the State conference organisers, for it was they who created the distinction between non-voting 'observers' and voting 'delegates' and that both help to shape the construction of the final report irrespective of a vote. He continues with his criticism, asking why this issue was not resolved before the beginning of this conference or even at any point before the voting session, thereby pointing to a failure in the organisation of the State Conference organising committee.

Challenging Gustavo, but through polite protocols (*'with all respect to...'*) to avoid a performance of confrontation that is inappropriate to this setting, Alexandre builds up Gustavo's identity as federal officer in a bid to undermine any potential alignment that may have built up from Gustavo's opposing view through his other identity, 'activist' (Housley 2002). He does this through linguistic tropes building his own objectivity, linking to the independence of the three levels of Brazil's government in implementation rather than law-making. In terms of the inclusion/exclusion binary, Alexandre recognises that the moral high ground gained by Gustavo and Everlei is unassailable, yet he seeks support in the realms of a rational objectivity that escapes the perceived epistemological pitfalls of relativism. Therefore, his argument is presented as not being about exclusion but rather about participation in a different form. Again, in objective law these delegates were already excluded at the municipal stage.

Luisa, representing Igualdade-RS, supports Alexandre's idea that, although an error of

exclusion did occur, this is the wrong time to correct it (L.111). This is based on both pragmatism and the importance of the rule of law. Through all of this, it can be seen that despite the political context and its traditionally-conceived concept of clientelism (Carvalho 1997), it is not the state that is seeking to limit participation in this space, but the movement members themselves based on internal ideas of intra-movement discipline, structure and process. In this case there is a void in perceived and explicit state top-down control (though the process itself may result in this). More bottom-up self-disciplinary power emerges and structures society through a self-policing governmentality. This is mediated and actioned through interactive accounts. Interestingly, it is those members from the most hierarchically-structured groups who are best able to influence the debates, supporting the participatory arguments from the OP literature (Abers 1998; Wampler and Avritzer 2004) that, the more civil society organising that goes on behind the scenes, the more effective participants become. .

## **Movement vs society**

In mobilising as a particular identity-defined movement, constituent groups have already engaged in boundary work (Gieryn 1983) that has established in-out criteria for membership. They see themselves as different to wider society in some way, and act accordingly in *Políticas Públicas*. “The rest of society” is rather a broad collective, and unless a group can either 1) frame itself as an embattled minority or 2) find other sympathetic allies among other identity groups, they are unlikely to be able to effect policy change and/or insert themselves into modern social structures (Castells 1983). The Riograndense LGBT movement invokes both of these both of itself and within itself, and often action is precipitated by perception. Within the following sequences, the idea of power, usually disabling power, from society acting maleficently upon movement actors, comes to the fore through accounts. There may be many reasons for this, whether it be for achieving movement solidarity in a public forum through the invocation of ‘horror’ and ‘war’ stories or ‘happy endings’ (Fine 1995), setting a moral imperative for action and change on behalf of the movement, group or individual.

The most stigmatised identity group in Brazilian society in local LGBT imagination is the *travesti* identity category – made so in action and in powerful emotionally-charged language as a result of “*an historical process that has constructed our patriarchal and macho society*” (Daniel, SOMOS delegate). The ‘horror stories’ of *travesti* narratives, a well-rehearsed tool in *travesti* contention, establishes a human moral imperative to assist such a stigmatised group, while claims are based in simple requests for tools for standardised citizenship:

*[Extract from Conferência Estadual IV – Working Groups Axes I and II]*

*227 Del (Igualdade-RS): I participated in the formulation of this decree 48118 and it'll enter in force in the next 30 days. It's where every travesti that went to get an identity card could put her 'street name', [and] this won't leave the card, but we made a suggestion to the government that we'll get a response to – every travesti or whoever wants to have her/his [seu] street name – now we have a SUS [health] card, right, that when we make an identity card that comes together with a 'street name' card with the number of your ID card, social security card...*

*233 Del: It was stated here, it was stated here that there will be something... It was said here.*

*234 Virgínia: Right. There's already a policy at the national level and now will become...*

*235 Del: State.*

*236 Del (Igualdade-RS): Yeah, but this card will still be approved; we laid it on the table again this week in our meeting with the government.*

The Igualdade-RS delegate prefaces her right to talk about issues of law with an account of personal success, especially on behalf of her group but by inference of the wider LGBT movement. The passing of law 48.118 (27<sup>th</sup> June 2011) established the right to have one's 'street name' recognised on ID cards and to be treated as this identity and gender identity by public servants (education, health, police) under penalty, and symbolises a watershed in the allocation of *travesti* citizenship. This was finally made live under State Decree number 49.122 on 17<sup>th</sup> May 2012 under the appellation *Carteira de Nome Social (CNS)*, with that name previously only included on National Health Service (SUS) cards, but also seeking recognition of the RG (identity card) and CPF (tax card). This account is in keeping with *travesti* modes of storytelling, in this case a 'happy ending', which generates a sense of the worthiness of the struggle and the movement from a *travesti* perspective. These narrative forms seem to be fundamental to group belonging and identification. However, such a mechanism is deemed inappropriate for discussion in this forum both by other delegates (L.233) and the chair (L.234) on the basis of incompatibility with the format and time constraints. *Travesti* expression is as much sidelined here as in society in general. As an account of a success, then, it is deemed inappropriate for *Políticas Públicas*, despite its aligning ability and the delegate is cut off and prevented from finishing. Due to the storytelling nature that is often present in *travesti* discourse, these modes of presentation excluded from discussion potentially lead to the marginalisation of *travesti* cultural products and modes of communicating, which are viewed as more emotional, within the context of *LGBT Políticas Públicas*.



**Figure 9: Travestis get their wish in 2012; ID cards were issued with 'street names' (Source: Agência de Notícias da Aids)**

Far from being an 'empowering' space for deliberation and participation, and despite Virgínia meaning well in attempting to keep the debate on track as she perceives it, she actually simply silences subaltern voices and therefore disempowers. In general, *travestis* adhere broadly to the scripts of the settings, but because *travesti* delegates do not adhere to the codes of this setting this becomes a disciplinary offence. This is because these settings are generally inclusive insofar as they do not exclude based on identity, but the terms of participation mandate particular political performances. This silencing of the delegate as a result of her own terms of communication (Anzaldúa 1991) results in (short-term) disorder as the delegate continues to try to press the validity of her point within the context of *Políticas Públicas*. Virgínia, as chair, fights to restore order despite having established herself as a passive leader previously (L.241), and a delegate from LBL (L.242) further undermines Virgínia's procedural and category-bound authority to direct discussion through taking on the role of timekeeper/facilitator. This forces Virgínia to orient her subsequent turn to this challenge (L.246). It is clear that Virgínia has internalised the 'correct' way of doing deliberation – the institutional way, not just of the State, but of government in general. This is performed through what Heritage (2005) refers to as institutional talk and process and, therefore, these spaces lose credibility in the eyes of the movement as all-encompassing, empowering spaces for civil society.

This symbolises ongoing violence against *travesti* participants as, on top of their traditional exclusion from citizenship at the hands of the Brazilian state, and their embodied experiences of everyday violence, even within the affiliated movement and in these settings, they are marginalised – an ongoing process - and set apart from every aspect of society.

They remain “on the edge, peripheral, superfluous, not fully fitting in” (Jasper 2010a:31), and this positioning grants these subjects a precarious existence. This raises a pertinent issue in relation to *travesti* mobilisation, which is built upon particular narrative (as well as embodied) forms, but these are not viewed as acceptable to these political engagement structures. *Travestis* are generally seen to participate on their own terms, but because of these socio-cultural differences, they struggle to maintain their own agency rather than having allied groups speak on their behalf. As a result, the Riograndense and, in particular, the Porto Alegre movement can be accused of using *travesti* embodied subjects as symbolic markers of difference but, while offering piecemeal concessions, silences its voice.

The LGBT movement as a whole does not have the resources or will to engage fully in revolution, but engages along particular, often abstract, themes to chip away at policy. In health terms, internal debate has branched out from discourses of survival and sexually transmitted infections to quality of life issues. The following extract demonstrates the shift in health discourses within the movement and its engagement with wider social welfare systems:

*[Extract from Conferência Estadual VIII – Final Plenary Part 2]*

*284 Del: 24, it's gonna be about mental health, aligned with measures for psychiatric reform, which is what [inc.].*

*Tâmara: Of course, I know that the plenary has to be inclusive. 24, promotion, prevention and attention to the mental health of the LGBT population, aligned with the principles of psychiatric reform. Challenge or no challenge? The plenary will also be endorsing this here. The challenge is that the plenary is endorsing this. It's a question of order.*

*Célio: Since this is the only group which had two [parallel groups], what do you think if we endorse it... or contribute to it now...*

*Tâmara: And then...*

*Célio: No, no I'm saying not here, but there...*

*Tâmara: The organising committee that...*

*Roselaine: I don't agree with this proposal. Oh, Rosana? [sic]*

*Tâmara: Roselaine. It's a question of [keeping] order!*

*Roselaine: Yeah, but I don't know if the entire group reported...*

*Tâmara: People have already highlighted that they'd like to comment on this.*

*Roselaine: Yes, I know that they did.*

*Tâmara: No, we'll pass through [the list of] everyone [f.]. Let's go through, of course, of course. It's just because she was challenging every point, so, if the plenary approves...*

The main impetus of this sequence is the consideration of separate mental health treatment for LGBT-identified individuals. Claims such as these do not form part of the “long term structural horizon” (Jasper 2010b:966) of the movement, but are posited as short-term strategic opening in social policymaking. However, attention is needed as to who is effecting this opening, who gets their views across, and how.

The sequence also shows relationship building among participants, reflecting McAdam et al.’s (2001:26) reference to relational mechanisms that “alter connections among people, groups, and interpersonal networks.” Within this sequence, some important characteristics of *Políticas Públicas* conferences are evident. When a delegate from the thematic group (Health) tries to reopen the debate on a particular article (L.284), Tâmara, as chair and government representative controlling interaction, decreases the priority of his ‘challenge’. In her category-bound position of controlling power, Tâmara silences discussion, but prefaces her turn with the ‘inclusivity’ nature of the conference (L.286). However, Célio challenges the fundamental idea of having split the Health Thematic Group (L.290), and in so doing emphasises the problem of this arrangement in that neither thematic group can approve the policy proposals as they must be reconciled with one another. This can only take place in the plenary which defeats the object of the thematic groups. There is, therefore, a fine line to tread between participation and efficiency, and it is clear that relationship building as per McAdam et al.’s definition is necessarily dependent upon the format and structure of the setting as much as the topic under study. LGBT mobilisation is abstractly traditionally associated with queer theory and/or feminist approaches and so lends itself thematically to microsocial focus. However, from this the macrosocial interest depends on context. The focus is not **on** these themes, but looks outwards **from** these categories to absorb many others, yet the relative influence of identity themes and context on the interaction depends on individual agency.

Tâmara and Célio debate the merits of opening up decision-making to the plenary when Roselaine speaks up (L.295), expressing disagreement, mistaking Tâmara’s name, indicating her unfamiliarity with the State’s Director of Human Rights. The movement here is engaged in contestation over the format of structure. Tâmara rebukes Roselaine, shutting her down. Roselaine, in her character-bound way, will not be shut down and accounts for her objection, but Tâmara disciplines her in an implementation of positional power based on her situational (and perhaps institutional) role. Throughout the debates, Roselaine continually seizes openings to push her own agenda and, to a lesser extent, that of her group. While sheer force allows her voice to penetrate discourse, her head-on approach to attacking debate simply serves to alienate her from the movement. Whilst some social movement theorists encourage the “oppressed” to rise notwithstanding opportunity (Piven and Cloward

1977), unilateral action can be prominent in its deviation from the social norms of a setting and judged as selfish and egoistical by potential allies. Indeed, time and time again Roselaine is overruled and disciplined for her forthrightness.

In addition, there are strong indications of capable agency in the movement (and its cooperative relationships with an equally able State administration), so that groups do not simply state what they want. Actors are increasingly aware of the types of mechanisms that will get them greatest influence, and upon which parts of the governmental structure they have to act to have the greatest benefit for them in wider society. This awareness is not widespread, but demonstrates substantial agency within the movement for its own empowerment. *Políticas Públicas* are conceived by the movement as a means of improved – although by no means complete - social control in their hands. They can be spaces to call government to account and allowing the invocation of citizen/movement power. In practice, however, this is tempered by the absence of many governmental departments relevant to the discussion.

In terms of the power relations between the movement groups and wider society, travesti modes of contention focus on emotional modes of sharing experiences of subjugation and vulnerability, hitting moral buttons and expressing themselves in linguistic terms to highlight their lack of power and influence in relation to other sectors of society (Berezin 2001). This takes the form of narratives such as ‘horror stories’ in general. This serves them well within the movement and, even though this group is by no means dominant in terms of numbers, nor so linguistically-skilled as to present a convincing argument in public as a result of exclusion from formal education, they gain power, influence and dominance through feminist frames, ascribing ‘male original sin’ (Gilmore 2011) both on wider society and among gay men within the movement. Emotional storytelling at once establishes a moral obligation to act on behalf of *travestis*, yet simultaneously excludes them from political discourse since its restriction to particular objective expertise necessarily removes the emotional which is frequently seen as subjective and inferior (Calhoun 2001).

The negative individual behaviours of men are ascribed to the whole gender as categorised by participating and colluding in the subjugation of women and female forms. This is a pervasive discourse among LGBT groups and carries much weight in interaction. Materially, this is used by great effect by Marcelly, leader of Igualdade-RS, to silence potential critics, and in particular to increase selection of *travesti* delegates at the higher level conferences, while comparatively high numbers of gay men are left out. There is a danger in these situations for the same negative generalised categorisations of identities serving to reinforce discrimination and stigmatised identities systematically. The strength of *travesti* power is evident in a coup after a government representative at the State conference, Virginia, dares

to challenge travesti narratives and use of 'horror stories' as irrelevant to present discussions. The wider question, then, is whether these identity categories are 'cut from the same cloth' - this will be addressed in further detail in the next chapter but, in general terms they are, judging by some experiences of discrimination.

## **Movement – politician/officer relations**

Stepping back from talk of the perceived power relationships between LGBTs and Brazilian society in the general abstract, this section highlights both the situational and abstract relationships between the movement and government, whether through accounts given by participants or in the interactional dynamics between actors, in an attempt to understand the interactional and perceived power relationships both within the immediate setting and projected into wider contexts. In this section, it is understood that the potential for wildly differing representations of embodied subjects and categories interacting in the same spaces through discursive work. This gives rise to constant struggle between meaning making. In terms of establishing the movement – state binary of classifying individuals, three provisos are necessary. First, participants interact as individuals and carry their own individual baggage and agency (Butler 1997). Second, individuals may adopt, internalise and perform institutional identities and professional roles with some degree of agency. Third, meaning, significance and identity is derived from the functional roles individuals play within a transaction, and so performance is situational (Emirbayer 1997). Throughout these conferences, it is not only the movement itself that has been seen to engage in debate. *Políticas Públicas* is an opportunity to make claims and hold government actors to account. The following extract demonstrates how different individuals perform their institutionally-bound roles rather differently:

*[Extract from Conferência Estadual IV – Working Groups Axes I and II]*

*123 Virgínia: Who else. Who else? Speak, honey.*

*124 Cássio: Just one thing. For the purposes of forwarding [in a form that's easily digestible to those at higher levels], can you sum it up in one sentence?*

*125 Norberto: We can discuss culture, this culture, eh. This culture that is widespread in Brazil. We can start discussing it in our GLBTT group, right, to finish with it. To give you all an example, because we are... as they say, when there is a movement in Brazil, which is the movement that has most visibility is the gay movement. The landless [movement], the others, they don't have the visibility that the gay movement has.*

*130 Virgínia: To spread a culture of respect for human rights. Is that it?*

*132 Norberto: Certainly.*

*133 Virgínia: Right, ok. Get it? Let's go, honey.*



While Virginia is nominally the chair in this session, she performs the role here of a pastoral leader in opposition to demonstrating any attributes of a leader or member of a government organisation. She demonstrates the traditionally female-attributed characteristics of 'carência' and performs the role of an informal pal. Previous scholars, such as Anderson and Umberson (2001) have argued that the demonstration of female gendered characteristics are often read as indicating weakness and thus undermine any potential power for the individual subject. A blunt reading of this extract would indicate that this is the case. This is a problematic reading for two reasons. First, that the context and nature of the political space is an informal space of debate and oriented to meeting particular text/policy-based goals; and second that it is not Virginia's gendered performance in itself that lowers her perceived status, but the appearance of a condescending and disingenuous performance of these characteristics to other delegates. Despite this setting's informal character, delegates still expect a performance from the chair that is a recognisable state figure, displaying the characteristics of 'expert'. It is not so much that Virginia chooses female-characterised actions to shape her performance that diminishes her potency as chair, but the fact that she performs them badly which requires Cássio to step in to repair the damage done, thus performing as a more credible state representative. Although the tasks at hand can be completed despite a disingenuous performance, any potential for establishing relationships of trust between state and society are hindered by this.

However, this relationship is repaired through Norberto's cooperation. He invokes the essence of Brazilian identity and its cultural component. He presents an argument relating to the cultural identity of Brazil as one of apathy, exploitation and undependability (Carvalho 1997). This demonstrates the profundity of such imagery of the state-society relationship in Brazil, in the first instance in that these discourses are deeply embedded in the psyche delegates which contextualise and position their engagement. This is presented as a counterpoint to the LGBT movement, as the 'other' against which the movement is struggling, perpetuating the idea of a successful movement struggling and winning against an imagined opposition, as evidenced by an increased movement visibility in a hostile context. Such language continues the resolve that the movement is worthy, and that material results have stemmed from its actions.

While Norberto successfully adheres to LGBT and social movement scripts and codes, he is still viewed as an archetypal well-meaning but inexperienced delegate from the 'interior' (Canoas) through his alignment with ideas of inclusivity in spite of his malapropisms (i.e. GLBTT against the standard LGBT). It has been noted that delegates from the interior are more likely to be excluded from movement activity, yet extract shows that *Políticas Públicas* can lower the barriers to entry somewhat, and provide a space for these delegates to

rehearse the narratives of LGBT belonging. Norberto is clearly supported and encouraged by an outsider, Virgínia, to expand his points and be made relevant to policy making. This points, however, to a new landscape of discursive power that is notably different to that which currently structures the internal dynamics of the movement.

These conferences offer opportunities for civil society groups to call government or rather the Human Rights Secretariat at Municipal or State levels, to account. However, this is not necessarily on their own terms, and in dealing with an outside institution there are accepted ways of doing this, and proscribed approaches. As evidenced, Roselaine is a senior LBL activist, but her performance style is full-force and direct – it could even be categorised as ‘masculine’, as certain delegates offered. It has enabled her to serve effectively in relation to the movement, rising to senior influence, and her style building on her group’s radical feminist ideological stance and building a performed embodiment that eschews the “negative and stereotypical attitudes regarding women” in order to subvert a society built on a patriarchal system of gender inequalities (Lonsway and Fitzgerald 1994). However, while even the majority of delegates are understanding of such an approach, Roselaine’s performance is not well received given its artless execution in this political institutional space.

*[Extract from Conferência Estadual V – Working Groups Axis III]*

*272 Roselaine: So there’s public money, eh? The guy over there selling ice cream at the moment is paying for it, folks. I’m gonna be really pragmatic.*

*274 Bernadete: But how much time will your proposal take, more or less?*

*Roselaine: I have another proposal; I want to know if I should make it now or later.*

*Bernadete: That first proposal, I’m trying to close [discussion on] that first proposal that we were making. I would like to insert... that proposal on religious education and to remove it from the curriculum of state schools [escolas públicas]. Something in this sense to be discussing. But would it be to put an end to religious institutions?*

*Del: No.*

*281 Roselaine: I’m going for secondary gain. So that everything’s understood together, you get me?*

*Bernadete: I don’t know how to write it.*

*Roselaine: No, leave it like that. I think, as it is... come back to it later and we’ll discuss it again.*

*Del: Schools educate. What do they do? They educate students to be good professionals or not? There’s no need for religion in schools. So I think that this, too, should be reviewed in state schools.*

Roselaine touches on various aspects of government policy, but exceeds the allotted 'two minutes per delegate'. The chair interrupts and reveals a frustration at Roselaine having held the floor for a significant chunk of the session. Thus, although the chair/government has the ability to control voice, it bends to the participant's wish to speak – especially to avoid an outright conflict. Accordingly, to some extent in her civil society role, and in the main as a result of her forthright and vocal character, Roselaine has and the status, experience and stubbornness to continue with further proposals despite the chair attempting to guide debate. Campbell (2015) and Wiliarty (2008) point to the success of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, and German Chancellor Angela Merkel respectively as somewhat indicative of the attribution of male behaviours. However, this is to do these women a disservice. The success of these women in their professions clearly has more to do with their political skill rather than any display of macho bravado. The reality of course is infinitely more complex in terms of gender participation and in these debates in particular, for when Roselaine performs 'masculinity' it falls flat.

Roselaine's performance of masculine-associated behaviours fails. While LBL's representatives complained that this was due to her embodiment as a petite female that undermined the performance, and drawing on ideas of gender bias in the political arena (Sanghvia and Hodges 2015), this is unlikely since her co-interactant on the government side is also female. Bernadete takes the opportunity, after Roselaine's subversion of the main points of discussion to her own agenda. She realigns deliberation to the apparently objectively aimed policy proposals previously under discussion. Bernadete, as chair, does not perform her gender role as her primary identification. Instead, she establishes herself beyond gender, guiding debate and allowing flexibility, while acting as a conduit through which the debate may float. In this way, she does not politicise herself or her embodiment, and therefore demonstrates a version of soft power. Paradoxically, in adopting this technique Bernadete is able to achieve more than Roselaine. She provides the technical boundaries of debate (L.277-279), highlighting governmental capacity and responsibilities in coordinating interest groups and shaping participant expectations in what is actually possible within the framework of *Políticas Públicas*.

As Martin and Miller (2003:152) attest, brokers are those "who can break down a variety of everyday spatial barriers and build new connections across space", and in doing so are able to physically and communicatively link unconnected social sites. Bernadete is able to guide the production of policymaking within the current framework, thus yielding significant influence as a woman, yet not on behalf of women. It is vital that Bernadete performs 'objectivity', yet individual agency can be seen. While it is valid that participants should make their cases through government as arbiter/broker, here indeed as intermediary between

physically and communicatively unconnected sites not through forcing any particular perspective through, but real rational power is shown as she forces discussants towards a logical and rational outcome (I.280-1). These are spaces for the performance of a politics which does not appreciate mention of gender or emotion, but which is predicated on objective expertise and its own internal logics.

## **Movement – state relations**

The debate from I.286 draws on very Brazilian symbolic tropes that can be traced back through the writings of Florestan Fernandes (1968; 1991), Darcy Ribeiro (1984) and Mário Schenberg (Goldfarb 1994) and the post-war reforms of Gustavo Capanema to wrest education from the elites, incorporating the ideas of educational reformers (Schwartzman 1985). The debate at hand draws on these discourses of nation-building through education. The delegate from the wider metropolitan area (Canoas) (I.286) states that the education system exists to turn students into workers following the logic of the capitalist system. This may be interpreted as an internalisation of liberal capitalism as unproblematic despite the fact that a majority of delegates are *petistas* (affiliated to the Workers' Party) with others being from leftist parties that reject current configurations of capitalism.

This echoes with participant observation and informal conversation data in which a disconnect is apparent between theoretical positions of equality and liberation, and everyday utterances relating to a strong, multi-layered, class-based framework. However, frame amplifications and alliances are seen to be made on a pragmatic basis rather than a strict, integral, moral basis. This apparent argument for the maintenance of the capitalist system, which conceives of education serving to produce workers for its service, actually functions to oppose the idea of the school as a setting for the production of the new Christians that LGBTs have established as their political nemesis. It can also be inferred, too, that an alliance with atheists/secularists is in fact ideologically congruent with Soviet leftisms (Luehrmann 2011). This is certainly compatible with the discourses of the *Quarta República*, the populist period from which Brazilian social movements provisionally emerged prior to the dictatorship (Sader 2010). To some extent, this is a reflection on local conceptions of social movements as holding on to archaic senses of themselves and their purposes and, therefore, ideas of a post-war bureaucratic state. If participants still relate to the state in the same ways their parents and grandparents were imagined to have done in generations past, this is symptomatic of a lack of critical capacity, and an over-reliance on ideology, within the movement. If this is the case, *Políticas Públicas* is unlikely ever to be able to bridge the democratic deficit.

The federal state, however, is not as it was in the post-war period despite common

conceptions of its unchanging and opaque nature and complaints of its dense bureaucratic set-up (Abrucio 2007). The Brazilian state is still in the early stages of democracy, and for all the clunkiness of its administrative infrastructure it still appears to be open to change and development (Dias 2002). Therefore, even though this current structure of public engagement is full of imperfections and in need of a comprehensive redesign, this is possible within the ambit of the current regime's attitudes to its population. Symbolic of the change in the state structure and personnel is the wide representation of personnel who had gained earlier experience within the movement groups. Many of the movement groups' members work for the government in some way: Roselaine is a teacher; Célio works for the Public Ombudsman; and Guilherme in the municipal secretariat for Human Rights. Several group leaders have surrendered these positions to take up official office, the most prominent of these being Fábulo Nascimento and Gustavo Bernardes. Embodied in these individuals is the boundary-transgressing discourse of both social movement and government. This shows how both background and institutional positioning interact within the subject – not in a deterministic way (Butler 1990), but mediated through individual agency, the rules and structures of the setting, and the institutional identity performed:

*[Extract from Conferência Estadual VII – Final Plenary Part 1]*

*50 Gustavo: I'm here at the State conference of Rio Grande do Sul, as representative of the Human Rights Secretariat that called for the National LGBT Conference. The internal regulations for the National LGBT Conference guarantees, in the eighth article, that at the State and District stages broad representation should be ensured and participation of social sectors and stakeholders and be committed to the promotion of citizenship and LGBT human rights, and incorporate the specifics of sexual orientation, gender, gender identity, racial/ethnicity, regional, regional and generational, people with disabilities, vulnerable populations and people on the streets. We, despite the problems we had in the municipal stage, which can be resolved, but that were made in error; we cannot here jeopardise this State Conference, undermining its validity because it has not ensured the representation of people who have come all the way from Uruguaiana, Cruz Alta, Pelotas and are here and this demonstrates the commitment of these people to this conference.*

*[applause and cheers]*

Gustavo establishes his role as representative of the Human Rights Secretariat at Federal level. While he is a very well-known figure to the majority of activists, in commencing his turn this way, he establishes that he is speaking not as former leader of SOMOS but as a figure removed from and beyond internal movement politics. The detail of his presentation establishes this space as inherently political and high-level whilst the utilisation of the category-bound power linguistic symbols of national office allows Gustavo to better convey a

superior status. This allows him to enjoy more clout while maintaining the boundaries of the space by keeping its codes of the rule of law and a drive for objectivity.

Gustavo establishes his position against Alexandre's previous turn, arguing that 'inclusion' of all delegates is a necessity. To achieve this, he wields not only the institutional power of the Federal Government to support this. He also seeks to occupy the linguistic moral high ground through extending the basis of these rules through invocation of the wider category of 'diversity', now (more or less) protected in Brazilian law, understood as including in theory this variety of identity categories. He acknowledges the 'failures' (L.59) of many municipal conferences but his argument is that the overriding idea of this conference is based on the twin ideas of 'diversity' and 'inclusion', and that without these there is no validity. It is through these three key terms – government failure; diversity; and inclusion – all key to the movement's understanding of its insertion into socio-political context, that Gustavo gains influence in pressing the right buttons.

*Políticas Públicas* here is not gay space or closet space; it is delineated as a political and democratic space. Political identities and democratic citizenship come to the fore in discourse of equal opportunities, while opposition between movement and government is established through boundary talk. However, it is argued here that blurred and fluid boundaries are a necessary constituent of modern social movements and their relationships with government. Conceptualising Gustavo's subjectivity, this turn provides an example of Gustavo performing governmentality – Foucault's (1991) "art of government", which through modernity comprises that "bureaucratic, scientific and statistical" aloof expertise (Brown 2000:143) by which the state comes to rule in large degree over a population by always knowing it expertly at a distance. The cultural turn that has swept Europe and North America in the past few decades has enabled the progress of experiential, identity-based (and often standpoint-based) movements but has necessitated that the state adopt new forms of governmentality (Soja 1999). There is potential for these ostensibly empowering spaces to be turned to the service of providing improved control and discipline on subjects; curtailing rather than broadening freedoms. Despite Brazil's reputation for a heavy bureaucracy and a wide public sector (Abrucio 2007), newer consumptive- and identity-based social cleavages cannot easily be incorporated into existing structures. Gustavo's ascent into federal office has resulted from a governmental need to understand its subjects with situated knowledge. This is not necessarily as a result of a cynical ploy by the state, but one of the logics of governmentality is that the state must understand who is present and what is going on in its territory.

The characteristic of power, according to Foucault (1991:152), "is that some [people] can more or less entirely determine other [people's] conduct – but never exhaustively or

coercively". This cuts both ways in this situation, as Gustavo is both subject to and agent of governmental power. He aims to sculpt participant performances to fit the setting. Yet, while his own register displays markers of a governmental representation, he later displays more militant vocabulary encouraging delegates to '*fight for inclusion*' displaying his credentials as a movement leader – "one of us". He flits between the two registers, threatening sanctions from above if his own arguments and his own perspectives on the interpretation of the '*internal regulations*' is not taken up, thereby demonstrating that these settings are not in fact objective and have the potential even to be co-opted by individuals who can play the system to their advantage. Governmentality, as Garmany (2010:909) reminds, occurs "where bodies become disciplined into self-regulating subjects". Gustavo has already regulated himself in performing a coherent governmental role. Through this he engages in regulating others and, indeed, the movement in general engages in self-regulation so that LGBT mobilisation is brought into the orbit of governmental surveillance. This links back to Brown's (2000) idea of the closet as metaphor. Participants here understand the use of this ubiquitously global LGBT metaphor, but do not necessarily use it as standard script. The exceptions to this are the professionals, Roger (academic) and Eduardo (lawyer). The former subverts the metaphor, talking about "the Supreme Court's decision to pull homophobic conservatives out of the closet" (*Nuances book launch, 18 October 2011*), making the metaphor signify the closet as a space of freedom; the latter stretches the spatial metaphor a lot further:

*[Extract from Conferência Estadual II – Panel 2]*

*Eduardo: "We need to occupy our space, we need to be present in committees, everyone... everything that they say in relation to LGBTs we need to... come out of the closet, guys, there's no way..."*

*Cristina: But we have transsexual lawyers.*

Contrary to Roger's assertion that inside the closet is a freeing space, Eduardo offers the generally-accepted idea that the closet limits freedom and potential for effecting change. In relation to the state, there is evidence that through coming out of the closet the movement is complicit in its own relinquishing of disciplinary capacity and governmentality. Discussions of "the closet" as a form of governmentality lend themselves to a consideration of Lefebvre's (1991) idea of abstract space, and links with the inherently spatial concept of "the margin". There is resistance to the increased administrative scrutiny of LGBTs, and Cristina in particular questions the idea of "the closet" (above) from a *travesti* standpoint in that there is no chance of actually being a *travesti* and inhabiting the closet as the embodiment removes this ability. Célio, too, prefers LGBTs to inhabit the margins, a symbolically spatial form of "the closet", as this avoids the pernicious gaze of the state and grants subjects greater amounts of freedom. As Fraser (1998) ponders, LGBTs have been wary of publicity and

participation in a wider public sphere, partly given the idea that the public sphere has often simply validated masculine pursuits at the expense of the feminine; the narrowly-defined 'public' as opposed to that which could be considered 'private', and imbued with bourgeois ideas of a moneyed, male landowning class as the universal public – and in this situation the closet may be preferable. A Brazilian version of “the closet” (for it seems “the closet” is a globalised imposition) – “the margin” has the potential to provide a certain form of freedom, certainly from Nuances' perspective.

The collection of data on LGBTs, including in the census, is a sharp signifier of coming out of “the closet”, but requires adherence to structures, rules and norms of governmentality, including surveillance. This is not necessarily something the “middle-class white boys” at SOMOS feel is problematic, yet it is clear that their embodiments allow a greater ability to transgress boundaries and spaces than their organisationally-weaker contemporaries. Once populations become visible, “the margins” can cease to provide the permissive freedom of invisibility.

The movement subjects itself to self-discipline, and this continues to be encouraged throughout the conferences as the movement has to manipulate its policy proposals to adhere to the structures of policymaking defined from above:

*[Extract from Conferência Estadual VIII – Final Plenary Part 2]*

*Tâmara: Does anyone from [Thematic Group] GT3 wish to challenge this to complete this proposal? The proposal is, “to approximate the actions at the national level to the realities of States and municipalities, as a way to expand results, according to informed actions as performed by the Ministry...” Hmm... So, if anyone from the group that formulated this proposal would like to enlighten us... if not the panel will remove the proposal, because it's very confused. Challenge here! Name?*

Tâmara, here responsible for the State's Human Rights Secretariat, calls to account the GT3 delegates for their failure to deliver concise policy suggestions. Tâmara limits the right to speak, in her category-bound position as chair, to those who have participated in GT3, prefaced on the idea that these subjects have full contextual knowledge of what they wish to communicate, but ultimately wields governmental power and invokes her category-bound power through her threat to remove it from the final report if no account is forthcoming. In an example of effective control, however, Tâmara removes the potential for wider debate but guides participants to a significantly smaller area for its deliberation, and the delegates oblige. The first test for such a proposal is whether or not it makes sense – it does, and accords with general sense-assembly allocated through speech-act theory providing an utterance's recognisable 'occasion-meaning' versus 'timeless meaning' (Grice 1989:124). Fundamentally, this policy proposal seeks to ensure that national policy echoes municipal



and State policy rather than vice-versa. It is, therefore, an example of a frame extension process (Snow et al. 1986) by the movement to incorporate the broadest interests as possible. However, this cannot be implemented as a policy under current governmental process as it is perceived as too abstract. This serves as an example through which the movement is allocated minor policy areas to influence, yet is excluded from the wider job of transformation of the whole system of governance.

Governmentality is inherent in this space. While movement aims and aspirations are supported, they are thoroughly mediated through “institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, calculations, and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific, albeit very complex, power that has the population as its target, political economy as its major form of knowledge, and apparatuses of security as its essential technical instrument” (Foucault 2007:108-9; in Garmany 2010). *Políticas Públicas* for identity-based movements serves to incorporate them into governmental apparatus through a gradual development of this process, and these extracts demonstrate new forms of governmentality becoming embedded in practice.

*[Extract from Conferência Estadual VII – Final Plenary Part 1]*

*1 Tâmara: I mistake that it is not incompatible with our internal regulations here in the State conference internal regulations. The eighth article of the internal regulations of the national [conference], they consider everyone participants of the II State conference, whether or not having participated in preliminary stages they are delegates of this conference, and therefore have the right to vote in this final plenary.*

*[applause]*

Governmentality is incomplete in these conferences, and here Tâmara, again in the institutional role of governmental representative and conference organiser, tries to implement administrative structure while also mollifying participants in an increasingly disordered conference. Stirred by her previous exclusion of “non-delegates”, a large section of the congregated groups had begun to chant, “*inclusion, inclusion*”, echoing Foucault’s (1991) statement that others can never comprehensively, exhaustively or coercively determine conduct. Tâmara has to concede to popular challenge but retains it within the boundaries of the administrative system and thus retains top-down control. Tâmara presents this as being sanctioned from above, opening the door to change but presenting the organising committee as disorganised in the eyes of many delegates.

The administrative and bureaucratic format of governance remains unchanged, and it is the movement that needs to adapt to standard governmental formats:

[Extract from Conferência Estadual VIII – Final Plenary Part 2]

*Gustavo: GT3 Two, promote also the Interministerial Working Group (GTI) with strategic actions for the promotion of Políticas Públicas focused on the theme of “discrimination and capacity of the LGBT population”.*

Through the proposition of the interministerial working group, *Políticas Públicas* can give the groups power over the activities of government. In this case, there is a complete lack of cross-sectoral engagement across governmental departments, in particular regarding LGBT issues, requiring the continued engagement of activists in different sectoral conferences covering ‘health’, ‘education’, ‘social welfare’, and ‘housing’. This proposal, however, incorporates this movement into existing governmental administrative spaces and dictates its terms of interaction. In coming in from “the margins” and coming out of “the closet”, the LGBT movement is adopting conservative rather than radical repertoires. As Jasper (1990) argues, if there is such a thing as a state, or indeed a spatially-based society, it consists of a number of strategic players constantly jostling with one another across different boundaries, and competing for power and influence. Within *Políticas Públicas*, a conservative movement view prevails that seeks the insertion of movement actors into state-sanctioned structures that promise citizenship and, perhaps most importantly, the “right to the city” (Souza 2010, from Lefebvre 1968) as per federal law.

## **Social movement power in participation**

The debate thus far has suggested that power is generally top-down and one way, but of course the situation is rather more nuanced than this. This section examines power at play as civil society actors highlight negotiate their role, function, and responsibilities in relation to movement engagement with the state as citizens. Unlike the previous section, these examples do not involve self-reflection or production in interaction, but are repertoires produced by civil society actors orienting to the perceived governmental institutional power, calling it to account, or projecting an idea of the state from the movement perspective. The last section may have been rather harsh given the historical choice of civil society in Brazil having been limited to a only a nominal choice between political elites and engagement is an important norm that helps governance and service delivery, with Coelho and Favareto (2008) echoing this sentiment in a Brazilian setting, meeting Millennium Development Goals. However, we should expect more from Porto Alegre and Rio Grande do Sul and, in particular from an ensemble of generally well-resourced and well-educated participants, and in particular from a movement that could theoretically draw on radical modes of contention in attaining (a) the construction of citizenship; (b) the strengthening of practices of participation; (c) the strengthening of responsive and accountable states; and (d) the development of inclusive and cohesive societies (Gaventa and Barrett 2012; Johnston 2013).

Through the movement's talk on politicians and officers, all four of these markers of positive engagement can be drawn, thereby judging Porto Alegre's systems to be beyond the need for developmental initiatives and joint working towards democratic deepening in a developed political economy. Silvana, for one, feels comfortable calling for a responsive and accountable state:

*[Extract from Conferência Municipal IV – Opening Panel questions, Day 2]*

*168 Silvana: How do we go forward with our other forums without discussing it, right? So linking this issue, I would like someone from the government answer me, answer us, what is the balance of LGBT Políticas Públicas. I think this is a point that somehow going to have to happen here. If not, there will be a motion of repudiation again and, this time, the motion will have to pay, people, eh?*

Silvana surmises that this conference results in a dialogue between the movement and the municipal government. This impression is further emphasised by her insertion of herself into the collective, undertaking linguistic repair work to emphasise her point, “*answer me, answer us*”, and establishing the oppositionality of movement and government within *Políticas Públicas*. This suggests that, within these settings, the movement has the power to make the government responsible for the implementation of the movement's aims or, often, that lack of implementation. This is currently denied by the government through their control over the allocation of resources. In terms of Gaventa and Barrett's (2012) indicators, *Políticas Públicas* for LGBTs shows evidence of a responsive and accountable state in that it aims at a greater realisation of LGBT-as-citizen rights, an enhanced state accountability, and greater access to state services and resources. However, this has only been as a result of a traditional denial of services and resources, and the threat of social, economic and political reprisals in the not too distant past. The evidence here is mixed; great strides are being made by the Human Rights Secretariats at Municipal and State level, yet there is a general apathy from other departments as evidenced by their non-attendance at these events.

In terms of practices of citizen participation, Silvana reflects on the history of the movement's engagement with government ministries:

*[Extract from Conferência Municipal IV – Opening Panel questions, Day 2]*

*175 Silvana: Gustavo and I think this discussion has already been had a long time ago; we need to have an LGBT municipal council. That's why there is a board to monitor policy. For this, with some urgency, right, a suggestion... I don't know if they are already thinking about it, but by the end of the year this will be done, because if not, there won't be a way to do so. We'll be here, you know, eh, Marcelly?*

In this passage, Silvana invokes the idea that the municipal government has sovereignty over the deployment of *Políticas Públicas*, and that these are the only tools for making the

government accountable for its actions and policies. In terms of spaces and networks of participation, there is frustration that the movement has failed to win regularised structures of participation, as well as accountability and networks through its decade-old contentious practice. There is clearly still a risk that *Políticas Públicas* has the effect of blunting the efficacy of movement action rather than strengthening it, divesting significant agency to the state. The ultimate aims of the movement include the establishment of a parallel governance structure specifically for LGBTs with state endorsement, and it is only because of a lack of trust of government and a lack of interest from the state that incorporation has not yet occurred. This has necessarily led to a deepening of networks and solidarity between the really rather disparate LGBT groups, and again between these and the women's movement, having increased its capacity. Indeed, Silvana maintains her position not just as a member of LBL but as a movement representative, expressing an alignment with the well-known leader of Igualdade-RS, Marcelly, serving to raise the status and impact of her position. The risk remains of tokenistic and "captured" forms of participation as the movement pushes for insertion into the administrative structures of both municipal and State government. There is a widespread concern in the movement over its ability to implement the agency and deep knowledge it carries as part of the construction of citizenship, as Alexandre laments:

*[Extract from Conferência Municipal IV – Opening Panel questions, Day 2]*

*Alexandre: I brought to you here the Yogyakarta principles, Brazil without Homophobia, human rights conference, the plan to fight AIDS at the State and federal level. If we cut and paste, we would already have a ready-made conference and yet we have nothing already implemented, right? So this [speech] is just for people [to remember we do] not need to start again from scratch. Actually, Suzana is absolutely right. Another thing, we always seem to be always reinventing the wheel. This here is the 1<sup>st</sup> Municipal Conference? It is! Only that we've already had a Human Rights Conference, where we had LGBT-specific discussions and have already built up municipal-level proposals, right? So it is not the first time that we are here discussing [these issues], because yesterday it was hinted that for the first time in Porto Alegre we were discussing these issues. We're not!*

In the construction of (LGBT) citizenship, there remains an oppositional tension between the movement and the government. While there is ample evidence of movement agency within itself, there has been relatively little sense of progress and wider empowerment within society. It was the LGBT movement that brought the Yogyakarta Principles, an international agreement around sexual orientation and gender diversity, implemented in federal law under *União Estável Homoafetiva* legislation, and various social and educational programmes, including an Anti-Homophobia Kit scheme for schools. However, at the last minute this Kit was withdrawn under pressure from conservative religious groups, and civic knowledge has been drowned out through the weight of opposition antagonism. This knocked the confidence

of the movement, dented trust in government and diminished members' optimism at the potential to achieve societal change within existing political structures. Despite the complaints that the movement has failed to scratch the surface of social change, the sporadic social repression of the movement's proposals should be recognised as a symbol of challenge and a step towards democratic promotion (Thompson and Tapschott 2010). In general terms, there is an ambivalent relationship between *Políticas Públicas* as spaces to ensure increased civic knowledge and a greater sense of empowerment of the group, and this mainly revolves around state-society relationships of trust which even here are problematic:

*[Extract from Conferência Municipal IV – Opening Panel questions, Day 2]*

*Alexandre: Because we do not have even today a core policy guidance for “free sexual orientation”; a particular person [in the government to go to]. Because Mário, who was here yesterday, he even said, right? Because he, in fact, is Coordinator of Human Rights. Do we have a specific person who is promoting LGBT rights? There's nobody! And now I think this government has changed about four times at least. So it lacks a serious commitment not only to voting on the budget but to voting for human resources. No wonder that in this Secretariat [sic] we could not call [the Department of] Health, which is the thematic group that has the most people signed up... and [the Department of] Health does not participate! Health does not participate in the school-based prevention and health plan because the Health Secretary does not think it matters.*

Alexandre deplores the lack of political engagement in the construction of LGBT citizenship. If the representatives of the people – the government – display ambivalence towards the movement, it sets a poor example for wider society. He orients to the need for a knowledge intermediary as a representative situated within the governmental structure. The lack of such a figure is interpreted as purposeful disempowerment and exclusion from key secretariats and, as a result, a reduced sense of agency. In particular, the non-participation of the Health Secretariat undermines the potential for increased citizenship through the integration of policy development beyond the Municipal Health Councils. However, despite the apparent lack of interest in this democratic setting, actors have a keen sense of their rights and the legislative contexts in which they are acting. The movement groups in particular display an empowered self-identity that is utilised (here and elsewhere) to beat on the gates of the governmental administrative structure to claim citizenship even if it is slow to be taken up by the state. This is done here, linguistically, through extreme case formulation and moral shaming against the state in a both a rallying call to the movement and a shaming exercise for the state, indicating power in resistance.

Relationship building with government seems to be a key concern for activists in trying to establish the basis for inclusive and cohesive societies as a positive outcome of engagement. Whilst the LGBT movement's concern is for LGBT issues, it is well aware that its success depends on frame amplification from an individual identity-based right to broader ideas of citizenship rights. Patricia's turn links these broader themes in the context of the Brazilian social setting:

*[Extract from Conferência Municipal IV – Opening Panel questions, Day 2]*

*426 Patricia: Also to reflect... I think it is a reflection for all of us; it's about the limits of being state, of being government, of being a person, of being in government. I think it's very important that we can look to the government and look to the State in an abstract depersonalised form, a representative form, an institutional form. For example, here we have Gustavo; we know he is a person who has a very strong history as part of the social movement and that today is part of government. I think he can understand that these statements placed here are not statements for Gustavo Bernardes, for our partner Gustavo Bernardes, but, yes, for the Federal Government that today he represents and that today, in a sense, he embodies. So it is important that we succeed in shaking off this colonial mentality, this legacy of senzala [slave quarters] Brazil, a Brazil that is a Brazil of privilege, a Brazil that accesses public policy always by the back door. So instead of me filing with an office of the Federal Government and trying to access a Ministry that way, no, I send a personal email to my colleague, send a personal email to whomever is in the Council, a personal email for those who are in the State [government] and so we will [be able to] access public policy.*

Despite her earlier claims of top-down decision-making by government, Patricia questions the category capabilities and real sovereign power of the municipal government and the people within it to effect social change. She comments on the traditional conception and overriding image of Brazilian society as starkly unequal, between the 'haves' and the 'have nots'. The governing elite, she claims, has always enjoyed power by the 'back door' (echoing Goffman 1959), through personal links and networks, and leading to horizontal conflict. However, she is positive in her affirmation that this is no longer the (only) way to get things done; that *Políticas Públicas* is no longer restricted and this enables the inclusion of new actors and issues in public spaces. Given the idea that there is now a system of engagement that did not exist previously, such a move implies a moral duty in that now there is a system that can be used. The existence of *Políticas Públicas* places a responsibility on the movement to engage through this means – through proper channels – so that one group does not think another is competing, and so greater social cohesion can become established across groups (Mohanty and Tandon 2006). However, Patricia does indicate awareness that this system may not be fit for purpose, and she does not cling to a directional view of

development. She exhibits a characteristically Brazilian (but increasingly internationally category-bound) cynical and mistrustful view of the member-category 'politician'. This conception calls for continued scrutiny of everyone in public office, independent of their personal relationship to delegates, implying that politics has the potential to corrupt (Filgueiras 2009).

This section has revealed varying but generally positive indications of effective citizen engagement. These include indications of the construction of citizenship, the strengthening of participatory practices, increasingly responsive states, and provision for the development of inclusive and cohesive societies (Gaventa and Barrett 2012). There are concerns, however, firstly over the extent to which the movement seems to be abandoning its independence and autonomy and divesting itself of responsibility in its emancipatory project to be taken on by the government. This may well have more to do with the legacy of clientelism as noted by Avritzer (2002), and the continuing exclusion of LGBT issues from certain policy areas but, in contrast to OP's evidence of increased civil society capacity, this is unexpected. The second concern is the siloed nature of state-society engagement in these forums, and particularly with the spatial disconnect between different sites of participation. Citizen engagement on a group scale is hindered as, despite an increasing engagement with different constituent parts of the state, these are not integrated leading to participatory fatigue. While evidence from the other major site of participation, Municipal Health Councils, proves that independent civil society mobilisation outside of these spaces improves outcomes (Coelho et al. 2010), and evidence here indicates that participants are well organised but become disempowered and demotivated by the low capacity of the state to act on demands.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter has examined issues of power relations and social movement construction, structure, interaction and impacts of and on *Políticas Públicas*. It has explored how delegates insert themselves into structures and matrices of power, whether within groups or within the setting itself. It has also responded to social movement literature on the basis of understanding these as capitalist consumptive spaces, and developmental literatures on the basis of the emergent nature of the economic contexts in which these interactions occurred.

Judging by the interactions noted in this chapter, it can be seen that there has been progress for *Políticas Públicas* on some measures, especially with regard to increased governmental accountability. However, while participants hope they can act as a catalyst for change, it seems to take no part in everyday governance itself and there is little evidence as to its impact on the fundamental ways of doing things in government apart from its ability to

mitigate contentious action by movement groups. It also perpetuates spatial divisions between movement groups, and most notably between those based in the metropolitan (and cosmopolitan) capital. This, as the chapter has suggested, is a consequence of the more highly educated nature of delegates from the capital compared to those from the 'interior', whose experiences of situated local LGBT issues and global LGBT theory are more limited. Where rational choice theory posits the choice between actors doing what they think is best at the time in a particular situation or striving solely for their goals at the expense of all else (Johnston and Klandermans 1995), it is clear that the majority of participants here – with the exception of LBL and Roselaine – opts for the former, mediated through the debate and the setting, in a cooperative process.

In looking at the progressive potential for such conferences, there are multiple meanings of empowerment across the literature and a lack of specific outcomes related to democratic deepening and service delivery effectiveness (Brinkerhoff and Azfar 2006). Much of the work that has been shown to go on in these conferences involves actors deriving “their meaning, significance, and identity from the (changing) functional roles they play within that transaction” (and playing politics as in the moves in a game; establishing some inequalities that are situational, yet some that are structural (Emirbayer 1997:287). Senior delegates can play the game better, and goals and meaning sometimes disappear within the relationship (Tilly 2006), as shown especially in the extended debate that resulted in the exclusion of some rural delegates. Porto Alegre groups appeared to fight hard for the exclusion from participation of their rural colleagues on the basis of the incompatibility of rural frames of reference with the capital-centred administrative process of the conferences.

This chapter has also highlighted the provisional and situational status of power. While in some instances it may be embodied, it is ultimately wielded through the use of language and rooted in identity and symbols. Accounts can be used as mechanisms of power invocation through which obligations may be established and enforced elsewhere. Power relations within the movement and between groups are even more situationally-determined. Many participants felt free to interject, subverting turn-taking rules, especially Roselaine. Her domineering personality overpowers more inexperienced delegates but, in general, she is disciplined for her transgressions by senior delegates of other groups, though not enough for her to change her approach. This discipline is not 'hard' (for this is a setting for 'soft' power and participation, and the inclusivity of all voices) but any discipline must be accounted for on grounds of law, procedure or detail, even without the threat of audit (Strathern 2000).

The power of language is recognised by delegates, especially the gendered power of Portuguese, which is viewed as a major tool for subjugation of the united women's and LGBT groupings. To wield or to be attributed power, participants must be adept at the use of



language in order to frame issues and suggestions in terms of public good, and must have an evidence base to avoid potential accusations of individual bias and unreliability. In its crudest form, it depends on adhering to 'scripts' and 'codes' (Horton 2003), through which anything that provokes oppositional arguments to an oppositional institution is to be heard as belonging to an LGBT 'script' in the Brazilian setting. While the make-up, identity-formulation and world view of the assembled local LGBT groups is substantially different and divergent, their opposition to another homogeneously-categorised group – Christian – unites them in a 'them vs us' binary. In politics, 'any enemy of my enemy is a friend of mine', or at least that is to some extent the relationship between Nuances and the other groups. In terms of the implications for power, the groups join forces in contention and frame their arguments in particular configurations on a broader scale to challenge the perceived capture of the state by Christian groups opposing them and their access to it.

Within the actual process of participation, there is constant struggle and negotiation over power and enforcement of rules. With the movement in general proffering a self-perception as victims of negative power relations in wider society and in relation to the government, there is a wish to break down such structures. Social process, however, demands that some form of social structure lubricate social interaction, the basis for social life. Participation is left as an unstructured tyranny (Cooke and Kothari 2001) – or, at least, a tyranny structured by language. . It is only senior activists who have the ability and critical capacity to establish social order again and lay down a structure in interaction, as previously agreed among the organising committee. The government permits subversion of its power and structures here; the movement does not tolerate this and, thus the movement can be seen as an empowered civil society that is self-regulating.

The arguments that emerged through the extra-programme debate on voting rights, delegate selection and participation prior to the State plenary reveal significant power relations in terms of their situated nature and techniques of invocation. Breaks from categorically-associated attributes are often in evidence, yet always explainable. For example, LGBT-identified councillors seem prone to populism (e.g. Everlei) above group members who have no vested interest in being liked immediately, and thus act the part of a 'leader of men', supporting the situationally 'oppressed', finding a cause and setting up a straw-man enemy in those who attempt to stifle voting rights for everyone. Power is invoked throughout through language, discourse, frames and accounts, though always using polite protocols (Foucault 1979). The role of a governmental actor in *Políticas Públicas* is a tough one to play. He or she is generally expected to control interaction and cannot transgress any agreed rules. Further, in terms of the relationship between participants and government officers, it is the facilitators who can exert more situational power than the chair as they are not imbued with

category-limiting background identities. They must be careful to perform impartially and as a popular participation facilitator, promoting soft power.

In addition to the individual level of relations, wider power structures were alluded to throughout this chapter with reference to the deliberations evaluated. These revolved around the relationships between government, education and religion, and the demand for their disconnection. Debated on the basis that education is about the promotion of citizenship and indoctrination into the logic of capitalism, the groups argue against the leftist political perspectives to which they are generally affiliated. Such debate creates a sense of superiority of argument and alliance with liberal capitalist dominant discourses through which religion is relegated from the public sphere because religion is a perceived enemy. Marxist discourses also abound. Combined, such aspects reveal the wider struggle. Although united LGBTs have established all Christians as their enemies, in fact it is only Pentecostal and some Catholic groupings that have been political in opposing LGBT progress (Parker 1999) in the battleground of governance and the struggle for the capture of its policy-making apparatus.

Power is situational and channelled through individuals, with speakers always calling on a category-bound identity, and often multiple intersecting identities. While there is still the potential for disciplinary power invocation by levels of government, there are clear restrictions on this to those groups or individuals perceived to have failed to have done their duty in relation to other groups or to the agreed process in general. Thus, *Políticas Públicas* is a mechanism through which participants can exercise power over certain parts of government, subject to constant shifts and realignments in power dynamics. In contrast to Krinsky and Barker's (2009) contention that each strategic choice constrains future choices, this is not the case in this setting of contextual amnesia, as participants recognise that in each interaction with government the group is 'starting from zero' so, potentially, could change their positions completely.

Power, therefore, is situational, yet is mediated through the use of the correct tools (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999). That said, the conferences are disenfranchising insofar as they remove power from groups in relation to other potential repertoires of contention, because they establish a moral duty for these groups to participate even though not all relevant departments of government are represented and other modes of contention might progress aims faster. Government actors have the power whether to attend these settings or enact agreed policy suggestions in the system of representative government. Delegates wield power according to very Brazilian narratives of rich man and subaltern; the *casa grande* and the *senzala* (Freyre 1933). It is the moral imperative and its soft power that ultimately proves very powerful in these situations.

The importance of identity-classification in the establishment of repertoire and power relations has been raised in this chapter. Since the concept of identity is central to the LGBT movement's sense of itself, simultaneously predicating and predicated upon interaction, the question of the formations of the identities through which moral gradients are established provides the basis of the next chapter. This addresses the third of the three subsidiary questions, exploring identity invocation more specifically, and examining their interactive production and relevance, as an important consideration in assessing the potential for *Políticas Públicas* to overcome the 'democratic deficit'.

## Chapter Six: Identity

The two primary issues that emerged in the previous chapter were agency and credibility. These were explored in relation to both civil society and the state, but questions arose concerning how both of these categories are underpinned by identity. The aim of this chapter is to discern the internal dynamics and identity-based relationships of *Políticas Públicas*, within the movement, and of the category LGBT, and to assess how these are rhetorically and spatially made relevant. It argues that even though these conferences aim at LGBT emancipation and participation, subjects within this grouping benefit to varying extents. In turn, the chapter questions whether the movement can be understood as a monolithic and equal identity-based grouping, or as disaggregated and competitive in a constant quest for equilibrium. Following the approach adopted by Rosenfeld (1999), the task is to document and analyse the local enactment and contestation of historically- and geographically-specific outlooks that implicate and shape identity in order to understand how policymakers might hold it together and understand the empirical sociologies of local identity-based groupings. Such an understanding reveals the extent to which *Políticas Públicas* can serve empowering and inclusive aims in an egalitarian way, and diminishing the 'democratic deficit'.

As discussed in the literature review, new social movements can be understood through a focus on identity. Attributes and behaviours are assigned to particular identity categories by groups and their members, and these are loosely policed and disciplined to ensure cohesive and unified social movement group mobilisation (Buechler 2000). Identity in urban space in particular is open and in constant "fluidity" (Bauman 2004), often redefined through continued performance, and subject to the influence of different identities intersecting in this space (Carlson 2013). Identity is one of the most important considerations for policy, in that it continually redefines the subjects upon which policymakers act, yet it is as much defined by those subjects in different configurations, becoming a variable through which the successes or failures of policy intervention depends (Hajer 2003).

*Políticas Públicas* provide opportunity for LGBTs to construct and disseminate their particular identities in public and in dialogue with space, deliberating over which symbols can be included or excluded, and ultimately presenting this as how they wish to be represented in the wider public sphere. The greater the number of people in a given group, the greater there is a likelihood of increased internal differentiation (Mayhew 1983). Moreover, while place provides more than the settings of interaction, and itself provides the fundamentals of knowledge/power – place is situationally, economically and culturally contingent (Giddens 1984).

Place, according to Soja (1989:79-80), involves “the organization and meaning of space [as] a product of social translation, transformation, and experience”, and identity is central to ascribing meaning to place/space. A whole host of identity types are invoked and used to different ends and with unequal weight to accomplish things for their subjects. It is demonstrated here that the concept of the public sphere is important to identity invocation and the consequent iterative process through which this space is imbued with meaning. Public sphere, in Habermas’ (1992) terms, constitutes a theatre in which political participation is enacted through talk. Fraser (1990) advances the concept that modern modes of governance mean the elitist public sphere is not feasible. This means that *Políticas Públicas* can provide spaces for joint social demands of redistribution and recognition that form the foundations of social movement theorising. The idea of a united public sphere in which equality was assumed and the common-good sought, was reduced with the entry of non-bourgeois strata polarised by class struggle, resulting in fragmented and competing interests vying for an audience with what is still held as a separate institution - the state.

This chapter addresses those identity categories that are raised in the conference – focusing on political identities; *travestis*, LGBT identities in wider society; religion; old age; health; and LGBT identities within the movement. Some of these, particularly health and religion, are associated with the LGBT movement the world over. However, the ‘big ticket’ identity categories, including gender and race, remain excluded from deliberation. Gender identity persists as undercurrent contextual theme, given the traditional relationship of the women’s movement with the LGBT movement, but is never explicitly discussed directly. Racial identities are excluded from deliberation as, in general, are black participants. Delegates broaden the scope of LGBT to include wider frames of ‘diversity’ to make it a more appealing to wider society, yet this still fails to address the general exclusion of significant identity groups. Throughout, there are notable exclusions and status injuries both in terms of ‘intrapublics’, the relationships within the movement, and ‘interpublics’, interactions of groups with those outside the movement (Fraser 1998). It is not only the place in which these identities are performed that is relevant (perceived), but the places that are invoked by and in participant performances (conceived) that provide conceptions of the privileged urban core of participating groups providing a narrative of metropolitan privilege as lived space. Space seems to be a determining feature of class, with urban participants most likely to be read as more affluent, white and well-educated; with a lack of representation at all of the urban poor, most likely to be black and overtly heterosexual. This racial distinction is a dominant characteristic of (particularly Southern) Brazilian social relations (Hasenbalg 1979).

This chapter contributes an understanding of the logic of social movements in the public sphere, within these ‘emancipatory’ spaces within which traditional social relationships are

supposed to be surrendered for full egalitarian citizenship for each participant. These conferences, despite their stated LGBT focus, are certainly not simply LGBT affairs. The first section notes that these are inherently political spaces, in which political categories form a significant part.

## **Politicians and the ‘poor excuse’**

Identity is a building block for all social engagement and policymaking work. Politicians, as symbols of wider government, are mistrusted locally and nationally. This is generally a product of their category-bound attributes read implicitly in the identity (Sacks 1992), but the implied behaviours are perpetuated by the types of behaviours these participants perform in these spaces. These performances only serve to perpetuate this perspective (Filgueiras 2009). In situating ‘politicians’ in context in democratic Brazil, Fraser (1990) states that they comprise “strong publics”, defined those whose discourse encompasses both opinion-formation and decision-making. These conferences aim at creating wider strong publics, yet the ‘democratic deficit’ separates the individual from the realm of the state. While OP deepened civil society organisational capacity (Abers 1998), it did not have the more strategic outcome of changing the ways politics is done in Brazil. Even the PT, whose success was founded on a new type of politics, fell to earth with the *Mensalão* vote-buying corruption scandal of 2005 and, more locally, the revelation of an unpaid loan for the construction of the *Terceira Perimetral* expressway in Porto Alegre (Avritzer and Navarro 2003; Miguel and Coutinho 2007).

There is a conception of state actors as separate from the public, with the public sphere still conceived to be state-related: accessible to all; of concern to all; and pertaining to the common good and shared interest (Habermas 1992). The state is required to be separate from the “public” to maintain a functional public sphere. Those who participate in these settings in an official capacity are imbued with a quasi-essentialised identity and (mis)recognised as the oppressor inasmuch as their identity categories give them the generally-accepted decision-making rights to withhold resources from a weak public. The following extracts reveal a series of accounts produced by local politicians that reinforce a view of deceptive and insincere politicians among delegates.

*[Extracts from Conferência Municipal – Opening Panel Round Table]*

*48 José Fortunati (Mayor of Porto Alegre): Happy conference, happy working, happy debates and God bless us. Folks, I beg your pardon, I’ll be removing myself. I’m going to a funeral. The mother of my chauffeur passed away, one of my chauffeurs, so naturally this is a force majeure. I beg your pardon, but the Secretary Nereu D’Ávila remains here representing me and representing the government. All right? Good night.*



**Figure 10: Municipal Conference – left to right: Célio, Marcelly, Gustavo, José Fortunati, Nereu D’Ávila, Tâmara, Gustavo, Roselaine, Bernardo Armorim.**

*167 Nereu D’Ávila (Municipal Secretary of Human Rights): Have a good conference, a big hug. It was a pleasure to be with you all. Many thanks. I beg your pardon too, I’ll remove myself. Feel free. Your work was so good that I ask you to excuse me as you are in very capable hands.*

*325 Maria do Rosário (Federal Minister for Human Rights): Many thanks, happy conference; we’ll be counting on you all later in Brasília. I’m going to ask you to excuse me because I have to take a plane to Brasília, returning, but I wish from the bottom of my heart that this conference brings about the change that we need.*

While Arendt (1958) argues that forgiveness and promises are necessarily linked as part of the human condition, this is more complex in Brazil (Ribeiro 1968). ‘Poor excuses’ were endemic in LGBT *Políticas Públicas*, and while it was seen as a triumph to have these high-profile speakers in attendance, their ‘excuses’ or ‘accounts’ were seen as doubtful but not easily contestable. In the case of the Mayor, delegates were dissatisfied that he would choose to leave a high-profile event for a relative of one of his staff. In the case of Nereu D’Ávila, no acceptable excuse was given for his reluctance to remain in the debate, perpetuating the belief that public representatives are lazy and apathetic (Castro and Reis 2012). As for Maria do Rosário, several delegates stated it was unlikely that she would be returning to Brasília at 10pm on a Friday evening given that congress sits three days a week and never at the weekend. These extracts were seen by other participants as symptomatic of the lip service that politicians give human rights and diversity issues, thereby undermining any trust built up as a result of conference attendance.

Over the last decade since the PT has been out of municipal office, there have been claims that it is party political association which has most tarnished the reputation of local politicians (e.g. Junge 2012). Once again, Horton's (2003:68) conception of 'scripts' and 'codes' proves useful: the former as settled narratives to which performers must conform to be heard as being part of a particular identity category, and the latter as "specific behaviours which can be breached so long as they are made to fit a relevant script". While the scripts read as accounts by the category 'politician' (Chauí 2006), the 'codes' are delivered badly and undermine the scripts to such an extent that the whole category 'politician' is viewed as disingenuous and disinterested in these conferences. In this way, the performance does not work. It not only establishes the performers as non-credible, but the whole category to which they belong. This is especially important to the participants as it is this category that is seen as policy gatekeepers and 'brokers' in this process. Without reliable representation by these brokers, direct action is the only other possibility for delegate to seize decision-making responsibilities. Ribeiro (1995) links general Brazilian attitudes and a character that resists innovative forces of production not to an essential anarchic character, but precisely as a result of the disinterest of the dominant classes, and those people in positions of power, whose character has not changed since the colonial period. Such an attitude is revealed in *Políticas Públicas* as a paradox, in that while these programmes are a marketable indication of a new progressive politics, this is simply layered on top of the old politics that perpetuates an apathetic political class.

Backstage, participants quietly muttered complaints –

*"There's no way congress is sitting on a Saturday morning, so how could she be flying to Brasília tonight?"*

*"He's so useless – he only comes here because he has to. He thinks he's so important, and we put up with it."*

From this, it can be inferred that participants perceive Brazilian society to remain hierarchically stratified. At the municipal conference, stratification based on status recognition of identities proved pervasive and, despite collective disquiet at this poor performance of politicians, the institutionalised political space of the Council Chamber perpetuated impunity and escape from any disciplinary action. In terms of a public sphere, the lack of state accountability suggests that the transition from a repressive mode of domination to a hegemonic one has not been entirely completed (Eley 2002). Despite these spaces being nominated for LGBT identity, state-related identities remain the most powerful and therefore the idea of these as spaces for full citizen control are wholly premature, and



potential for citizen empowerment is sacrificed through an inability for participants to escape ideas of hierarchy and social stratification.

Accordingly, it follows that status differentials are not bracketed in this public sphere, and the dynamics of wider society remain. These dynamics are reinforced in these spaces by the relative ease with which politicians get away with breaking LGBT scripts and codes, while displaying a passing and limited commitment to these *Políticas Públicas* events. These behaviours are not explicitly disciplined, and there are no means through which any perceived harm done through these poor excuses can be redressed. While politicians are able to act freely within this micro public sphere, participants feel they have agency in this, claiming they “put up with it” – it is **their** space that they cede to others as a result of collective insecurity. In a context of this historic legacy of socio-political relations based on identity there are, however, empowering spaces created by LGBTs for themselves. From nominally the strongest category identity to the weakest, a discussion of *travesti* identity, resistance, and insertion into an LGBT public sphere follows.

### ***Travesti* and marginality**

*Travesti* identity incorporates those transsexuals, defined locally as those subjects “who have a biologically masculine body and female gender identity”, as well as transvestites whose identities are understood differently in different social spaces (Silva 2010:135). There is uncertainty as to why it should be rare for those with biologically feminine bodies but male gender identities to be represented and, while there is space in the movement for such subjects, they are on the whole absent. The T group within LGBT has always been the most derided, most side-lined and least visible (Boër 2003). With low life-expectancy, and high incidences of physical and psychological violence, *travestis* have been pushed to the margins (Kulick 1998). They are often only able to make a living through sex work; many not allowed to enter governmental buildings or even public toilets and, perversely, are relegated to the periphery even of the LGBT movement (Carrara and Simões 2007). Whereas the acronym was changed to LGBT for the increased visibility of lesbians, the T remains subordinate to L, G and B. In their organised capacity, they certainly count as a “subordinate public” (Fraser 1990), even within the wider LGBT subordinate public. This part of the chapter focuses on *travesti* identity within the conferences and is supported by examples of *travesti* identity-formation beyond the conferences, to outline some of the specificities of the T identity-group and its interaction to the others. The most category-bound attribute of a *travesti* is violence – physical, psychological and symbolic – as Roselaine comments upon:

[Extract from Conferência Municipal – Opening Panel Round Table]

403 *Roselaine: I'm talking about the violence that we suffer from a structural point of view, from the point of view of the everyday, in the exercise of citizenship when a trans, when a travesti still cannot access, cannot enter the schools of Porto Alegre using her 'street name'. The exception of the Mário Quintana School, that has... our companion Silvana Conte here that's the headmistress, where today a trans is registered in the school, who accessed the school with her identity. There it wasn't even questioned who she was or stopped being, there it was understood...*

*Travestis*, as beings who define the binary orders of sex, gender and desire (Silva 2010) establish and engender complex spatial relationships. Schools are accepted as integral parts of urban socio-spatial realities, providing spaces for instruction and socialisation at the centre of their communities. Schools must, therefore, be spaces of inclusion and the acceptance of difference, alongside the equitable access to knowledge. However, as Silva and Omat (2010) argue, for *travestis* they are spaces of violence which removes these subjects of their chance of future material achievement or social insertion. Rose aligns herself with the category '*travesti*' in the pronoun 'we' – emphasising united categories, of 'women' and of 'LGBTs'. Thus she regards the movement as unified (to a significant extent) as she feels part of an identity category equivalent to her own 'lesbian' professed affinity. Within this, she argues along the lines of Binnie (1997:223), that space (whether physical or symbolic) is not "authentically 'straight' but actively produced and (hetero)sexualised". Essential '*travesti*' identity has been denied in schools as *travesti* embodiment seems to present a sexual challenge to space – again, there is no opportunity for heterosexual society to lock her in the closet since her whole physicality is symbolic of sexual subversion (Kulick 1998). In terms of disciplinary action, the denial of the use of her 'street name' hinders her exercise of citizenship, resulting in official erasure from heteronormative school spaces.

For *travestis*, how their identities are made is relevant to the aims of this chapter, because a clear bracketing of their identities is helpful for a wider appreciation of their unique cultural repertoires. This group does not necessarily seek resources as its *primary* aim, but their embodied presences and specific performative styles of interaction threaten the public sphere most, given their potential for spectacle. As noted previously, politician identities allow subjects to act with influence in all realms of the public sphere, but *travestis* can do no such thing. This spectacle draws attention away from other (identity) groups in the public sphere, and thus results in a hostile reaction, even within LGBT *Políticas Públicas*. Until their specificity is recognised more widely, they remain at once the most marginalised yet most symbolically visible stratum of a 'deviant' or 'othered' LGBT collectivity. Visibility and acceptability as part of mainstream society, therefore, has the potential to blunt *travesti*

ability to shock and draw attention to themselves. It would, however, succeed in ensuring the allocation of equal resources to this identity grouping, recognising their common humanity rather than presenting them as somehow outside of citizenship rights. To this end, *Políticas Públicas* provides an end game for *travestis* who, having been so marginalised and even having adopted distinctive modes of behaviour and communication, find a way in to the wider public sphere and out of the margins through this process.

The example of a school in nearby Pelotas where recognition has taken place offers a 'happy ending', following *travesti* storytelling styles. This serves to generate alignment that such recognition should happen across Rio Grande do Sul and, since it has been validated here, should be seen as an essential part of human rights. That is, the right to assume an essential identity. *Políticas Públicas* is trying not to reproduce singular hegemonic texts of the forms of heteronormativity produced in current educational contexts. In Rio Grande do Sul, educational space is targeted forcefully by LGBT groups to ensure the end of hegemonic heterosexual spaces and the emergence of these subjects from the margins. However, the theme of 'the margin' remains an important spatial trope, and it is not just a case of abandoning this, but gaining its respectability as a valid spatial location:

*[Extract from Conferência Municipal I – Round Table Questions]*

*169 Célio: In the last National Conference of Health Políticas [Públicas] for Diversity, we had representatives of each population. I'd like to know if there were really representatives included there from "professionals of the night" and "sex professionals". They form part of the margins and also form part of the LGBT population. I'd like to know if we have anyone here who can speak too as part of the margins...*

Célio calls the authorities to account for neglecting subjects operating in marginal space. He uses his position as an experienced movement leader to assume a right to project Nuances' aims in the conference for the recognition of 'the margin' and rights for those working and identifying with this conceptual space. 'The margins' comprise insecure spaces without *de facto* subjugation to state control. Its occupants, including *travestis* are excluded from 'regular' heteronormative space, and suffer violence as a result of the insecurity of these spaces, yet are symbolically banished here. Within normalised spaces of state control these subjects still "suffer more violence and prejudice, because the mark of transgression is clear, visual, much less evident in the gay or lesbian" (Silva 2010:142). Given the fact that regular public space offers no particular security for LGBT bodies, there is no real reason for these people to enter into a social contract. Although Célio acts both as mobiliser of Nuances, and works for the Public Ombudsman, he fights for marginality for himself and for the consideration of the needs of the margin in public policy. At present, there is no space for the *travesti*, seeing as the main public sphere is hostile and the marginal sphere is dangerous.

Participants see a solution offered through *Políticas Públicas*, proffering a territory that “establishes pluri-localisations of subjects that aren’t fixed in their ‘centre’ and ‘margin’ positions, but constantly in tension inasmuch as they are occupied simultaneously” (Ornat 2009:202). Through these conferences the margins can be made more secure and will be assured state patronage while maintaining their inherent character. At the same time, they will no longer serve as ghettos, and subversive bodies may also leave the margins and engage in policymaking that benefits their embedded standpoint. While often *Políticas Públicas* have failed to constitute spaces of empowerment in themselves, there is a clear mandate for them to be able to result in wider empowerment and capacity building in other LGBT spaces.

It is concerning that, through all the talk for emancipation for Ts in particular, descriptions of these groups and articulation of their aims and areas of contestation were left to Ls and Gs, acting without being asked as intermediaries and brokers in policymaking, and even going so far as debating the group’s position in an etymology of social groups:

*[Extract from Conferência Municipal I – Round Table Questions]*

*177 Reinaldo: I’ve worked as a councillor for five years and I work with Políticas Públicas of people on the streets. It’s just that I don’t agree with the claims [being made] here because when we go to other states for conferences, the street-dwellers, the sex professionals, the transgenders, people put them as countable groups. They don’t put “in a street situation”, they put “traditional communities”, quilombos, indigenous people, and there is a new nomenclature.*

Reinaldo establishes his credentials in alignment with Célio’s previous comments, building his right to speak for ‘marginal’ groups on his professional identity in the social services. However, he immediately challenges and rejects the category ‘marginal’ as including transgenders, homeless, sex professionals, and the idea that the accepted nomenclature for those captured within the term ‘marginal’ is combined with the term “traditional communities”. Through this, *quilombola* and indigenous groups may be described within the legislature along with gypsies and sex professionals within the term “countable groups” and, in the national conferences as “vulnerable groups”. Through this association, Reinaldo attempts to diminish the social unacceptability and moral deviancy traditionally associated with both sex workers and *travestis*. Thus he aligns them with other traditionally non-accepted groups within Brazil, establishing a moral claim upon which these groups may become incorporated into the mainstream and thereby shed stigma, at least in policy terms. Indeed, as Fraser (1990:67) argues, “the proliferation of subaltern counterpublics means a widening of discursive contestation, and that is a good thing in stratified societies”, meaning that these voices can come through – they are recognised as distinct groups.

This broadens understanding of local conceptions of sexualised space beyond the idea of heterosexual and homosexual binary of spaces. Reinaldo highlights that spaces of the margins are not simply sexualised spaces; they are to some extent economic spaces, as subjects who inhabit these are often outside of the formal labour market. Treating *travestis* in the same policy terms as Brazilian native groups, however, allocates them to the same categories of (post-)colonial categories of marginality and to the same forces of discrimination beyond a focus solely on sexuality (Squires and Brouwer 2002; Ginsberg 1996). This really does not fit with broader LGB spaces of socialisation, and the broad LGBT identity category becomes atomised in space. Silva's (2002) definition of *travesti* space as an area in which normality is the existence of a combination of deviant, aberrant and transgressive behaviours can ring true for these wider groups as well – transgressing spaces of “civilised” Euro-American rationality. While the process of knowing social groups is related to fixing these groups and their subjects in space, Ornat (2009:207) argues *travesti* territory is highly transient and in permanent construction. The margins, therefore, come to be inherently unknowable to policymaking, leading to contention between *travesti* ways of knowing and the labels attributed to them by others which leads to argumentative contention in debate:

*[Extract from Conferência Municipal I – Round Table Questions]*

189 *Marcelly: Excuse me, but the population of travestis hasn't fallen.*

190 *Reinaldo: So, I think it should include vulnerable groups and sex professionals.*

191 *Marcelly: But we're not vulnerable groups.*

192 *Reinaldo: No, include vulnerable groups.*

193 *Del: Vulnerable to what?*

194 *Marcelly: We have to ask who is vulnerable?*

195 *Del: These groups, in reality, they transgress all the working groups; they're crosscutting.*

196 *Reinaldo: Exactly. It's been said again. What do you want when you go to work, to be beaten by the police?*

Despite Reinaldo offering countless claims to a category-bound right to speak, as both a counsellor with these groups and a delegate at national-level conferences, Marcelly takes exception to Reinaldo speaking on behalf of her group. While Reinaldo tries to account for himself and reaffirm his role as a valid and knowledgeable participant, two *travestis* continue to challenge the implication, first, that Reinaldo may speak on behalf of *travestis* (when he is not one); and secondly, that *travestis* are vulnerable. The implication that *travestis* are 'vulnerable' has to be broadened to the concept that all constituents of LGBT lie within this

term, added to which Reinaldo explains the concept of 'vulnerability' as involving other groups that are liable to be subject to extreme violence by authorities. 'Vulnerability', while resisted by *travestis*, is adopted as an attribute of LGBTs and becomes a political tool for the movement to emphasise its need for resources. This is a particular example of wider movement agency provided through *Políticas Públicas*, but individual interests are subsumed by the aims of the movement as a whole.

In this, *Travestis* are repeatedly side-lined and spoken for, not specifically to silence them but simply by overenthusiastic representatives of other groups seeking to utilise societal extreme reactions to these subjects to ensure policy intervention for all LGBTs. In this, it is the discourse of empowerment that proves stronger than the practice. *Travesti* identities in *Políticas Públicas* are put at risk of being defined as eternal victims, subjugated by their movement comrades. Delegates become so enthusiastic that they forget that a key component of this is capacity building and voice for all subjects. There seems to be a misrepresentation of this group and, as Silva (2010) argues, definitions in Portuguese-language writing do not match the lived experiences of Brazilian *travestis*. They live in what Rose (1993) refers to as a 'paradoxical space', which highlights power configurations present between the centre and the margin. This debate continues in the following extract:

*[Extract from Conferência Municipal I – Round Table Questions]*

201 *Reinaldo: But I think that we have to insert also...*

202 *Del: So we'll add there above, there? What do you think? Shall we add scavengers of recyclables?*

204 *Clo: Scavengers don't end up being vulnerable. They're not at the margins of society, 'cos they're working.*

206 *Mário: Concrete suggestions, then, folks, for the first paragraph.*

207 *Del: I think it should include sex professionals.*

208 *Marcelly: But why sex professionals? It's got nothing to do with [what] the boy [said].*

209 *Del: I think it has; they make up the margin also.*

210 *Marcelly: No, they don't make up part of the margin of the streets.*

212 *Del: Let's put...*

213 *Del: Situation of vulnerability?*

214 *Del: How about gender?*

215 *Marcelly: [inc.] and you all want to buy into it again, for fuck's sake. No! (4.0) For the love of God.*

As noted Reinaldo's professional identity is not heard as forming a legitimate enough standpoint from which to contribute (L.201). As this demonstrates, power is situational and

must be negotiated and carefully managed to maintain it (Foucault 1982). The discussion turns to other socially disregarded categories, linking other groups who inhabit the symbolic and physical margins, including itinerants who make money from rifling through refuse to find recyclable materials that they can exchange for money (L.202-203). Clo, another self-defined *travesti*, rejects this classification. At L.207-210 there is an argument between Marcelly and a male delegate on the vulnerability and marginality of sex workers, in which Marcelly rejects the idea that sex workers are subject to negative power relations in society. Rose's (1993) conception of simultaneity between power and resistance in space becomes evident – Marcelly resists the perceived stigmatisation of her group through its proposed 'othering' in policy terms, reclassifying 'marginal' groups as working groups with discretionary power, and therefore not conforming to traditional ideas of subjugation or vulnerability. Despite waves of debate on *travesti* vulnerability and marginality, they are not overcome by these category attributes and fully reject and resist any attribution that would threaten their entry into the wider public sphere.

While the general thrust of the policy intervention seems to be based around the regularisation of forbidden space, in line with Silva's (2009) Foucauldian argument that *travesti* bodies produce forbidden spaces, Marcelly resists forcefully with a view that *travesti* space is neither forbidden nor marginal. This negates the impetus for state and policy intervention, and Mário rescinds the specification and tight definition of the term 'vulnerability'. This provides a solid symbolic victory for *travesti* agency. Marcelly makes it abundantly clear that she rejects the idea of vulnerability as applied to *travestis*.

The rest of the movement seems to see itself as progressive agents for the assistance of Ts, thereby making them, by implication lower than the rest of the movement in the social pecking order. Ts themselves do not really see any problem with their status in society in this specific sense (Boër 2003). *Travesti* activism is strong, and internal debates take different forms from those within other groups. Their shared experience and frame articulation borrows from frames emphasising their vulnerability and social marginality as they are category-bound with other disenfranchised groups (Sandercock 1995). The extensive use of horror stories, for example an episode where Marina Reidel, the first *travesti* to be granted a Master's degree in Education, was denied entry to a public toilet on the basis of her identity; or Cristina's summary of her experiences of incarceration at the time of the military dictatorship, publically emphasise marginality as a political tool. These are complemented to a lesser extent by war stories and happy endings. As Mansbridge (1998) notes, subordinate groups sometimes cannot find the right voice or words to express their thoughts. Added to this, when they do, they discover they are not heard. However, while *travesti* identity is marginalised even in an LGBT setting, it has clear and categorically-associated ways of

securing its preferred outcomes in practice, thus diminishing the value of the idea of a singular public sphere.

We have seen that Politicians are at the centre of wider Brazilian society, but *travestis* are not even deemed acceptable agents in LGBT life. However, the participation of Ts in wider Brazilian society can be understood, the role of the political LGBT identity and its place in the wider public sphere should be understood. The next section explores how delegates perceive their identity-based insertion in the wider public sphere.

## **LGBTs in Brazilian society**

This section discusses sequences demonstrating LGBT identities in general terms and perceptions of it in relation to society at large. In so doing, it suggests that, in deliberative contestation these spaces provide emancipatory potential rather than resulting in real emancipation. As noted, these spaces cannot be thought of as a definitive LGBT public sphere as politicians have unprecedented ability to act with greater influence than participants within these conferences, while *travestis* delimit themselves as separate from LGBs despite the latter's attempt to claim an equivalent space. The reality, however, is that *travestis* do in fact engage in the LGBT public sphere from a pragmatic point of view, which is sufficiently well-defined to be understood as serving a recognised (identity-based) population. The movement has some rather influential friends to take on the cause in the legislature who are aware of the overall aims and are familiar with the intricacies of complex identification processes and their spatial implications:

*[Extract from Conferência Estadual II – Panel 2]*

*107 Maria Berenice Dias: Políticas Públicas, have as their objective to promote equality of opportunity and social inclusion of homosexuals, lesbians... Also, in a very special way, the right of access to work for travestis and transsexuals, the prohibition that schools [enforce] by means of discrimination; to guarantee the right of access to public spaces for travestis and transsexuals for uses conforming with the law, the [bestowing of] identity of [chosen] name, and seeking to punish and deter any form of discrimination in combative homo-lesbo-transphobia.*

Maria speaks as a progressive judge, the first woman to take the bench in Rio Grande do Sul. She specialises in family law and, with a track record on women's rights she has become an ambassador for human rights for 'sexual minorities', with legal responsibility for the enabling of *União Estável* (same-sex quasi-union) legislation. In this turn, Maria defines *Políticas Públicas* in relation to inclusion and social opportunity. She works hard at this inclusion in her own speech, broadening from the cover-all term "homosexual" to make "lesbians" visible in her talk. The rest of the turn focuses on the idea of 'inclusion' of the most marginalised identity, *travestis*, and their traditional exclusion from the components of social



life”.

In this passage and throughout the conferences, the political importance of terms is evident. ‘Homo-’ is heard to refer only to gay men (while lexically it is a cover-all term comprising all LGBT categories), promoted especially by Brazilian League of Lesbians (LBL) in their insistence of complementary ‘lesbo-’ prefixes, encouraging Igualdade-RS to insist upon ‘trans-’ prefaces. This is encouraged through frames, branching from feminist discourse, that the female form is subjugated and needs separate visibility (Sanghvi and Hodges 2015). However, adherence to this logic would result in the correct prefix for gay men being ‘gay-’ or ‘guei-’, and in one of the group’s views, that would be prejudicial towards gay men in terms of their assumed relationships to power, ignorance of ‘bi’ identities, and an often uneasy alliance with the women’s movement. Even Maria, as someone seen as a font of knowledge on the cause, has to compromise between efficiency and confusion in lexical choice between the coverall ‘homophobia’ and the use of ‘homo-lesbo-transphobia’ to describe the same social problem, but providing increased symbolic visibility for other groups.

There is clearly a relationship between recognition and redistribution, but this functions as much within the movement as between it and other identity categories. For the participants, it is not enough for recognition to be a private matter of self-recognition, as Honneth (1995) asserts but, as Fraser (1998) contends, it is unfair that individuals and groups are denied the status of full partners in social interaction because of institutionalised patterns of cultural value. This is predicated on the L and T view that ‘homo’ constitutes misrecognition and thus a status injury whose locus is social relations and, as a result, these categories are denied access to a universal public sphere.

There is a clear division in framing of the movement’s internal issues yet, as per this chapter’s aims, it becomes clear that distributive justice and recognition are intimately interconnected. Recognition and visibility of individual components within the wider political LGBT tag brings social, political and economic rewards. The following extract focuses on LGBT insertion into the municipality’s public cultural sphere; a sphere very highly regarded and, through the influence of the federal Ministry of Culture, often a top-down driver of a strong national narrative with hegemonic tendencies and cultural domination (Ribeiro 2009), and makes LGBT identities relevant to this sphere.

*[Extract from Conferência Municipal V – Thematic Group]*

*236 Endrigo: I have a doubt. There’s the Rouanet Law and such that requires companies there to invest in culture. In the form like that on top, “other form of production”, “having inferiorisation of LGBT culture as opposed to any other form of cultural production and that cultural policies and social development take into account such cultural and*

*artistic expressions". I think it's important to put in there really emphasised... I don't know if this question of preference in the Rouanet Law and such, or how companies choose such projects and not others, and if it fits within social development there [within the law].*

Endrigo invokes the 'Rouanet Law' that obliges private companies to invest in culture, questioning how they can be made to invest in specifically LGBT cultural production, and suggesting that many companies will not due to prejudice against the group. Ribeiro's (2001:42-47) developmental view of Brazilian society points towards its increasing homogenisation: through differentiation,

societies tend to multiply population groups, to break down ethnic entities where they coalesce and to diversify their respective cultural heritage. Under... homogenisation, however, this diversification, rather than lead to a growing differentiation of human groups, leads to homogenisation of their ways of life through the fusion... in ever more inclusive units and building their cultural heritage within parallel lines, designed to align them.

Indicators here point to a postmodern view of society that emphasises the importance of identity as an indicator of social atomisation under the condition of late capitalism in the next stage of a path-dependent route (Habermas 1984; Kay 2005). This is important in the context of this thesis as it demonstrates a more and therefore extrapolatable understanding of policy-making and governance. At its most abstract levels, participants relate an understanding of their insertion into society through *Políticas Públicas* which suggest this system could be taken as a model for other diverse societies as a useful tool of governance.

On the wider relationship between cultural and resource mobilisation theories of social 'movimentation', it is imperative to recognise how interrelated culture and economy are. Ideas of 'substantive dualism', whereby these are treated as two distinctive "spheres of justice" (Fraser 1998:7), are misplaced according to Habermas (1984), who recognises that each permeates the other. The data shows that there is a clear drive for recognition of LGBT culture within this space, however broadly defined, to be able to access resources from both state and private donors. In turn, these resources are allocated to redistributive projects to further raise recognition of a (particularly-constructed) LGBT identity project to be able to raise more resources. In this, Habermas' view of the singular public sphere is challenged further. The movement seeks both resources and identity-recognition, with a frame of seeking a 'common good'. Recognition then becomes a remedy for injustice so that the broad identity category is unburdened of its ascribed deviancy, and substitutes this with physical symbols of its co-production of society equally valued as part of public space and a diverse public sphere.

Space, as Corrêa (1995) notes, is the setting of the reproduction of social relationships, i.e.

the reproduction of society but, as Carneiro and Ornat (2014), have noted, an examination of these relations highlights the production of contemporary capitalist space. Talk of funding by private companies is therefore an integral part of the social landscape. It is of significance to local groups since these require income to maintain a professional administration. Most SOMOS' funding comes from Brazilian Government ministries, with individual projects being funded by international agencies. Reliance on international agencies emphasises Bhabha's (2007:286) contention of the country's insertion into the nascent capitalist economic system reveals its "inferiority as a nation", and has certain implications for self-identification. When asked about financial input by private enterprise, the response given is that deviancy perceptions remain problematic and that NGO finance is a zero-sum game. Consequently, private funding is not pursued and is sometimes actively rejected. Ribeiro (1995) argues that there is a clear link between Brazilian backwardness and a history marked by continuing tendencies towards patronage and authoritarianism as well as the attribution of their subalternity within the capitalist logic. This is reinforced by current relations of patronage. While recent flirtation with neoliberal policy at national level has been commented-upon, this has not yet made its presence felt culturally or institutionally (Hunter 2010).

The sequence above points to a different attitude in the pursuance of private finance. Thus, one may note how there has been utilisation of an existing law to attract private funds to raise the visibility of the LGBT movement (Calabre 2014). This has been achieved not through liaising directly with the sector, but through governmental mediation. From such actions it can be inferred that NGO entrepreneurialism is curtailed by a strong and directing state, even at the municipal level. While this can be interpreted as local or national colour, it is important in identity terms as it demonstrates the specific institutional landscape for LGBT groups. They are subject to a double burden in that they are subject to standardised NGO requirements; yet their associated perceived identity attributes of deviancy, immorality, pathologisation (Fry 1982) prevent enterprise as a result of an exclusion of individuals associated with these identities from access to finance. Identity is the determining factor in the groups' reliance on government for resources, through which it must channel policy interventions to oblige the private sector to remove its restrictions on access to finance. While 'Rouanet Law' is symptomatic of a Brazilian drive for neoliberalism in stimulating relations between private finance and society, *Políticas Públicas* ensures the state remains arbiter of these relations (Correia 2010).

Space, though, is understood locally as so much more than the reproduction of capitalist relations in a Brazilian setting. It encompasses, Santos (2007) notes, a broader focus on human existence, and the Cultural thematic group in particular focuses on how the movement seeks to have itself represented:

*[Extract from Conferência Municipal V – Thematic Group]*

*364 Sandro: Come on. “Include reference to sexual orientation and gender identity in the archives and registered topics in the documentation centre of the city as to preserve the material and immaterial good of the LGBT history and culture of Porto Alegre”.*

*Endrigo: Uh. My opinion, split this into two because the question of reference to sexual orientation and gender identity is very important to only one topic. And another thing, [will this be] just in the municipal documentation centre?*

*Sandro: We have to try to get it straight. Here, registered topics in the municipal documentation centre will be what? Public archive?*

*Endrigo: They have a register of the people who live here, register of payments, of tax, lighting, whatever.*

*Diego: I think that this is [inc.] of documentation.*

*Sandro: I understood it in another way, for me it was a register...*

*Diego: Of the first parade [pride march]*

*Sandro: Yeah, memories like that. Do we understand here? I’m speaking about the question of the sense that...*

*Endrigo: No. The question of street names of transgenders, travestis, etc., and such, I don’t know. Yesterday, the lecture had this here and there wasn’t anything emerging about travestis... the registration form of sexual orientation and gender identity is not reported in registration forms for transsexual, anyway... and also the issue of the street name.*

Sandro emphasises his role as chair, a situational identity of the GT, directing the debate and focusing discussion in the category-bound activity of this category device. The focus is back to visibility in public records of a particular LGBT ‘culture’, as separate from the broader conception of ‘gender and sexual diversity’ the GT seeks in broader society – so that LGBT identities do not have to be closeted in a multiple public sphere. Endrigo challenges this, expressing a preference for the broader constituents of the movement, again deflecting the focus of attention away from LGBT-identity and increased visibility to broader societal discourses. Identification work is being done in these spaces – not individual identification, but attempts to create and mandate the portrayal of symbols in public space (in this case within a museum space) that will pin down understandings of LGBT identity categories within a central (as opposed to marginal) institutionalised space. Sandro stresses the need for concise wording to ensure that movement plans for the public exhibition of LGBT symbols and so as to enable data to be interpreted as the movement itself envisages, while also showing a precise understanding of what they are asking so that those within institutional spaces view them as credible participants in institutional spaces. Paradoxically, while movement leaders understand and internalise the Habermasian concept of ‘publicity’, they

internalise the idea of a singular LGBT public sphere within which unity becomes homogeneity, and internal diversity is curtailed through internal power relations. This is a theme returned to in the sixth section of this chapter, addressing intra-movement relations.



**Figure 11: Pictures from the Nuances commemorative exhibition held on the upper floor of the Municipal Market in the city centre.**

Existing governmental documentation on these groups, so often viewed as subversive and deviant even within the democratic era as a ‘cease and desist’ letter sent to Nuances in 1994 showed, does not necessarily relate to ideas of LGBT *Políticas Públicas*. Therefore, it is a contentious claim among the movement itself to have civil servants collect increasing amounts of data on aspects of human sexuality – from the private – and have it made public. This would be positively frowned on by other groups (such as Nuances), yet its small size means that its members cannot be in all thematic groups and thus voices overlooked. This is thematic group seeks representation of LGBTs in public space (Pollock 2007), and brings the LGBT experience and identification out of the closet and in to the respected institutional space of memory. As Duncan (1990) contends, there is a conjugation of forces acting on the symbolic production of space, considered as a form of knowledge that guides everyday actions. However, LGBTs seek both to formalise these spaces and, inevitably, have these formalised for them.

The location of LGBT identities in terms of public vs private has always been contentious in movement relations with wider society (Dehesa 2007). The whole idea of the LGBT movement was to politicise the private and turn it public as a means to resource procurement and rights (Facchini and França 2009). The extent to which the state should monitor the private is the subject of another, perhaps more recent, certainly more widespread, discourse of privacy and data protection (Henriques and Silva 2013). This GT seems to veer towards a positive relinquishing of privacy rights and the forced government

collection of details of the 'sexualities' of its citizens in a bid to document 'memory' and cement the social inclusion and visibility of LGBTs in Porto Alegre. This seems rather counterintuitive as a strategy, and Nuances argues that the less the government knows about LGBTs, the more marginal and 'deviant' the movement can remain – in their terms, a positive thing. This strategy is justified in terms of quality of life for individuals, especially *travestis*. Endrigo (from L.378) explains the more pragmatic reasons for the storage of individual data, providing an official sanction for the 'street name' of *travestis* which is essential.

Within Brazil, a national ID card with an associated official number and fingerprint is needed when accessing a high proportion of public buildings. The ID card, that could not be changed, presented a real problem for *travestis* who no longer referred to themselves by their birth name. By storing this information in government records, Endrigo argues, *travestis* could use their 'street name' on their ID cards and therefore be relieved of the problems that the lack of corresponding ID card has had on their access to services, including healthcare, a category-bound dependency of the member category device *travesti*. Bathrooms in particular have been contentious for LGBT subjects; bathroom space is described by Gomes (1996:45) as "... a sphere of intimacy, which should be sheltered from contact with other people." Through the LGBT project of making the private public, these private spaces are made public too. In the first instance, bathrooms are heteronormative spaces that appear as privileged spaces to mark definitively the form of boundaries between masculine and feminine and the exercise of social roles assigned to sexed bodies (Silva 2009:146). In transgressing these boundaries, it is *travestis* that prove the most obvious targets of governmentality, and talk of "humiliation" at being denied a fundamental right to urinate in a public facility provides the heaviest moral imperative for reform as to how spaces are administered.

The LGBT movement focuses its contention on what it perceives as the most symbolic spaces. These range from the heavily symbolic spaces of ceremony, through the semi-private spaces of capital, to the everyday spaces of formation and socialisation which comprise school and health institutions:

*[Extract from Conferência Municipal VII – Final Plenary Part 1]*

*477 Luisa: That health points and schools recognise the street name of travestis and transsexuals. 20, that the municipality of Porto Alegre participates in a programme of preventative health in schools. 21, that public bodies, both [at] municipal and State [levels] respect the Federal Constitution including the character of the secular state, guaranteed in the Federal Constitution. 22, for Políticas Públicas for the care and health of the LGBT population and community covering actions for*

*prevention and information campaigns guaranteeing the accessibility of available services.*

Luisa begins her turn referring to two key institutions, health and education, that require documentation as proof of ID. Luisa's argument, as a *travesti* herself, is not against the whole idea of having to prove identity, but in having one's *social identity* recognised in public institutions. This has been a long-running area of discomfort for *travestis*. Basic rights may be denied if one's identity card does not accord with the presented embodied subject. Within the *travesti* groups, 'horror stories' (Fine 1995) are shared about societal treatment: not just physical violence, but societal violence too – LGBTs are blamed for their own exclusion from entitlement to schooling on account of their embodied and performed identities (Silva 2009).



**Figure 12: Hidden cross - an example of the animosity towards perceived favouritism towards Christian groups in a 'secular' country**

In terms of the aims of the municipal conference and for LGBT *Políticas Públicas* more generally, Luisa's request (L.479), from point 21, may seem rather opaque; of course public bodies, municipalities and States, are legally bound to respect the federal constitution, but in both Luisa's and the LGBT movement's opinion they do not. No reference to any specific article is given, yet the debate here is a continuous existential one. The LGBT movement feels it has to fight hard as it judges that Christian, especially Pentecostal, groups are trying to capture the state through expression in public space (Souza 2014).

Chauí (2002) notes that Evangelical churches have mushroomed in Brazilian cities. The opposition of these groups to LGBT existence, and the power they wield in general society especially among the lower income groups, along with their election to strategic governmental positions, has increased their power to harass LGBTs and establish a negative power differential (Torres 2011). In an attempt to prevent this, LGBT mobilisation has identified areas in which the religious front may be undermined legally, and the 'secular' classification of the Brazilian state in the federal constitution is a major source of fodder.

Prayers and joint blessings for workers in public buildings are increasing according to the local groups, and within the municipal conference itself, attention was drawn to the crucifix above the speaking panel. In a symbolic gesture this was covered up for the rest of the session so that political institutional space became LGBT space, and the cross was removed from the state with a flag from the side (see Figure 5, above). The logic of the united movement is that through undermining moral arguments against LGBT identities politically, the groups may better engage with government and not be denied access to key services on account of identity.

Nevertheless, religious colonisation of political institutions, public spaces, and even the religious identities of many private sector businesses, has impacted LGBT access to citizenship. While OP 'empowered' local community groups to engage with the state, 'empowerment' of some identity-based groups means challenging other identity-based groups in the wider public sphere. In contrast to traditional theories of social movements, the object of these struggles is not the state itself, but the occupation of public space. This is an issue to which this thesis now turns.

## **Religion and religious education**

In light of high-profile political attacks on LGBT sexuality by religious politicians, with populist anti-LGBT rhetoric raising the profile of Federal Deputies to electoral success, the movement is very much in favour of trying to limit the influence of religious fundamentalists on law and policy. The main proposal is to cut any understanding and knowledge of Christian religion off at its perceived source, in schools. This becomes an extended debate as LGBT identity in Brazil is largely formulated in opposition to religious identity and especially against those Christian groups that have perpetuated anti-LGBT narratives through pro-heterosexual "family values". The contention here is that these groups occupy the same political identity-based spaces and, as each group has a particular exclusive view of the world, conflict between them is inevitable.

Within Brazil, religion had been relegated to the private sphere and thus seeks public expression in space, as do LGBT groups and individuals. The religious movement is established in LGBT speech as the enemy (Starr 2000) – the 'other'; the competitor; the bully to be removed from public space. It is true that some religious groups seek violence against LGBTs, but more important in this setting is the symbolic space they occupy and the horror/war stories that are established around their actions that result in LGBT boundary work. The LGBT movement establishes itself as a subaltern counterpublic in a belligerent and adversarial relationship with the dominant public overrun by religious interests. It



becomes difficult for LGBTs to be Christian as well, and the two identities become mutually exclusive.

*[Extract from Conferência Estadual V – Working Groups Axis III]*

*13 Gustavo: Just to complement Rose's proposal, speaking not as government [actor] but as a citizen, I think it is important to add to the proposed a question of a motion, perhaps, against teaching religion in state [public] schools because this is going through the Supreme Court now, questions about religious education. That agreement that was signed with the Vatican by Lula's government - It's necessary that the movement positions itself against it. Related to this, it is important that the movement embeds itself into the process because the CLBB already embedded itself to make the defence of the agreement with the Vatican and the facilitator is the minister Ayres Britto, so I think we have a chance to reverse this situation, but we need the LGBT movement to dissociate and I want to ask the NGOs [inc.] who can afford to add to the process, someone who is currently engaged in the process to add [to it] because we ourselves can [inc.] as NGOs. They haven't made that opposition to it in the Vatican and I think it is important that the conference has already spoken about this. The government has already talked about it... there is no agreement with the Secretary of Human Rights, but it was made by the Lula government and only the Supreme Court can now...*

Gustavo, despite his professional position, prefaces his turn as a 'citizen' to orient recipients to the basis of his remarks, not top-down but as one of them – a lay non-specialist. He speaks in earnest, and presents the social problem of Vatican influence on education through its provision of schools. This, he tells delegates, was reinforced under the last government when, in 2008, the President signed an accord by which the Vatican regulates certain aspects of the Brazilian juridical system, including churches, Catholic and educational institutions, and influences prisons and Catholic health institutions. He extends this as a social problem, not just an LGBT problem, and further comments on how, through the provision of services that are better than those provided by the state, the Catholic Church has been able to exert an influence on political life that is unique to Latin America.

Gustavo suggests a political strategy of dissociation, whereby the movement removes itself from relationships with government over this issue and stands independently and separately in response to the state's relationship with the Church. This is interesting as it shows a member's ability for political strategising through recognising the lay of the land and relationships between institutions, to make pragmatic decisions as to the best way forward. He does not force this tactic upon delegates but proposes it as a possible strategy, and accounts for its formulation in the rest of the turn based on his professional and experiential standpoints.

The space for the cultivation of secular beliefs is viewed by LGBTs as the school, which should uphold the principles of the lay state, yet the structure of Brazilian education means that some schooling is privately run by religious groups supposedly pushing religious values and marrying these with a form of Christian cultural morality:

*[Extract from Conferência Estadual V – Working Groups Axis III]*

*181 Gustavo: But private education is complementary to public education. The establishment of private education is fundamental to [inc.]. If we observe, even the private should be secular. But it is controversial. There are countries like Australia that are discussing this subject because they have decided that the public state is secular, now they are in a fight there because it will be secular. A movement can do this, raise it to the Government.*

*186 Bernadete: So this would be a discussion for a guideline.*

*187 Gustavo: It could be. I think that our priority now is the Política Pública of the secular state.*

The participants, and Gustavo in his professional and activist role in particular, are keenly aware that Christian groups are very well established and in many ways relied upon by the state for basic services. This hegemonic hold on the public sphere and policymaking is made possible in this greatly stratified society through these institutional groups holding both economic and cultural power. Their economic power has come from the status recognition of a morally unassailable identity categorisation, which has allowed religious groups to secure economic benefit both from the state and from a sizeable congregation bound by religious cultural frames of understanding. Their hold on resources has been magnified through their being in a better position to fund cultural production and education in lieu of the state, and in doing so they have colonised the public sphere to the exclusion of competing groups such as LGBTs who are specifically excluded in status injuries through moral discourses.

LGBT resistance appears to be achieved through frame extension through which the movement undermines opposition by aligning itself with atheists, and other religious groups in an oppositional frame of 'secularism' to wrench the hegemonic hold on power from Christian groups (Freston 2008). This frame is part of a wider category of 'diversity', which is presented as morally just on the basis of self-identification as non-Christians. Sexual diversity is never normally heard as part of any 'religious' category and LGBT support for secularism may be heard from a detached and objective standpoint, as it has no vested interest in the relationship between religious groups and the state. This is far from accurate, and within the local political sphere, Christian (especially Pentecostal) groups are the movement's political opposition (Marsiaj 2006). *Políticas Públicas* are both symbolic of the movement's progress against the capture of the state by Christian groups, and tools through

which the movement may align itself with broader opposition (Souza 2014).

In Porto Alegre's movement, there are virtually no Christian religious affiliations in any of the study groups. Discussions of controlling the format of religious education are problematic inasmuch as they constitute a level of control of other interest groups, but the aim is to limit any potential damage to LGBT wellbeing.

*[Extract from Conferência Estadual V – Working Groups Axis III]*

*622 Roselaine: I think that we don't have to put it to a vote, we don't have to. If the plenary consents, nothing has to ... If we agree. We don't need to vote to agree. Is anyone against it if we remove "the non-mandatory" and put "respect for religious diversity"? Is anyone against this? And there you go.*

*627 Bernadete: Very good, so it's the removal of "non-mandatory" then?*

*Roselaine: Yeah, and put "respect for religious diversity".*

*629 Bernadete: Religiosity, it's better.*

*Bernadete: The proposal is set. It's the insertion... "withdrawal from the school curriculum of the subject of religious education". So we want to substitute "religious education" with "diversity", is that it?*

*632 Dels: No.*

Roselaine's power over the format of decision-making and the procedure of the conference comes to the fore again here. She is a skilled discussant and achieves her vision of how the wording of the policy proposal and its voting should proceed. In this setting, in contrast to Fraser's (1990) contention, women tend to interrupt more than men; speak more than men; and take longer turns than men. For women, the LGBT public sphere is, if not equal, more feminised. Roselaine offers the limited selection of choices here to maintain the sense and feeling of democratic participation. This focuses on a reoriented policy proposal within which changes to the curriculum do not consider making religious education non-obligatory. It is simply presented as promoting diversity in religious education, considering that schools reinforce patterns of exclusion that become naturalised, and reinforce "differences of income, colour, gender, and fosters reproduction of hegemonic patterns" (Silva 2009:145). Skilfully, the interaction incorporates the idea that everyone has a 'right' to faith. This borrows significantly from European secular policies (Jackson 2004), a source of much LGBT ideology seen through Brazilian discourses. Its use here, however, differs significantly as a political tool. The discourse of diversity (of religion) is promoted not to aid the integration of non-host religions but of non-Christian groups, including LGBTs. Plurality of religious studies in schools can also serve to blunt the influence of Christian groups in educational institutions; these institutions are integral to citizen-making (Gandin and Apple 2002). The desired impact is to blunt the political influence of Christian groups on policy and

society of particular groups seen as increasingly visible and increasingly powerful in the public sphere.

There was the risk of one identity grouping trying to discredit another (religious groups) in a public setting; attempting to disempower as it seeks empowerment itself. This was avoided through skilled and measured discursive tropes in the debate, for while some delegates sought revolutionary solutions to the religious hegemonic hold on the state, the more experienced fought for diversification of the public sphere and the empowerment of common humanity. However, the freedom to be Christian and LGBT in public in this space remained taboo given the enmity built up between these two categories.

Religion seems to have become a fundamental organising principle of societies globally since the 1970s, and from a similar period in Brazil (Freston 1995). Religion, Chauí (2004) argues, has been easily spread by time-space compression. At the same time, the fracture between the sensible and the intelligible has been overcome by religious imagery with figures of holy space and sacred time. Like other identity categories, the battlefield occurs on both the physical and symbolic planes, yet religious identity offers an idea of community identity supported by sacred infinite space. LGBT identity has no such claims on the hereafter, and can offer no such universal homogenising guarantees. It can merely push for its retreat from the Habermasian public sphere by attempting to reframe religion as a private matter that does not conform to common-good principles. This has the potential to harm the LGBT movement in the longer term; for in seeking to remove recognition from one group the logic continues that differences must be bracketed and excluded from the public sphere. As Chauí (2002) notes, within a secular frame, religion takes a particular beating in that, from a civilised point of view, religion is viewed as something rural and backward. This also serves as an indicator of metropolitan privilege – rural participants are subsequently also excluded from the public sphere, misrepresented as unknowledgeable and incapable of serious citizenship.

## **Old age**

As Paiva (2009) notes, the Brazilian LGBT movement has been visible for (more than) 30 years now, and the original activists have not escaped the human condition of aging. Despite the presence of many older participants, especially in Igualdade-RS, momentum emerges from the youth element, emphasising a relatively ageless collectivity. Older participants contextualise the need for *Políticas Públicas* for older LGBTs as a different identity category with particular needs within the collective movement, following the work of Rosenfeld (1999) delimiting “identity cohorts” by age as subdivisions within a collective frame.

The following sequence establishes the bases of discussion around this “cohort”:

*[Extract from Conferência Estadual V – Working Groups Axis III]*

*702 Marina (Outra Visão): We need Políticas Públicas for the third age. We need a discussion because we never discuss it. What are we doing to help them? What's the State doing? State?*

*Del: Yeah.*

*[inc.]*

*707 Victor: I think we can make a joint action, right, guys, I do not want to impose.*

*Del: Are there two proposals then?*

*Del: We have that proposal about the police and the other one about the elderly.*

*Del: A specialised group.*

*711 Victor: Let's discuss Políticas Públicas for the elderly LGBT population. For us to formulate a final forwarding report of effective and concrete Políticas Públicas in this sense. The idea that we could do it, then, a proposal, then, concrete, policy through public power?*

*715 Del (Igualdade-RS): What I found interesting seeing as this has come up for years, like other travestis who have come and gone and never had any assistance, opportunities, nothing to say that he may have more going forward [in the future]. Many have come and gone and never had anything, like me, still, up to today, too, having nothing.*

*[inc.]*

*Del (female): I think, therefore, Políticas Públicas for the third age already exists, [and] I think that then it needs to be re-established.*

An Outra Visão delegate, Marina, (L.702) outlines a deepening of attention to diverse identities within the LGBT meta-category even beyond those represented in the acronym. She speaks as an academic, referencing old-age identities using the sociological term, 'third age'. She highlights this category as a subaltern identity group within the LGBT movement and in Riograndense society in general. She attempts to establish herself in a gatekeeper role, making obvious in speech what is apparent in her physical appearance as a 22-year-old woman: that those in this identity category cannot fight for their own place in political considerations on the basis of marginality as a result of physical capacity, and the alignment of society with youth and beauty. This is additionally a result of poor education in the recent past and, following Duberman (1994) or D'Emilio (1983), the multiple levels of stigmatisation of homosexuality in the recent past's dominant discourses. While there is a drive for mutual support and collaboration among delegates, there is always a risk of misrecognition and that resultant reforms aimed at improvement can mock rather than redress any harm (Fraser 1998).

The idea of “joint action”; that elderly LGBT and LGBT-proper are two separate identity categories is echoed by other delegates. However, any nod to “correct” sociological terminology is lost in the continued discussion of “the elderly LGBT population” (L.711), which Victor later highlights. This lowers the barriers to delegate entry while not taking away from the substance of discussion for, as noted, participants have to be able to speak with their own voice and on their own terms for emancipation. The function of the thematic group is reiterated (L.712-714) as the production of concrete, not abstract, proposals through the means of a legally- and institutionally-recognised draft bill. This echoes the plenary session of the municipal conference’s need to solidify proposals into clear, specific and detailed proposals that facilitate a universal, objective, and unequivocal understanding of what is proposed. The onus is on civil society undertaking the work of policy production in legalistic terms.

The introduction of the identity-category “older LGBT” gives rise to the voice of two members of Igualdade-RS and the beginning of a recognisable ‘war story’ (L.715). Within this turn, the delegate reveals the complete lack of state help, opportunities and the extreme-case formulation of ‘nothing’ (L.716). She establishes herself both as a seasoned activist, but also one of a different era, therefore belonging to the category ‘older’, addressing her turn to younger members and formulating her story as a memory. The motive for this is to speed the formulation of policy protecting those within her category “older LGBT”, via invocation of a moral imperative through which the betrayals of earlier eras may be remembered and remedied.

This is for multiple reasons: first, it is an expression of the fear that is bound up with the category ‘older’. Secondly, the intersection of the categories ‘elderly’ and ‘LGBT’ multiplies perceptions of vulnerability. Thirdly, there is a perception that the ‘older *travesti*’ (those above 50-60 within a Brazilian LGBT setting (rather than 65 in the global north [D’Emilio 1983]), are to be revered and respected as survivors (Both et al. 2011). Fourthly, despite having spent decades outside majority society surveillance, control and policies, Igualdade-RS, unlike Nuances, want to have a stake in, and be subject to, the norms of wider society. Finally, the older members of the most stigmatised groups have both been implicated in and have witnessed multiple reformulations of their subcultures and are therefore more likely to have access to a complex set of ideological resources through which to construct their identities (Rosenfeld 1999). In this way, cumulatively, status distinctions are not “bracketed and neutralised” (Fraser 1990:60), but the entrance of these forms to the public sphere allows the suspension of status hierarchies albeit only locally.

*[Extract from Conferência Estadual V – Working Groups Axis III]*

*728 Cristina: It's the same that that she spoke about there. We have to create a política of support principally for trans and travestis, that is lacking. Because generally when I get up, work all the time, everything before retiring, everything, it's another thing.*

*[inc.]*

*733 Cristina: And then when you arrive, right, the travesti who's a sex worker that no longer is of an age to do so, that no one wants to have anymore ... so what happens? She's killed? It's true, it sends her to be killed.*

*736 Marilu: In reality today there exist equivalent models to heterosexuals. In other words, you can reach the third age and you can go back to being a travesti again. You begin to discover your sexual orientation, in a certain form, sometimes you're a travesti, until you assimilate this process. And then when the third age arrives, you have to go back to being clandestine about it. We already have heterosexual models that have been established. Now the discussion can build on this. How can we generate Políticas Públicas, in fact, with this, not to be able to get them in old age... the vast majority, for example, live alone or with their partner [m./f.] and end up, in short, reaching a moment in their life in which they are alone, and then?*

*Del: I'm of an age almost to be considered old. I pay social security, I work, but I think...*

Policies and a separate *Políticas Públicas* process for third-age care in Brazil already exists, but frames are amplified to extend existing legislation to a specifically focused LGBT demographic, comprising a separate yet linked public sphere for the recognition of individuality. Delegates from outside the urban area contend that government agents hide the fact that older-focused policies exist, and this implies that the government specifically discriminates against the lower-classed *travesti* population. However, it is counter-argued that this is a function of the distribution of governmental resources and that the critical mass of population in the metropolitan area makes services viable only here. Such rationale reflects in space the logic of capitalism in tending to the needs of identification and consumption.

Cristina, as a senior, influential, back-seat, Igualdade-RS member, plots a way forward for action. Speaking partly from her own standpoint as an older *travesti*, she notes a heightened need for assistive policy for *travestis*, based on labour market conditions and specificities for Ts as opposed to LGBs. The main reason that Igualdade-RS is fighting for older LGBT policies is indeed resource based, for they have been excluded from the traditional labour market and therefore are not entitled to the state pension available to others on completion of 25 years' work. Within the labour market in general, LGBs can "pass" and represent

identifiable men and women, potentially hiding their sexuality and blending into any setting, making them acceptable to the heteronormative institutionalised public sphere and able to perform their work-based roles without their LGB identities having a bearing. The hyper-feminisation and body modification of *travestis* has, in contrast, generally led to exclusion from the labour market, for religious and social-norm reasons. In addition, any embodied performance of a work-based role cannot hide *travesti* identity from coming to the fore. This is especially important given *travesti* category-bound attributes, including deviancy, medical pathologisation, and moral repute – all within the sphere of the private moral realm, and therefore resulting in marginality from public.

Elderly *travestis* meet Tilly and Tarrow's (2006) criteria for model social movement members, having displayed worthiness, unity, and commitment shown by wearing colours (or appropriate costume), and having suffered extensively for the cause. While participants note that generally in Brazil the elderly "are hidden away – they don't conform to the beautiful Brazilian image" [Rafael, 40], there is an increasing drive for appreciating the life experiences of the elderly. For *travestis* in particular, this is the opportunity they have been struggling for through years of oppression – visibility – even if access is only contingent on other delegates stepping back. Following Simões (2004), these conferences provide a spatial forum for confronting the confluence between body and culture. While aging and sexuality have traditionally been mutually exclusive in Western thought, these settings allow aged and sexed bodies to emerge from the closet and become recognised in public space, with studies on older LGBTs emerging widely in Brazil (Vogt et al. 2010; Affeldt et al. 2015).

Combined with continuing exclusion from the labour market and a reliance on prostitution, this means that continued prosperity depends on their stamina and looks. Quite simply, an older *travesti* is unlikely to make as much money as a young one (L.734). The result is economic death and destitution, and, as Cristina frets, without policies in place to protect them, the state "sends her to be killed" (L.735) – a narrative that clearly uses extreme-case formulation with heavy moral overtones, and sharply blending identity recognition and economic success. Recent legislation allowing prostitutes to pay a form of National Insurance/Social Security (INSS) means that they are now eligible for pensions, but only based on how much they have paid (L.750). This has already helped feelings of belonging and stake in the public realm, helping self-esteem and feelings of how worthwhile it is to be able to feel like real citizens. There is a clear link between paying tax and feeling an entitlement to citizens as a social contract (Galdeano 2009) and, quite clearly, for older *travestis* there is a clear link between (cultural) recognition and publicity with distributive justice.

A young female delegate, Marilu, interrupts Cristina, stating that there are in fact appropriate



measures to protect older LGBTs and that the real issue is with their implementation. This denies Cristina from representing herself in her own terms and, further, controversially attempts to reconstitute *travesti* identity and embodiment as non-essential, suggesting it is something that can be changed and undergoes continual change through life (L.737-739). Marilu diminishes the issue of a sexual orientation in/of *travesti*, dismissing them as those who are yet to find a sexual orientation.

Through extended speech on elderly *travesti* causes, these spaces are not used to broach G, B or L groups. Despite the increase in T visibility and its often magnified performance, these spaces are not colonised by the symbolic spaces opened up, and other voices are not silenced. There is still space for subversive and challenging voices. However, in terms of making these claims at which specific governmental level, delegates (L.744) suggest making calls for older LGBT care at the national LGBT conference. This is important as, despite the aim of participatory conferences to streamline citizen engagement with government in specific policy areas, a lot of confusion and uncertainty is created among civil society participants as to how identity-based groups can represent their concerns. The fact is that the identity attributes under discussion are often highly intersecting and contingent, and these spaces require participants to make certain identities more or less salient to debate depending on the perceived rewards. These are spaces of sacrifice, yet they are also spaces of choice and agency.

*[Extract from Conferência Estadual V – Working Groups Axis III]*

*790 Natasha: We can't forget that for all those who consider themselves senior citizens, the state has an obligation to deliver proposals for an LGBT audience. In fact, it is the State government, and this reference centre is on the agenda of the State government, the government also has a gigantic responsibility to this public, including providing on these proposals so that we can, yes, begin to regulate.*

*795 Cristina: I knew a girl who was taken to an asylum. She had beautiful, huge hair and we had to turn her into a man, to cut her hair really short and take her to the asylum. A travesti of 78 years old... [inc].*

*798 Victor: Respect the [female] colleague's turn, please.*

Natasha, of Igualdade-RS, makes an important note about constructionist ideas of identity (L.790), stating that the Third Age is a category that people have to consider themselves a part of, and that therefore, in terms of age, self-identification is key. This is symptomatic of the conflict of identity (Melucci 1996). In public policy terms there is a tension between self-perception classifications and the traditional objective criteria-based allocation of funds (Jasper 2008). Natasha tries to remind delegates of the responsibilities and obligations (L.791) of the State government, in that it is obligated to provide resources specifically for

LGBTs as requested in *Políticas Públicas*. In these conferences, the State government is pressured to provide specific LGBT assistance, and as part of this must provide extra resources for older LGBTs as part of the wider grouping.

For this talk on self-classification, specific identity-based narrative structures in performance return in L.795-797 constituting a 'horror story', the carefully-engineered experience-based storytelling device so deftly utilised by Igualdade-RS senior members to ensure alignment to the cause and a sense of urgency in listeners, alongside group representation as moral and unified to take up its place in public settings and secure resources. In this case, Cristina's story involves a member category-bound as an older *travesti*, and by extension, LGBT, suffering at the hands of a state-regulated institution and denial of recognition.

A pernicious institutional private space beyond the formal public has been reserved traditionally for these groups - a closet, the tenor of which "is the concealment, erasure and denial of homosexuality in a broader punitive context of heteronormativity" (Brown 2000:10). In this horror story, the "asylum", already a space associated with madness and deviance (Foucault 2006), the idea of the Panopticon and surveillance (Barnett 1999), and governmentality. This is further compounded by the use of these spaces as closet spaces, the most fundamental architecture of LGBT oppression not only evoking concealment and erasure of desire (Sedgwick 1990), but marking heterosexual power for the concealment of homosexuality and, especially in the case of *travestis*, embodied identities (Brown 2000:272). The success of this story, however, is debatable and is cut short through Victor reproaching Cristina (L.798) for having interrupted Natasha as previous speaker, but heard too as an exercise in his often-challenged power as chair which, paradoxically, magnifies Cristina's status as an older and 'vulnerable' *travesti*.

There is a consistent paradox in talk of making the private public. *Travesti* visibility, through the public performance of subversion of oppression and moral gradients, are more able to delimit symbolic (and identifiable physical) spaces for each constituent aspect of their identities. Paradoxically, gay men are symbolically re-closeted through self-censorship through feminist discourses internal to the movement that privilege the (hyper-)feminine; that deny gay male subjugation (Osborn 1996) in the LGBT public sphere. However, there are more important basic spatial concerns for *travestis*, exiting the physical spaces of 'asylums' to take comfort in 'rest homes':

*[Extract from Conferência Estadual VIII – Final Plenary Part 2]*

*505 Tâmara: 6, that the Union, the State governments and the municipal governments implement Políticas Públicas and assistance to care for elderly LGBTs and the training of professionals in reference centres, asylums and nursing homes. Wait a moment. The table suggests the*

*exchange of asylums for 'homes of permanence'. 7, and the last proposal before beginning the challenges is the need to implement Políticas Públicas focused on elderly LGBTs to be taken to the National Conference of the Elderly, which will be held from 22 to 24 November 2011 in Brasília.*

*512 Cristina: It's on 22<sup>nd</sup>. I'm going there.*

*Del: I'm also going there.*

The three levels of government are told to use *Políticas Públicas* in discussion of older LGBTs who live in retirement homes, resources centres, and 'asylums'. The last of these holds negative connotations, and they are more likely to be referred to as 'houses of permanency' as suggested by the panel, for they offer specialist care for dementia. The conference here offers a nod to the variety of sub-identity categories within the broader LGBT label, further demonstrating the large steps taken towards broad inclusivity within the setting. This is an emerging issue within the movement, for many of the activists of the original movements of the 1980s are coming to retirement age. This in turn has revealed different perspectives in their relationship with the state and the extent to which they face different challenges from their younger peers. One of the largest concerns of older groups is healthcare (Siqueira 2014) and, as LGBTs are reaching higher life expectancies in the aftermath of its existential crisis of the 1980s in the form of HIV/AIDS, an ageing LGBT population provides a new impetus of LGBT health-based *Políticas Públicas*.

## **Health**

Health provides a categorical *raison d'être* for Porto Alegre's modern LGBT movements as a basis for identity formation, and so its invocation in *Políticas Públicas* is logical. While local movements had existed pre-AIDS, it was only through its rise that activists were able to garner funding, as part of GAPA/RS (Support group for the prevention of AIDS in Rio Grande do Sul), for intervention and prevention work. Senior activists in today's movement, including in particular Alexandre, Célio, and the founders of Igualdade-RS, were active in this nascent group with singular health-focused objectives. Divisions saw the proliferation of groups with slightly different concerns, yet all have common roots and, thus, identity roots in the AIDS epidemic and the pathologisation of homosexuality. Only Célio's Nuances remains faithful to a pre-HIV/AIDS organising principle of LGBTs to remain in the closet/margins to benefit from its potential relative pleasures, and HIV/AIDS has mandated LGBT emergence (Geltmaker 1992). Health is a major identifying feature of LGBTs nationally (Facchini 2009), State-wide and locally, especially in Rio Grande do Sul, given the State's persistently high and rising rates of STDs and AIDS compared to Brazilian averages (Ministry of Health 2013;

Affeldt et al. 2015). LGBT discourses on health still revolve around this weighty issue for the State to deal with:

*[Extract from Conferência Estadual VIII – Final Plenary Part 2]*

*119 Gustavo: 1, in the analysis of public health policy it is noted that there is a very big emphasis on STDs and AIDS, reinforcing prejudice and stigma on the LGBT segment [of society].*

*Políticas Públicas* has intertextual qualities, especially through the division of the conferences into thematic groups. It can be determined, therefore, that *Políticas Públicas* and, by extension, public policy more generally, is an iterative process, constantly dynamic and very much a work in progress. While the 'Health' *Políticas Públicas* report informs keenly the creation of that constituent of the LGBT report, and STDs and especially HIV/AIDS are sharply categorically-bound with the category LGBT, especially its G and T constituents, it is also true future health *Políticas Públicas* will be informed by this LGBT report. This is especially true as many of the same delegates involved in the construction of these reports are heavily involved in the Ministry of Health.

There is some puzzlement that the thematic group seeks to disestablish itself from the long-held advocacy for sexual health. This is based on the idea that carriers of HIV are still imbued with moral stigma from the rest of society, but in doing so the delegates exacerbate this and, instead of solidarity, offer derision to seropositive subjects. According to Dyck and Moss (1999), medical science can effectively render the body as space open to powerful inscription in both material and social ways, but there is a general approach to objectify the disease and those who carry it. While traditionally, LGBTs have brought embodied private health concerns to the public sphere – even though the diseased body was not necessarily welcome – those subjects do not speak for themselves at a single point in all the proceedings. This is a voice that is missing from these conferences and, indeed, from all backstage interaction. Throughout my time in the field, while HIV/AIDS was utilised as a *raison d'être* for various of SOMOS' intervention programmes; was revealed as the motivation for Nuances' existence; was quoted as a risk of *travesti* occupation; and even the topic of many meetings with National Health Service representatives, no-one would admit to being a carrier.

As Grover (1992:231) states, "like other activists, I have found that AIDS is a 360 degree sense-surround, and there is no door out of it". However, here it was kept at a distance while the diseased body remained closeted and (mis)represented. While many early activists had passed from the affliction, even *travesti* horror story narratives did not broach this. While HIV treatment is ostensibly widely available, and objective discussions of the rise in incidence were prevalent, there was no mention of it in relation to the activist with lipodystrophy; or the

activist who had emerged from hospital following acute pneumonia. Moss and Dyck (2002) contend that health and ill bodies need to concern geographers more broadly; Dorn and Laws (1994:107) call for an “understanding of the body in both its material and representational forms”; while Hall (2000) sets out a radical embodied consideration of ‘blood, brains and bones’. HIV/AIDS and its bodily impacts are not real to these groups.

They are merely symbols of identity; they are disembodied. That they are symbols of identity that can be disembodied reflects the power of discourses of blame that were inherent components of HIV/AIDS perpetuating the demonisation of sexualities and sexualised practice (Hammonds 1990), while artificially protecting others (Casino 2007). In health terms, these are spaces of discursive deliberation, of policy rather than body, of symbols rather than physicalities; thoroughly disembodied:

*[Extract from Conferência Estadual VIII – Final Plenary Part 2]*

*136 Marcellly: What is “the plans”?*

*137 Gustavo: “Health Plans” is written here. It was the [thematic] group that passed it to us. Eight, Existing health plans implemented for the health of lesbian women, travestis and transsexuals do not reach a large part of the LGBT population. However, this was treated as ‘done’.*

*Alexandre: Challenge!*

*Cristyane: Challenge!*

*Tâmara: Alexandre and...?*

*Cristyane: Cristyane.*

*144 Gustavo: Challenge: Alexandre and? Cristyane. Nine, health actions focused on the LGBT population declared as ‘fulfilled’ or ‘partially fulfilled’ [in the National Plan] are negligible and the ‘unfulfilled’ are seen markedly by the LGBT population.*

For the smooth conduct of *Políticas Públicas* it is important that delegates engage in mutual listening, which explains why Gustavo becomes exasperated (L.137) with Marcellly for her perceived lack of attention rather than apathy. These are supposed to be spaces for learning. In this instance, however, Marcellly is a very experienced participant. As leader of Igualdade-RS she is category-bound to be informed of the procedures and protocols of the situation and be knowledgeable of the content and themes of debate. In this case she is unable to prove her knowledge of the contents and themes, but transgresses the protocols to some extent through her interruption, and is unafraid and unashamed of displaying this lack of knowledge. She becomes subject to Gustavo’s discipline, not through her embodiment, but as a result of her perceived inadequate respect for the (LGBT) common good.

Gustavo privileges the feminine “Health Plans” highlighting that current public health policy (through *Políticas Públicas*) is deficient in relation to lesbian women and the T population. This is seized upon not only by Alexandre of SOMOS, but also by Cristyane of Igualdade-RS. This is because of the idea that category privileging of “lesbian women” has persisted throughout the conference from a strong discourse of male privilege (such as Cream 1995), through LBL’s forcefulness (in the form of Roselaine), the discourse within LGBT circles and queer theory of the normative subjugation of women, and the movement’s ‘moral responsibility’ to rectify that through privileging the female. In the ambit of health, however, empirical data reveals the greater vulnerability of *travestis* and transsexuals and men who have sex with men. The protests by Alexandre and Cristyane both emerge from a perceived fetishisation of feminisation within local LGBT discourse though they are based on different rationales. While Cristyane explains her objection through the continued marginalisation of the T-category even in LGBT debates, Alexandre notes the complete omission of the MSM category (men who have sex with men) while lesbian health issues are raised to prominence. Here, in particular, lines of division among the different groups, and the main orientations that each group has to a representative population can be seen.

While LBL and Igualdade-RS are strictly identity-based groups, SOMOS’s identity-status is more fluid, generally attending to the gay male area of the spectrum. This demonstrates the pragmatic and constant relationship-building in interaction within the meta-category ‘LGBT’, for alignment (in this case, resource mobilisation) is contingent on the situation and the perceived availability of resources. In this way, despite the best intentions of *Políticas Públicas* to promote deliberation, competition and internal differences emerge when perceived preferential treatment is perceived. Discursive ideology is therefore stronger than the evidence. As Bush (2000:430) highlights in reference to cervical screening, “medical discourse plays a fundamental role in defining femininity”. It is Roselaine’s view that normally invasive screening should be non-invasive for lesbian women. However, following Nash (2006:2), it can be seen that, despite an (uneasy) alliance, these spaces are “deeply scarred by myriad battles fought over the social, political and cultural meanings attributed to the existence of individuals interested in same-sex relationships”. While such battles are not fought in outside public space and socialisation does not follow parallel groups, it is true for political space.

Human health is, nonetheless, wider than HIV and, as Casino (2007:40) observes, “there might be a much more lively conversation about healthy (and ill) bodies within the context of queer geographies.” Despite a certain realisation of difference and the incorporation of, for example, deaf participants with the use of signing throughout, these debates inhabit the spaces of certain medicalised discourses which narrate sex and sexualities. They constitute,

as Sothorn (2007) suggests, narrowly articulated liberal political subjects. They are, therefore, spaces of group bargaining around resource allocations. Gustavo's earlier disciplining of Marcelly has unintended consequences; no explorations or full considerations of health issues. Even though this was not based on her *travesti* identity, this became conflated and the whole Igualdade-RS grouping closed down to the spirit of the conferences:

*[Extract from Conferência Estadual VIII – Final Plenary Part 2]*

*232 Tâmara: 10, qualification of health workers, with regard to treatment of the LGBT population. Training should be ongoing and performed in all municipalities for the capacity building to be successful throughout the State. Create a state-wide requirement for guidelines and healthcare for lesbian and bisexual women. 12, include questions on “sexual orientation” and “gender identity” in the forms and information systems of municipal health systems and collect data on health characteristics of the LGBT population.*

*239 Marcelly: This has been contemplated for 20 years!*

*240 Tâmara: Is this a challenge or not?*

*241 Marcelly: I'm not going to challenge anything else...*

*Tâmara: All delegates are welcome to challenge on any of the proposals that have considerations attached. Do you want to make a challenge, Marcelly? 13, creation of comprehensive outpatient health for travestis and transsexuals in Rio Grande do Sul and in all States. Challenged.*

Within these proposals, various category-bound attributes relating to other groups emerge. The need to train health professionals is prioritised (L.232). This categorically-binds existing health professionals as being deficient in terms of a full education, and especially with regard to lesbian women (L.234). Once again, the individual mention of lesbian women serves to increase this group's visibility. However, this in terms of discourses of equality and fairness rather than in terms of empirical data, vulnerability and need, and is emblematic of particular ideological slants of these proceedings. Spatialities of health, as Silva (2009) argues, are currently conceived as the production of prohibited spaces – they have been prohibited to *travestis* in terms of service and treatment, although many of these ladies have had experience as nurses, such as Marcelly accessing medical resources to undertake bodily modifications for herself and others:

*“It all began when, even on my first day of work at Santa Casa [da Misericórdia de Porto Alegre – a major research hospital], and I met Keiti, who was a travesti... Keiti was the one who administered the first hormone injections to grow breasts. The first time there were six injections!” [Marcelly]*

They have been prohibited to lesbians inasmuch as their particular identities have not been deemed relevant to health policymaking, for they do not possess the imperative provided by gay men and their struggle with HIV/AIDS. Rather than seeking a localised solution, these groups seek a national health policy for these identities (Carneiro and Ornat 2008), and integration into existing health services rather than separation. While large-scale death and disease raised gay, bi and trans visibility in health discourse, it is only now through *Políticas Públicas* that lesbians come to be incorporated from the margins. This may not be a pragmatic approach, but it is symbolic and placatory to this grouping.

In terms of state-society relationships, discourses of data protection are contentious, and L.235-238 demonstrate either a degree of trust or deferral of responsibility for care to the state. Delegates angle for inclusion of sexual orientation and gender identity on government forms, despite criticism by minority actors across the political spectrum. Through this collection of data, visibility is achieved and identities become public. Competition and contention with the state may continue if both of these are understood as 'public goods' which, in practice, they already are. Marcelly leans towards nihilism (L.239), emphasising that this has been an ongoing point of contention for the movement for two decades. Tâmara, as chair, limits Marcelly's turn to the structural format of the conference. Marcelly's deflation (L.241) is emblematic of the deficiencies and problems with deliberative fora in general – that each challenge takes time to debate and if a delegate has a problem with many of the underlying issues and concerns, they may feel overwhelmed and unable to decide which battles to pick, thereby forcing silence. Tâmara tries to remedy this to some extent, enforcing the theoretical 'right' to challenge any comment, and stirs Marcelly's confidence again. This episode shows the importance of the constructive relationship between government and civil society members in the creation of real collaborative and meaningful participation.

Finally, the main aspects of LGBT health service and treatment needs find a space for articulation, and a full showing for full health-associated aims are articulated in the following extract:

*[Extract from Conferência Estadual VIII – Final Plenary Part 2]*

*269 Tâmara: 20, promote the approval of laws that guarantee access to gender [and sexual] reassignment treatment and change of civil registration for transsexuals. 21, train health agents and managers and contracted bodies in the promotion of LGBT health and the noxious effects of homophobia on mental and physical health. 22, guarantee the attainment of site visits to commercial sex work and home visits in case of autoimmune chronic diseases, disabilities and displacement, as necessary, for people living with HIV / AIDS and viral hepatitis.*



[inc.]

*Tâmara: Challenge, Maurício!*

*Marcelly: This isn't clear, challenge. It isn't clear.*

*Tâmara: Marcelly.*

The aims of the *travesti* movement are presented in their two main forms: (1) guaranteeing the right to gender reassignment surgery and drugs; (2) guaranteeing the right to a legal change of name and gender on identity documents – thus recognition and resource allocation go together. Many Igualdade-RS members have already achieved the former by way of home-surgeries and a substantial number were willing to describe the procedures in graphic detail. Often these involved the smuggling of medical silicone and oestrogen by 'sisters' employed as nurses within the health system. Nevertheless, the 'horror stories' of girls receiving industrial silicone and the resultant health perils aligned the group to the need for legal intervention. On the latter, too, Igualdade 'horror stories' abounded given the restrictions on day-to-day access to services and even lavatories for those without an official documented identity. This passage once more, therefore, highlights discourse around health providers lacking specialist skills required to recognise LGBTs in their own terms. The responsibility is on the state as provider of both health and education to deliver training and imposing (albeit progressive) views on society as the arbiter of social knowledge. The state, in this conception, is the agent through which the power of social movements may be enacted in a top-down manner. Throughout this text there is not a picture of an empowered civil society enacting projects and taking on responsibilities from the state, but rather one of a colossal state (strong public) attributed responsibility for all services and resources, and with which movements may interact only through specific and defined spaces of interaction (weak public).

While the movement works hard discursively and through propaganda to dissociate itself bodily with HIV/AIDS and STDs, while normalising gender reassignment, the old landscapes of disease and, to some extent, death (McCracken and Curson 2000) remain part of LGBT symbolic space, and certainly part of funding regimes and commercial arrangements. Whereas the deathly shadows have been largely banished through the availability of state-funded care, incidences of chronic disease, especially among men, have been increasing alarmingly (Ministry of Health 2013), and it remains an intimate part of LGBT identification that entrance into treatment spaces are maintained. The medical gaze leaves LGBT bodies dependent and docile, hindering radicalism from the male-based groups in particular (Foucault 1976). This is seized upon by LBL to mark new symbolic territories, demonstrating a breach in movement alignment, and reflecting intra-group competition for hegemony observed elsewhere within movements (Nash 2006). This is allowed in these spaces through

the absence of personalised and embodied illness; through the silence and invisibility of disability. While Brown (1995) calls for an uncovering of personal and political dimensions of illness, these spaces become spaces only for bodies that fit. While HIV care means that carriers can now live regular and active lives, still the personal stories here are limited to liberal interactants without attention to the disabled, the working class and the non-white. This is symptomatic of intra-movement dynamics and social relations, which merit exploration to understand the contours of inclusion and exclusion of identity categories.

## **LGBTs and the movement**

Smith (1993:101 – original italics) has argued that, “‘Gay’ means gay white men with large discretionary incomes, period... perceiving gay people this way allows one to ignore that some of us are women *and* people of colour *and* working class *and* disabled *and* old.” The movement has taken up the cause of women’s activism quite explicitly, and while older LGBTs are able to speak for themselves, non-white delegates and those without large discretionary incomes – as marked by those who live outside the core metropolitan area in particular – have difficulty achieving recognition.

Identities and issues overlap, and identities are socially constructed, situationally-enacted and performed (Butler 1999). While oppositional collective identities in this space may be formed in relation to other social actors, specific LGBT identities must be performed and enacted and made relevant to a particular situation for best effect. Even within the broad categories recognised here – L, G, B, and T, – more nuanced understandings of these identities are inevitably embodied in local actors and their performances gain meaning in interaction. For the purposes of access to a wider public sphere, discursive power acts to try to generate a clear and succinct narrative that links multiple, situational and overlapping identities together within collective frames:

*[Extract from Conferência Municipal V – Thematic Group]*

*4 Sandro: Cultural políticas should be ways of promoting citizenship and social inclusion of LGBTs, valuing the preservation of their history, their living environments and their forms of cultural and political expression. Action strategies. At this point is that we can propose that the government at the municipal level can develop this.*

It is through the category ‘culture’ including “cultural *políticas*” that Sandro envisions LGBTs gaining mainstream acceptance, citizenship and inclusion and, by implication, resource allocation. He treats the category LGBT as a unified ‘people’, ‘othering’ it from mainstream society in the process and creating an individual history, space of socialisation, and othered form of cultural expression and political engagement. Indeed, as Berger et al. (1972) argue,

it is the contrast in interaction with dissimilar others that makes a personal identity out of some personal characteristic.

*Políticas Públicas* provide spaces for LGBTs to fix their identities (to be carried as symbols to other spaces), deliberating over which symbols can be included and which are to be excluded and how they wish to be represented in the wider public sphere. The greater the number of people in a given group, the greater there is a likelihood of increased internal differentiation (as per the literature of the 1970s and 1980s including Mayhew et al. 1972; Kasarda 1974; Mayhew and Levinger 1976; Mayhew 1983). However, this differentiation is mitigated since place provides more than the settings of interaction, and provides the fundamentals of knowledge/power (Giddens 1984). *Políticas Públicas* facilitates or limits power relationships between identity groupings. It also structures how these are narrated and disseminated for material gain, seeing as culture and economics intersect through discourse in space. The following extract makes this plain:

*[Extract from Conferência Municipal V – Thematic Group]*

*289 Sandro: “Cultural policies should be a form of citizenship production.” This here we have seen already. It passes through sensitivity there, from memory. “Action Strategies: Creating intersectoral government guidelines for promoting LGBT culture.” Here the proposal is to create shares between secretariats or between entities or between, in short, institutions. “Supporting cultural events focusing on LGBT issues.” Here I would replace it with “actions” because it can be anything, it can be workshops, it can be interventions, learning. And there, “with a focus on LGBT issues”, I would replace LGBT with “issues of sexual and gender diversity.”*

*Diego: Yeah, this question of gender has to be fuzzier.*

*Sandro: The more we exit from [the] LGBT [silo], the better.*

The level of policy intervention suggested is aimed at the space between institutions, and the establishment of links between government departments. This is for the perceived benefit of the movement, with the aim of concentrating the point of interaction to one setting/department to avoid wasting time and energy engaging with multiple, and disconnected, municipal government departments. There is a call for a space – a public sphere – between independently-conceived civil and state spheres which, as Massey (2005) details, is a product of the social relations between them. Here multiple identities produce emotions and actions according to three variables. These are, the role-identities associated with positions in the social structure, social identities that are associated with membership in groups and organisations, and category memberships arising from identification with some characteristic, trait or attribute (Stryker 1980; Stryker 2000; Housley and Fitzgerald 2002).

The attempt hitherto has been to delimit the boundaries of LGBT identification with clear dividing lines between other (competing) groups. Sandro's frame bridging (L.294) in his extension of the LGBT category to the broader 'sexual and gender diversity', with Diego's complement that it should be "fuzzier", is a clear attempt to cast LGBT identity widely so that it can be read as more relatable. That is, more relatable both by the breadth of identities within the movement, and responding better to the more fluid identities in wider society than religious groups that demand more rigid behaviours and characteristics. This is a more universal frame, making it more difficult for opposition groups to argue against the funding of events specific to a small sector of the population. Frame amplification, in conjunction with formalisation of symbolic identity markers, allows the movement to make claims on space that are much less likely to be challenged. It also allows for a greater buy-in from individual members, and indicates the potential for deliberation to yield consensus on movement direction. Yet it also demonstrates that these groups need to be market oriented in a battle for hearts and minds. In this way, *Políticas Públicas* engenders permeability between the LGBT and the wider public sphere.

Despite Sandro's keen attention to amplifying identity and belonging of the movement to a wider market, there are some large divides within the movement itself which are primarily a result of local cultural specificities:

*[Extracts from Conferência Municipal V – Thematic Group]*

*521 Sandro: When I read this here I saw that the guy didn't know what he was doing.*

...

*531 Sandro: It's this that I thought super-fastidious, "use mass modes of communication as instruments for the dissemination of cultural actions in respect of sexual diversity and gender supported by the municipality."*

Sandro and Thiago's antagonistic relationship is reinforced with Sandro's comment on Thiago's base text. Sandro describes Thiago's lexical choices as "super-fastidious" and the open criticism in the thematic group, though not to Thiago's face, demonstrates cleavages between the respective missions of each group. Within the movement in general, *Coletivo UFRGS*, the local university's LGBT group, expresses exasperation with SOMOS for launching lowest common denominator campaigns, especially when engaging with government, and in their very ethos:

*"They don't seem to have a real conception of what politics is and how it works. They launch these big campaigns but they have no real ideological coherence." (Thiago)*

*"If you look at who their clientele is, it's not the marginalised; it's not the poor. You only have beautiful young things. You're fine – you're young,*

*you're white and, even better, you're European."*

In backstage discussions on SOMOS' activities in which invitations were being sent out for the pride parade, the idea of racial discrimination emerged:

*"Author: They didn't seem to want people from Belem Novo. They were having fun with that idea.*

*Thiago: You know what Belem Novo is? Matt, it's a black neighbourhood on the periphery of the city. This is what I mean. They don't want poor black people spoiling their beautiful idealistic group."*

Race is an inescapably salient category in the movement in general which remains a local cultural undercurrent and rises to the surface within *Políticas Públicas* in the antagonism of Sandro and Thiago. This was most evident during voting for national-level delegates at the State *Políticas Públicas* through Sandro's pejorative referral to Thiago as "o *negrinho*" (the little black one). '*Negrinho*' is a folk character from Rio Grande do Sul, and while wider discourses of race are relevant in everyday interaction among the LGBT population, they remain an undercurrent of marginalisation and have yet to be addressed by participants, just as in Tucker (2009) for a South African setting with a similar racial legacy. It is paradoxical that a movement that fights against marginality is simultaneously marginalised based on essential identity (Buechler 2000), as an example by which wider social inequality is seen to infect a formally-inclusive public sphere and taints the discursive interaction within it (Fraser 1990).

### **'Big Ticket' categories: Race and Gender**

Sexual identities and racial identities are generally understood as analogous rather than mutually-constituted. As Oswin (2008:94) explains, "queers are sexualized while non-whites are raced and the need for an analysis of race and racism is deemed appropriate only when queers are non-white." Thiago explained that he participates only in the LGBT movement rather than any local black movement on the basis that groups appealing only to this latter identity category are very hostile to non-heterosexuals. Thiago, as an embodied black male non-*gaúcho* subject, is subject to discrimination from black groups on the basis of his gay identity, and from certain LGBT groups on the basis of his non-white "identity". His spaces of socialisation are, like other gay men, gay locales in the *Cidade Baixa*. However, unlike them, his place of residence is slightly outside in *Menino Deus*, the neighbourhood to the south at the periphery of the bohemian zone.

Spatiality in the urban area has been an important trope for identity for decades; Castells (1983) mapped the emergence and development of residential areas and gay places where gay men gather including bars and social clubs. Patterns of consumption in gay space mirror

the exclusions of wider society with the black poor of Belem Novo excluded from gay spaces of consumption (Phillips 2004), and consequently from movement groups so closely associated with image (SOMOS) and therewith, symbolic identity. Race, within the LGBT movement, becomes a marker for consumptive capacity and its association with a certain aesthetic. As a result, identity is played out within these multifaceted political spaces. The binary between maleness/femaleness, whiteness/non-whiteness, and privileged/non-privileged remains too neat (Oswin 2008:96) in the castings of identity in these spaces. The inherent messiness of identity work is not articulated here, and it is made to fit neatly into heterosexualised functions. As Puar and Rai (2002:140) contend, “monster-terrorist-fag is reticulated with discourses and practices of heteronormative patriotism but also in the resistant strategies of feminist groups, queer communities, and communities of colour”. These groups are not disruptive and in fact articulate themselves in inherently conservative and institutional ways according to the existing logic of the formalised political-economic system:

*[Extract from Conferência Municipal VII – Final Plenary Part 1]*

*50 Sandro: Promote actions and create spaces for the preservation of LGBT cultural memory.*

Sandro claims that the theoretical sphere of ‘culture’ will have impacts on the physical landscape of Porto Alegre with a view for increased societal visibility of LGBTs. This involves identification of the problem of lack of inclusion and, indeed, a discrimination and ‘-phobia’ against those adhering to this identity category within wider society. Its solution is seen by this thematic group to be the physical spatial representation and expression of LGBT identity in a permanent structure but, most importantly, something so symbolically broad that it becomes uncontentious in heteronormative space. The only solution to the morally-repugnant term “phobia” is recognition *and* the allocation of resources.

Meanwhile, the LGBT movement to a large extent gained ground through its relationship with the women’s movement and its contribution to feminist frames (Facchini 2009). *Políticas Públicas* provides ample space for the exercise of feminine identities and the exploration of female-only issues, on the basis of this historical and ideological link:

*[Extract from Conferência Estadual V – Working Groups Axis III]*

*Cássio: Sorry to interrupt. Very quickly... The Women’s Secretary, Márcia Santana of the Women’s Conference.*

*[applause and whoops]*

*590 Márcia: I know that lesbians are dividing themselves. The gals are all... folks, real quick. Since I’ve already interrupted, anyway, and you’re all trying... I actually came to give a kiss and a hug [to] each and all of*

*you. We couldn't reconcile dates. You know that dates have moments that we cannot, in our struggles, [inc.] add up. All the struggles, shortages of human rights, everything else that we are defending there in the Women's Politics Conference, certainly these are struggles here also when we say that when we discuss human rights for the LGBT community, all these proposals are complementary, all the proposals will join together because we need to think in a single framework. So I came to give you all a super hug; to say that we'll think on all proposals. We'll find there in a universal perspective for the defence of rights. I wish "good work" to you all [m/f.], a big kiss in your heart and sorry for the disturbance.*

Despite the agenda and format for the conference having being set in advance, there are many opportunities for deviation. Co-chair Cássio welcomes the State Secretary for Women on the basis that this is an allied movement and that the conference is being held in the same venue at the same time and with some of the same delegates. Organisationally, this is unhelpful as it potentially excludes many delegates for a broad range of discussions. Within the scope of Márcia's speech, she aligns the purpose of the women's and LGBT movements through the invocation of kinship behaviours (L.592), and further emphasises the shared mission of the two movements as "struggl[ing]" for "human rights" (L.593 and 594), "defending" (L.595) rights and, by extension, democracy, on behalf of society in general. This is an important point from an influential politician, encompassing the standpoint of identity-based movements. Indeed, it shows alignment with movements as being on the side of moral certainty and as defenders of those aspects of society that are unquestionably positive – democracy and individual freedom – against a demonised 'other'. This serves to increase trust in government, but also to emphasise the state as arbiter of competing groups rather than an adversary.

Deviation from the normal allocation of speech rights in a setting that is supposed to be rule-bound is, therefore, based on the intersecting identities of the speaker. Márcia's identification as a State politician, one of a very select group in a top-down power structure, gives her the gravitas to be able to speak unchallenged. This State politician is responsible for the allied category of 'women', as a category-bound identity, and her turn is read alongside the discursive construction of the category 'family', speaking with affection and familiarity. This perpetuates the frame extension of the movements into one another, her right to speak is unquestioned and she is embraced as part of the 'family'. Symbols of heteronormativity pervade this space with the movement taking these identity categories and ways of social construction (e.g. family) to their heart as universal social organising principles. Wider social objects are merely reconstructed to put the feminine ahead of the masculine which, admittedly, is some achievement in a supposedly "*machista*" society (Lopes 2006). Yet, this is not a unique achievement of this movement for it is advocacy **for** men, despite the group's

large representation, that provides a real radical leap:

*[Extract from Conferência Estadual VIII – Final Plenary Part 2]*

*644 Alexandre: No, I think it's... my input is in the sense to also raise the question of men's health because we've also been working in the last few years, that men's health and that we are not criticised for doing this too, practically, in this sense.*

*Tâmara: So the proposal is to include...*

*Alexandre: Policies for men's health. Just like there are for women's health, there's men's health.*

*Tâmara: The proposal would be then, "Health services to include mental health, health of women, travestis, transsexuals, men's health... do not reach the vast majority of the LGBT population". Does any delegate wish to defend the maintenance of the deliberation as it is?*

....

*Maurício: The question is, here the propositions were voted on, but in reality this was not. That's what he's saying. If it was added to, in reality you shouldn't be talking about it here; you will be going contrary to what you're saying here. It's that in reality men's health is not a policy yet.*

*Tâmara: Is the plenary clear in respect to proposals? So, to the vote, the proposal for the addition of "men's health" after the word "transsexuals" in deliberation number 8. To the vote, those delegates in favour of its inclusion raise your card. By consensus, the challenge made by the delegate to include "men's health" is approved.*

Despite all health data indicating higher mortality and morbidity among MSMs (Ministry of Health 2013), a policy proposal catering specifically to the health needs of Ls and Ts is being promoted and the needs of men are being side-lined. While not directly challenging the need of Ls and Ts, Alexandre emphasises the importance of male health. In so doing, 'male' is not restricted to 'gay' identity, with 'men' being delineated as a collective category that is often overlooked (or at least only assigned a dominating and negative group identity). He counters what he perceives as 'reverse' sexism within the movement, with SOMOS leading calls for equal treatment for *all* in an LGBT setting, going against other groups' claims to increase the visibility of women. SOMOS positions itself against the 'affirmative action' tendency within the LGBT movement based on the locally empirically-unproven and feminist discourse (e.g. Ward 2000) that Ls (and to some extent Ts) receive inferior treatment as a result of patriarchy. Competition is characteristic even with regard to this supposedly collaborative identity-based public sphere. Fraser (1998) questions whether justice requires the recognition of what is distinctive about individuals or groups, but if competition is a means of recognition, justice is impossible. It must be that recognition of our common humanity is sufficient for justice to be served, yet the movement argues the opposite.



This is especially important to conceiving identity as an essential whole as it reveals some real structural ontological differences within LGBT mobilisation, and the awkwardness of the links between groups and their frame-linking processes. At L.647 the proposals require separate recognition of different genders in health terms rather than calling for a universal duty of care based on a human commonality. This, therefore, further extends the boundaries between not only groups but several identity category categories within the movement. Following Alexandre's argument, Maurício uses this as a basis to question the democratic legitimacy of the whole conference. In so doing, he airs his view of feminist dominating power over the proceedings through the strength of feminist discourse at the expense of gay men and their political well-being. Whereas commentators such as Baierle (2003) only see risk in power distortions between civil society and the state, participants here see inequality within the movement itself played out through discourse (Buechler 2000). While this is a serious accusation, and not without evidence, Maurício has a history of expressing views that are seen as radical by other members, often opposing dominant (feminist-led) views of the LGBT political situation. In this case, however, his views are taken into account and the addition is made to the policy proposal.

As this chapter has noted, identities can be fragmented, incomplete, and inverted. Moreover, while identities are associated with roles, actions and positions in social structure, and category memberships arise from identification with some characteristic, trait or attributed, seeing them this way can do immense damage to the subject. As Oswin (2008:96) notes, the divide between

*maleness/femaleness, whiteness/non-whiteness, and privileged/non-privileged remain[s] rather too neat. The result is a depiction of dominant gay white males while faith is placed in women and queers of colour as still radical subjects.*

While several actors in the movement seem to interact this way, such a view does a disservice to those seeking broader emancipation and justice. As Keith and Pile (1993:27) note, any "articulation of identity... is only momentarily complete... In such a fragile world of identity formation and object formation, political subjects are articulated through moments of closure that create subjects as surfaces of inscription... invariably incomplete". While identity in movement must be recognisable and commodifiable, individual identity is always a work in progress, mediated through space and context, and movements have to deal with this.

## **Conclusion**

As Oswin (2008:93) highlights, "when queer is deployed as an identity category or subjectivity, it does not exist on its own. Any embodied analysis of queer or gay or lesbian spaces must take this fact into account." However, the power of identity categories is

especially strong in orienting approaches to individual subjects. As demonstrated, the internal dynamics of identity-based relations are such that LGBT is not necessarily the primary identity on display. As shown within this chapter, a primary identity in the setting is that of 'politician' as merely a figurehead symbolic of state power in the public sphere and distinct from civil society, without real interest yet forced to pay lip service to specific causes to engender support and voting. At officer level, the most dynamic and engaged governmental representatives are forward-thinking, cosmopolitan municipal officers who seek to recognise the embodied identities of participants, as opposed to more thinly spread State officers.

This research moves beyond the collective behaviour frame and, while these spaces broadly support Cardoso's (2008) contention that a wide popular identity based on a sentiment of injustice unites all participants, it has advanced that there are discursive hierarchies of vulnerability and power contained within the broad LGBT grouping. While men are perceived as 'top' and *travestis* 'bottom' (Parker 1999), this is not the reality as *travestis* testify. The allocation of general LGBT identity to a 'vulnerable' category incites a duty of care from the state. Indeed, 'vulnerability' is used as a political tool for identity categories rather than acting as a full reflection of the social insertion of LGBTs. This is refuted in the paradox that the most vulnerable group, *travestis*, are given least visibility both in interaction and by the politics around the move from GLBT to LGBT, yet there is an internal competition in this sphere for representation conceived of as a zero-sum game.

Within linguistic structures, all socially-marginalised categories and identities must be able to be seen as essential rather than chosen (despite the folly of this). These conferences show the multiplicity of contestation and flux even within the setting. SOMOS, for example, highlights public exhibition of LGBT tax records, attempting to delineate LGBTs from other social categories, but there is simmering contention between the aligned movement identity groups. *Travestis* in particular dislike the view of their marginal status – they seek recognition – yet utilise it and its associated freedoms to develop specific customs and modes of operation, such as when they *fazer um escândalo* [make a scene], highly successful for resource mobilisation, as it forces shame and internalised discipline on those presumed to have more social power (Kulick and Klein 2003). Thus, to answer the question whether these are spaces for social justice or simply for (self-)realisation, it is the latter that is allowed to take place within these spaces.

The identity paradox at the same time calls for the breaking down of identity category barriers between LGBTs and wider society, while maintaining the internal respect for sexual identities. LGBTs in these settings cast wider society and capitalist structures as homophobic. This hints at these LGBT identities conflating themselves with class-based

contention and leftist politics, whilst at the same time they are enabled, in Marxist thought, through the dynamics of capitalism and consumption itself. Commenting, Bondi (1993:89) argues that there is, within this, an inherent tension between subjectivity (a 'class-in-itself') and agency (a 'class-for-itself'). It is clear that the movement overplays the former yet has clearly demonstrated a capacity in the latter, and that while discourses of powerlessness abound, there is significant agency shown by the movement in these spaces. In addition, there is a juxtaposition of private versus public, with groups politicising private sexual identities and making them public goods worthy of universal consideration in the wider public sphere. It is clear, that distributive justice and recognition are subsumed within each other to varying degrees, mediated through individual agency.

In terms of this research, there is internal tension in turning private identity public. The prevailing view, promoted by SOMOS and allies, is for the clear display of marketable symbols of LGBT identity, accompanied by teaching parameters of human sexuality in schools and, to an extent, having hard conceptions of need based on identity in health services. Attempts to structure sexuality through standardised forms (through an LGBT reference centre), far from serving to emancipate LGBTs from marginality, ultimately serve to chain them to heteronormative identity structures within market economics. Identity, then, is liberating in the abstract sense when individuals can pick and choose between a wide range of associated categories, rather than being obliged to maintain a pre-established mode of relationships.

Those belonging to the most stigmatised groups in this setting call loudest for the surrender of their privacy to public scrutiny. Whereas *travestis* will have undergone more body modification than others, their inner identity is seen as more prescribed than for gay men and lesbians. Among this group, identity stigma is twofold. First, it is seen in the subversion of gender boundaries (Kulick 1998). Secondly, it is present in the moralistic attitudes displayed by society against their main form of income, prostitution, and associated health risks.

Health is a clear identity marker for LGBTs, especially for gay men and *travestis* with their greater vulnerability to HIV/AIDS compared to wider society. However, this is undermined by the Federal Government's focus on the concept of 'diversity' through which it promotes the inclusion of free treatment. This is further complicated by the movement creating a discursive space that excludes HIV/AIDS and attempts to distance the category attribute identity of LGBTs from chronic disease, and especially through the invisibility of Rio Grande do Sul's numerous carriers, in a bid for recognition of an acceptable and self-disciplined identity category in the wider public sphere. Longhurst (2001:23) bemoans that the:

*fluid volatile flesh of bodies... tends not to be discussed. There is little in the discipline that attests to the runny, gaseous, flowing, watery nature of bodies. The messy surfaces, depths of bodies, their insecure boundaries, the fluids that seep and leak from them.*

The queer aesthetic as the healthy, wealthy, educated, white woman (or man, so long as he condemns male category-attributes) becomes the favoured identity type. Though perhaps this is too harsh on the movement, for as Oswin (2006:788) notes of the Anglo-American gay spaces, “the search for sameness has been replaced to a certain extent by a search for ‘queerer than queer’ counternarratives.” The Riograndense movement’s relative conservatism is formulated for its time and its place, not to resist global flows and networks nor to colonise them, but various actors seeking ‘normality’ and citizenship, yet negotiating the power of and in identity. To answer Soja’s (1989) claim that place is ascribed meaning by individual identities, then, local LGBT bodies are ascribed just as much meaning by place and space. *Políticas Públicas* in their current form are receptor sites for entry into the wider public sphere. While these settings can provide for reasonable citizenship claims, they are incompatible with increasingly radical and “queerer than queer” narratives that do not seek compromise but hegemony and are, therefore, incompatible with universal emancipation.

The continued Brazilian use of ID cards as the official validation of identity is never questioned. Brazilian society is characterised as saturated with violent elements, and governmental control over identity is viewed even here as a way to keep society safe from itself (Goldstein 2003). It is only problematised insofar as *travestis* have traditionally been refused recognition of their essential identities post-transition. *Políticas Públicas* here is based around gender identity, not merely considering broad social categories in terms of LGBT language. On top of establishing the social specificities and differences of gay groups, various other symbols of social cleavage are overlaid. More importantly, feminist discourses pervade the conversation, and feminised forms of almost all major LGBT-referenced terms (e.g. ‘homo’ as being insufficient to cover ‘lesbo’ and ‘trans’) play a significant part in LGBT discourses. In turn, these make each constituent group visible, but also create a sense of division within the whole. These spaces allow participants to recognise themselves and each other on their own terms. This results in raised visibility of internal diversity. However, without co-deliberators from other bodies, key decisions cannot really be made and the allocation of resources not assured. In the main public sphere it may be viewed that these groups are pushing their luck.

With no physical or symbolic output, it is questionable how much the LGBT sphere impacts upon the wider public sphere. Yet the attention to sexual health has in fact reached the public sphere as a result of LGBT awareness-raising. For example, the idea of ‘prevention’ is

a key public concern, and part of the LGBT lexicon, especially in relation to violence and health. The use of this term is symptomatic of the defensive nature of LGBT discourse, with a victimised minority identity grouping under attack from disease, policy, and society. Identity is formed increasingly as an antithesis and opposition to Christian Pentecostal conservatism. The latter's rise and increasing influence has been marked over the past 20 years, especially in poorer communities and this has led to their increasing power through populist mobilisation (Freston 2013).

In general terms, LGBTs are often seen to belong to higher income groupings (Riggs 2010). The movement's mobilisation can therefore be conceived of as a class struggle between the lower and middle classes; as a struggle on moral/religious grounds; and, most importantly and relevantly, as a struggle over identity, symbols and meaning in the political sphere. Hence, a dynamic of hegemony and marginalisation results from social engagement in these spaces, amplified by the regional diversity of participants. LGBTs are aware of their insertion into society, and there is strong intertextual referencing at global, national and international scales, and use *Políticas Públicas* as spaces to underline their vulnerability. This links to a paradox in that, while *Políticas Públicas* should be spaces of empowerment, aspects of the movement here seem to emphasise and embellish their disempowerment in order to secure resources. From the outcomes of this study, two strands should form the basis of future work on social movements. The first should address the issue of the professionalisation of activism in the developing world, and Brazil in particular, at the expense of the grassroots. This builds on European and North American studies such as Walker's (2014). The second should address religion in social movement terms, given that religion is increasingly political and inhabits the same symbolic spheres as movements. This is very much linked to the first strand, and would additionally build on work such as Löwy (2000) on evangelism and contentious action in Latin America, and Connell's (2005) consideration of gender relations and religious discourse.

Despite the drive to differentiate the various types of LGBT identities in wider society and policy-making, discussion often hinges on the broad-brush category "religion" to describe mainly Pentecostal conservatism. This is problematic as it demonises all Christians as actively homophobic. The difference between Christian identity, understood as a monolith, and LGBT identity, is that while the former displays hegemonic tendencies and is well able to mobilise resources, the latter cannot. The moral high ground is an ambivalent space, for while Christian groups actively exclude LGBTs, they embrace lower income and especially black groups (Freston 1995). LGBT groups have been shown to provide generally hostile environments for black participants and, despite incorporating a wide frame of 'diversity', this does not extend particularly widely, perpetuating marginalisation. This can be interpreted as

a legacy issue, and that the local southern Brazilian “ethnoracial order according to its own logic” must be appreciated (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1999:44). However, the exclusion and marginalisation of black participants from the most influential of local groups, and hence these spaces, challenges the whole emancipatory premise of *Políticas Públicas*. The task for these groups, and a demonstration of the particular agency they have to act within existing systems, would be to allow integration of diverse ethnicities that does not bracket and neutralise status distinctions, but suspends hierarchies in the same way that old age categories are treated (Fraser 1990). This links back to opening statements in this chapter, in that even though a class-based elitist public sphere is politically impossible, elitism based on markers of identity remains here and apparently throughout Riograndense society.

Despite the imperfections of dealing with status distinctions of participants, the treatment of Old Age as a concept and as an identity classification points to the real emancipatory potential of *Políticas Públicas*. Old Age embodiment is appreciated and its members allowed to communicate in their own selected modes on their own terms. This included emotional narrative storytelling modes that had been so criticised coming from other identity groupings as seen in Chapter Four. Visibility is attributed to all aspects of the embodied subject, and sexed and aged bodies emerge from the closet. They are recognised in this space, and it is suggested they are able to transgress the structural limits of governmental structures and also have their specific needs met on a wider scale as part of mainstream elderly deliberative spaces. Far from mocking, these interactions show how *Políticas Públicas* can redress harm if only through recognition and the attribution of human dignity (Fraser 1998). This is, unfortunately, an exception to the rule.

Finally, as this chapter has shown, a major difficulty faced by government with regard to action and policy formulation is the sheer diversity that is represented in these conferences and the extent to which each group and sub-group requires specific attention. It follows that there is a practical difficulty in reconciling governmental resources as society identification broadens and deepens away from national meta-narratives. Governments already have difficulties providing basic services under economies of scale (Warner 2011). It thus follows that they will have even more difficulties providing sites for increasingly detailed identity discussions, so groups must scatter according to who will recognise them. Identity-based groups may have one identity aspect as the primary source of contentious politics, but they inherently embody and are politically active on several identity fronts, as the multiple, fluid and contextually-shifting nature of identity is tough to reconcile with rigid, inflexible governmental departments. In spite of the fact that the uniting process and communicative settings can prove to be awkward and imperfect, citizenship and recognition should be perceived as a tapestry in which LGBTs are a unified identity grouping within the broader

concept of fluid individual diversity. This is difficult for the traditionally-conceived public sphere to deal with, and the bureaucratic structures are not yet finely tuned enough to enable strong publics.

## Chapter Seven: Conclusion

This thesis has explored a season of Porto Alegre's *Políticas Públicas*, interrogating these settings and their ability to act as models for local engagement and decreasing democratic distances between state and civil society.

The primary research question this thesis posed was:

***How can the roles and functions of civil society organisations and the state be understood in Políticas Públicas, and can this process address the 'democratic deficit' locally, nationally and internationally?***

To answer this question, a review of the political and social context in which the research was based looked at participatory policy-making in Porto Alegre from the redemocratisation period of the late 1980s to the present day. From this contextual base, the literature review, Chapter Two, highlighted key concepts relevant to state-society relations, and in particular theories of social mobilisation, as well as those relating to contentious action in social movement studies. Much academic focus has been given to collective behaviour in Porto Alegre and its relationship to OP and its hosting of the World Social Forum in the late 1990s/early 2000s, yet political change came quickly and focus has been lost since then.

Throughout the thesis the extent to which Porto Alegre's social movements were inserted into a globalised cultural and economic system was debated, and it was argued that this was inevitable to some degree, yet there would be variation between groups in the extent to which the "system" colonised the "lifeworld" of lived experience (Habermas 1987a). However, there was significant variation between groups acting under the LGBT banner. As noted, particularly in Chapters Five and Six, on one extreme was Nuances, the longest-established gay group in Porto Alegre, which fought not only for freedom from state oppression but also for acceptance of a particularly Brazilian gay space separated from the rest of society and free from insertion into global systems of control. On the other was SOMOS, a newer yet materially-rich LGBT group very successful at resource mobilisation because of its insertion in the global network of LGBT discourse – with that machine behind it – able to wield locally the influence of a global movement in this metropolitan area. These conferences provided opportunity for each viewpoint to be aired by senior delegates of these two groupings. Yet it became clear in decision-making it was the populist and internationally-cosmopolitan positions of SOMOS that took precedence to the joint exploration characteristic of OP.



However, united LGBT groups were able to eschew differences in positioning to engage in repeated public displays of worthiness, unity, numbers and commitment shown by wearing colours, marching in ranks, and the like. This lent them, as was discussed in Chapter Five regarding movement relationships with wider society and its political institutions, the characteristics of traditional social movements. Outside of the conferences, and borrowing Tilly and Tarrow's (2006:8) definition, groups certainly engaged in forms of collective action "as a sustained campaign of claim making, using repeated performances that advertise the claim, based on organisations, networks, traditions, and solidarities that sustain these activities." This is through a combination of LGBT socialisation and visibility events such as "Free Pride" and various education and training events. This is also, as highlighted by Alexandre's discussion in the 'social movement power in participation' section of Chapter Five, through these groups' participation in multiple sectoral-based participatory programmes outside of *Políticas Públicas*.

In terms of the groups constituting the LGBT movement being correctly conceived as "New Social Movements", there is no way to categorically state that each group meets all the criteria. While it is true that there is a focus on 'postmaterial values' (Inglehart 1990) in these conferences – citizenship and visibility – the extent is different for each group and even the individuals within each group, as was recorded, for instance, with regard to the interpellation between Marcelly, Alexandre and Cristyane in Health discussion in Chapter Six. Yet Johnston et al.'s (1994) idea of myriad pluralism is indeed correct. In terms of internal group structure, all group governance comprises an experienced executive core that makes the majority of the strategic decisions – in which case they do not meet the terms of more recent definitions through which "participatory democracy and collective decision-making are characteristics of these groups' methods of strategising and planning that stand in contrast to hierarchical and cadre-led organisations of the past" (Johnston 2011:93). This was demonstrably shown in the thesis by the domination of a few senior voices – Sandro, Marcelly, Célio, Luisa, Alexandre and Roselaine – and no accompanying backstage evidence of meaningful engagement beyond these cores. Moreover, while Nuances' aims are very much informed by the traditional subversive radicalism of the 1980s left, in terms of its group structure it is the most decentralised and theoretically-developed of all Rio Grande do Sul's major LGBT groups. SOMOS, despite its successes in resource mobilisation, is conservative and performative rather than transformative, and exacerbates rather than heals old social cleavages with its hierarchical structure, and core of youth and white identity types. This is an important consideration because a key tenet of deliberative processes is to reduce rather than enhance social distance between groups. Chapter Six's examination of Old Age identity types showed that social differences can be addressed without bracketing

and neutralising the very aspects that give life colour. However, in the main marginalisation and domination pervaded these spaces as seen in Chapter Five.

## Limitations and further research

Whilst the choice of research setting was based on earlier successfully-implemented systems of participatory policy deliberation and decision-making, and fieldwork in Porto Alegre was sensible in terms of timeframes and access arrangements to two levels of participatory decision-making, a potential weakness for this research is the absence of consideration of national level LGBT *Políticas Públicas*. This is an area in which further postdoctoral research would build upon the unique contribution that this thesis has made to the furtherance of existent academic knowledge. This aspect of study would have proven somewhat more difficult within the confines of a PhD, given the steep diminution of delegates chosen for the event as well as the contention over internal movement nominations as delegates for the national conference, but it would have provided the ‘final piece’ in the annual cycle of *Políticas Públicas*. This would, however, necessarily remove the strict focus on Rio Grande do Sul as the research setting, and the specificities of a *gaúcho* political context and separatist identity would be diluted given representation from each of Brazil’s 27 States in the national conference. Such an expansion would, however, as noted, be ideally suited to postdoctoral consideration.

Identity and identity-based movement was one of the bases of this research and, while the original intention was to explore a wider range of intersections with other identity-based groupings, this was not possible, given timing and access constraints. It is, once more, an area that the researcher would like to consider in a postdoctoral context. Indeed, closer work with the women’s movement would be a potential future task given the importance and centrality of it to the LGBT movement. Allied with this (though not restricted to it either), feminist thought has valorised attention to emotion and affect. These spaces were permeated with feeling, and a renewed field visit to follow up on some of the points raised would undoubtedly offer academic insight into the emotions of governance and embodiment.

Racial issues were also raised as areas of potentially inflammatory tension within these nominally ‘white’ groups, and would benefit from deeper study in this European-dominated State that is in a country of ‘racial democracy’ (Freyre 1933). There was a clear separation between discourses of inclusion and diversity alongside a clear distance between local black participation, producing a paradox, and supporting the findings of Tucker (2009) in another middle-income setting. This is an especially pressing stream of research since Freyre’s conception both constitutes and reflects a Brazilian discursive idea of “harmonious racial patriarchy” (Needham 1995:67), problematised throughout this thesis and most specifically

in Chapter Six. While the deconstruction of 'racial democracy' discourses has been ongoing for decades (Hasenbalg 1979), the intersection of this with gendered and sexualised embodiments is a lot more recent (Silva 1998).

In exploring the limitations of this study, it is important to recognise the significant contribution it makes in exploring a particular aspect of Brazilian socio-political place making. Upon entering the field, there was no reason to presuppose that many of the outcomes of these conferences would have yielded the further questions that they did, for example with regard to race relations in an ostensibly 'diverse' movement. In this way, the thesis is successful at stimulating a consideration of further interesting avenues of exploration in this multi-faceted social world. The study produced successes in terms of methodology and outcomes, and addressed the specific aims of the research, which will now be discussed.

## **Outcomes of the current study**

In answering both the primary research question of the thesis and those penumbral issues that arose from it, the research used an innovative methodology. In so doing it used tools drawn from both the geographical and sociological traditions, thereby providing a cross-disciplinary, multi-dimensional portrait of social and political life. From a broad social constructionist framework, researcher positioning enabled me to appreciate the minutiae of local embodied social life, and to understand and interpret it through common sense lived experience, simultaneously as group member and as a cultural outsider – at ease with the setting yet not completely 'native'. My involvement was not simply professional, but held a personal and emotional connection with members from all of these social sites that did not end upon leaving the field. This yielded a large amount of useful ethnographic data that I co-produced in the forms of conference transcripts, interview transcripts, photographs, official group publications, and narrated accounts of group histories and experiences in various forms. The combination of analytic methods, including the use of ethnographic and ethnomethodological interpretive tools, and attention to discourse analysis, has offered a three-dimensional picture of this setting and its actors. In this way it has disentangled the complex and intersecting stories of LGBT *Políticas Públicas* in a detailed way but, for the sake of space, has been limited to the scope of answering the three subsidiary questions.

### **Exploring Process, Power and Identity**

The first of these subsidiary questions focuses on the process of political engagement:

1. *How does Políticas Públicas enable/constrain civil society repertoires/discourses? How does the process operate and what is it about?*

*To what extent is it a system of social control, controlling access and engagement?*

This question looked at how the format of the process itself enabled or constrained civil society engagement or the format of group or individual contentious practice. In Chapter Four, the focus was about looking at how the process operates and understanding its logic as to what it is about. The chapter began with an exploration of the Brazilian state and its existing structure, including how the *Políticas Públicas* agenda fits into this. It took Schumaker's (1975) division of the stages of state responsiveness into given components – access, agenda, policy, output and impact – so as to examine how the process actually appeared to work and how much of a difference there was between the idealised and demonstrated process. It was demonstrated that while this is a useful overall framework in understanding the permeability of the state to civil society, there is a need for a certain amount of refinement in its application to this case. This refinement maintains the initial stages of access and agenda responsiveness, but embellishes subsequent aspects to take account of the lived *Políticas Públicas* format the Chapter Four explores. The capacity-building and empowerment component echoes the aims of participatory and democratic programmes (Gret and Sintomer 2005); while further categories of policymaking and resources; symbolic and immaterial outputs; and impact talk both to the settings themselves reflecting the demands for immaterial resources, and the supposed aims of democratic processes to empower, and the cultural turn in geography (Soja 1999).

In terms of **access**, on the surface this was open to all. However, in terms of allocation of voice and turn-taking, preference was clearly given to those already trained and indoctrinated into existing bureaucratic and administrative systems. There is also a need as a delegate to express oneself in 'correct' 'objective' ways – leaving personal interests behind and acting in a way beneficial to the cause. This is not necessarily a conscious exclusion of particular individuals, but based in the interactive discursive realm; and the Habermasian ideal public sphere appears to apply wherein there is an idea of the 'common good' aligned with NGO institutional claims, within which communicative differences are bracketed. This is very much in evidence, and has a significant impact on access arrangements, yet the fact that in this stratified society without a history of democratic systems (and, indeed, recent calls for military intervention to impeach the President), it is a significant shift that domination is merely hegemonic rather than brazenly oppressive. Unfortunately, those unused to communicating in formal settings may not find ways to discover "that the prevailing sense of "we" does not adequately include them" (Fraser 1990:72). It turns out that this is defined spatially inasmuch as delegates from the interior of Rio Grande do Sul establish themselves as a subaltern counterpublic to the metropolitan dominant one, fighting for inclusion and

decision-making capacity. **Agenda** is restricted further than access, set by those judged to be 'experts' (i.e. state actors and NGO members), demonstrating the importance of particular forms of knowledge and the exclusion of local situated forms.

Within public spheres addressed by the thesis there was limited evidence for the process being able to foster **capacity-building or empowerment**, further restricted from within the movement as senior members bemoan the quality of participants rather than that the current system does not hear participants on their own terms. The most important forces for capacity-building appear to be group membership, with back-room training, experience and educational attainment making it more likely a participant will be heard, all of which were issues directly addressed in Chapter Five and, with attention to 'expert' categories, Chapter Four. There is, nevertheless, some evidence of delegate empowerment and ability to interact successfully in the public sphere, yet this is mainly limited to metropolitan NGO group members rather than being as a result of the effects of *Políticas Públicas* themselves, the focus of comment also in Chapter Five's exploration of intra-movement contestation.

In terms of symbolic and immaterial **outputs**, *Políticas Públicas* themselves are depicted as *gaúcho* success stories, while the local movement highlights its stake in the wider *gaúcho* public sphere through its participation, but without critical reflection on the process. However, as noted in discussion of Old Age *Políticas Públicas* in Chapter Six, as well as in Chapter Four, groups rely on gatekeepers in public office to forward their claims into actions in the public sphere. This is not direct democracy, but a performative side-show to democratic processes. These groups must prove to the state that it meets the state's criteria for citizenship and to warrant its consideration. To this end, there are clear sanctioned LGBT scripts to be performed by actors within the movement, and deviation from these by group members is disciplined, as may be noted with regard to the turn by Alexandre and analysed in Chapter Five. Finally, in terms of **impacts**, while the movement has made progress in recent years, there is no guarantee as to whether or not the proposals in the resulting reports from these conferences will be implemented. This was a concern that was highlighted in Chapter Four with regard to delegates' lack of access to evidence with which to analyse national policy outcomes. It was further explored in Chapter Five in respect of the movement's efforts to formulate policy proposals in a manner enabling implementation, 'isomorphically' adjusting to the system's point of access (Johnston 2011).

As a process, therefore, *Políticas Públicas* has been shown to have limited emancipatory potential and not to live up to its celebrated predecessor programme. This, therefore, supports this thesis' expression of the necessity to understand that modern contention over citizenship takes place almost entirely in the realms of discourse, and process must find a way of addressing this. While that programme enabled visible tangible material quality of life

improvements in neighbourhoods, this programme has more potential to provide intangible qualitative outputs. This is not the result of a particularly enlightened programme designed to address the concerns of new social movements, but merely an extrapolation of the old programme to new publics. As a process, it is clearly not participant-designed and only experienced and senior delegates can engage effectively, using carefully-crafted and scripted discursive arguments. Therefore, it has been shown that the process itself needs reform if it is to result in meaningful engagement. However, it is not just the process that needs attention, as was revealed through the research undertaken to answer the following question:

2. *How do participants relate to the format and concept of (LGBT or other) Políticas Públicas? Whose voices come to the fore? Whose are silenced? Who allocates participation rights?*

This question formed the basis of Chapter 5, focusing, as it did, on the relationships of power relations between bodies, groups and individuals related to *Políticas Públicas*, looking at local matrices of power. While the previous question raised significant issues related to the rather broad concept of power, this question dealt with it through a focus on participant repertoires. It was noted within the chapter that while power can be related to categorical roles, participants demonstrate agency, and such critiques tend to have a structural bent.

It was shown, particularly in the section focusing on the movement's relationship with society in Chapter Five, that there is a progressive potential of *Políticas Públicas* on some measures, and especially through the potential for increased governmental accountability. However, as noted, these settings lead to new tyrannies inasmuch as while movement autonomy and radicalism sometimes is evidence, these settings structure movement contentious action at arm's length from the main business of government. While delegates participate in the hope they can be catalysts for change, this process seems to take no part in everyday governance itself and there is little evidence as to its impact on fundamental ways of doing things in government apart from its ability to mitigate contentious action by movement groups.

On top of this, the process perpetuates spatial divisions between movement groups, and most notably between those based in the metropolitan (and cosmopolitan) capital whose more highly educated delegates are familiar with globalised LGBT theory. This is important in understanding Riograndense spatial dynamics in that the 'interior' becomes a 'conceived' space of parochialism and provincial interest which is used discursively to denigrate non-metropolitan modes and frames of reference (Lefebvre 1974). Setting this in terms of theories of rational choice in Chapter Five, it is clear that this is not necessarily intentional,

yet the exclusion and disempowerment remains (Johnston and Klandermans 1995). Those from the 'interior' whose lived experiences of situated local LGBT issues and awareness of global LGBT theory are undermined, and their very participation is challenged as explored in discussion of 'Access' in Chapter Four on the basis of a pernicious combination of skewed power dynamics.

The progressive potential of these settings was explored in the chapter, and it was noted that instead there are multiple meanings of 'empowerment' across the literature and a lack of specific outcomes related to democratic deepening and service delivery effectiveness (Brinkerhoff and Azfar 2006:29). Participants often derive "their meaning, significance, and identity from the (changing) functional roles they play within that transaction" (Emirbayer 1997:287), playing politics as in the moves in a game. It is established in both Chapters Four and Five that some inequalities that are situational, yet some that are structural – senior delegates can play the game better, and while LGBT scripts and codes are maintained, there is on balance more evidence of competition between delegates rather than real collective working. While the discussion of Old Age issues provides a positive example of collaboration, deliberation often gives way to divisive debate as demonstrated in Chapter Four's discussion of voting rights (Escobar 2011). The most successful delegates are seen to display multiple relevant category attributes deemed appropriate to the situation. They are in equal measure reactive and proactive, as demonstrated for example in Célio's discussion of public security in Chapter Five.

It was evident throughout Chapter Five that power is provisional and situational. While in some instances it may be embodied, it is ultimately wielded through the use of language and rooted in discourse, identity and symbols. This was shown prominently within that chapter's discussion of movement-state relations in Gustavo's invocation of state authority to maintain order simultaneous with movement language to maintain credibility. In addition, accounts can be well used as mechanisms of power invocation through which obligations may be established and enforced elsewhere. Power relations within the movement and between groups were even more situationally-determined, as was explored with reference to turn taking in Chapter Five, but also to voting and participation in Chapter Four.

To wield or to be attributed power, participants must be adept at the use of language in order to frame issues and suggestions in terms of public good, and must have an evidence base to avoid potential accusations of individual bias and unreliability. In its crudest form, it depends on adhering to 'scripts' and 'codes' (Horton 2003), through which anything that provokes oppositional arguments to an oppositional institution is to be heard as belonging to an LGBT 'script'. While the make-up, identity-formulation and world view of the assembled local LGBT groups is substantially different and divergent, their opposition to another homogeneously-

categorised group – Christian – unites them in a ‘them vs us’ binary. In politics, ‘any enemy of my enemy is a friend of mine’, or at least that is to some extent the relationship between Nuances and the other groups. Indeed, this was a theme discussed in Chapter Five’s examination of movement-state relations, and Chapter 6’s expansion on relationships between the movement and religion and religiosity.

Within the actual process of participation, there is constant struggle and negotiation over power and the enforcement of rules, as was seen repeatedly within the thesis with reference to the interactions of Roselaine and Tâmara in Chapter Five as well as Mário’s and treatment of Luana in Chapter Four. With the movement in general proffering a self-perception as victims of negative power relations in wider society and in relation to the government, there is a wish to break down such structures. Participation becomes an unstructured tyranny (Cooke and Kothari 2001), or, at least, a tyranny structured by language, and a tool in the battleground of power relations.

Above the individual level of relations, wider power structures revolved around the relationships between government, education and religion, and the demand for a *de facto* secular state. When arguing and presenting wider issues, it is interesting to observe power as situational and channelled through individuals, with speakers always calling on a category-bound identity. Depending on the situation, the same participant may draw on different aspects of his or her identity portfolio to make a bigger impact, as was shown, for instance, by Roselaine invoking her professional educational identity in dealing with *travesti* exclusion from school. These actors may otherwise not be seen as credible to talk on such subjects were they not to invoke wider identification. Sometimes this is misplaced, but in general terms participants know which aspects of their identity to invoke for maximum power. This demonstrated the use of ethnomethodological tools in the analysis of participant repertoires, and I would call for their revitalisation and, in future postdoctoral work on this topic, it would be useful to undertake finer grained analyses using the whole suite of techniques.

In answering this question, it has been reinforced that power is situational, yet is mediated through the use of the correct tools (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999). Yet these conferences are disenfranchising insofar as they remove power from groups in relation to other potential repertoires of contention, because they establish a moral duty for these groups to participate even though not all relevant departments of government are represented and other modes of contention might progress aims faster. Government actors have the power to attend these settings or not, and to enact agreed policy suggestions or not in the system of representative government. Delegates wield power according to very Brazilian narratives of rich man and subaltern: the *casa grande* and the *senzala* (Freyre



1933). LGBT as an identity-based grouping is formalised in a process that controls which aspects of this wide-ranging group are deemed to be acceptable to public policy. A deeper investigation to understand the constituent parts of the LGBT label in identity terms could form the basis for a future postdoctoral research project in itself. Nevertheless, within this thesis, identity has been shown to form a big part of how the process operates (in Chapter Four), the participant repertoires invoked (Chapter Five), and how they were received. This raised questions that were addressed in the final subsidiary question of this study:

3. *How do actors invoke identities in Políticas Públicas? Which identities are most salient? Which identities are marginalised? How are these produced interactionally? What evidence is there of intertextuality?*

Ostensibly these conferences are events for a united LGBT grouping of people. However, as Oswin (2008:93) warns, “when queer is deployed as an identity category or subjectivity, it does not exist on its own. Any embodied analysis of queer or gay or lesbian spaces must take this fact into account.” Chapter Six explored the fact that individuals do not display singular identities, but perform situational and even multiple identities to a particular situation or interaction. Certain identities may be more favoured by their audience than others; may be viewed as more relevant than others; and can exacerbate existing marginalisation. On top of this, and building on the comments made particularly in regard to politicians in Chapter Six, but referenced throughout, (note which specific ones) , there may be favoured ways of performing particular identities – like LGBT – through accordance with a group’s ‘scripts’ and ‘codes’. Needless to say, identity can be understood as a fundamental organising principle of social life, determining participation in or exclusion from the public sphere.

The power of identity categories was especially strong in orienting approaches to individual subjects, and it was seen in Chapter Four’s discussion of the idea of the ‘objective expert’, and through Gustavo’s institutional identity in Chapter Six, that those able to perform identities associated with the state and state power were better able to influence proceedings. Therefore, these spaces should be understood as part of the state apparatus and not necessarily as an independent public sphere.

The research also allowed an exploration of identity in relation to social movement theory, pushing attention beyond the collective behaviour frame to highlight the discursive hierarchies of vulnerability and power contained within the broad LGBT grouping. While men are perceived as ‘top’ and *travestis* ‘bottom’ (Parker 1999), this is not the reality as *travestis* testify. The allocation of general LGBT identity to a ‘vulnerable’ category incites a duty of care from the state as was noted in the discussion of vulnerable groups Chapter Six ‘Vulnerability’ is used as a political tool for identity categories rather than acting as a full

reflection of the social insertion of LGBTs. I do not mean that certain groups are not more vulnerable and subject to violence than others, but this is used to political advantage. This is refuted in the paradox that the most vulnerable group, *travestis*, are given least visibility both in interaction and by the politics around the move from GLBT to LGBT, yet there is an internal competition in this sphere for representation conceived of as a zero-sum game, as was noted early in Chapter Six.

These conferences show the multiplicity of contestation and flux along identity parameters within the setting. The identity paradox simultaneously calls for the breaking down of identity category barriers between LGBTs and wider society, while maintaining the internal respect for sexual identities. LGBTs cast wider society and capitalist structures as homophobic, leading to a framed link between 'LGBT', class-based contention and leftist politics, whilst at the same time they are enabled, in Marxist thought, through the dynamics of capitalism and consumption itself. Despite the evidence that identities are inherently unstable, such an approach is characteristic of emancipatory politics and, as Bondi (1993:89) argues, within this there is inherent tension between subjectivity (a 'class-in-itself') and agency (a 'class-for-itself') with an implication of politically-salient self-awareness, and no real chance to resolve this. However, the fact that participants are able to negotiate and explore identification within these settings is an, albeit limited, emancipatory victory. Unfortunately, however, identity is very often treated as a commercial commodity rather than an inherent process of self-realisation. It is seen, through Sandro's attention to marketing LGBT culture notes, as a resource to be traded, which may be the cost of making the private (inner world) public.

In terms of this research, there is internal tension in turning private identity public. The prevailing view, promoted by SOMOS and its allies, is for the clear display of marketable symbols of LGBT identity, accompanied by teaching parameters of human sexuality in schools and, to an extent, having hard conceptions of need based on identity in health services. Those belonging to the most stigmatised groups in this setting call loudest for the surrender of their privacy to public scrutiny. Whereas *travestis* will have undergone more body modification than others, their inner identity is seen as more prescribed than for gay men and lesbians. Health is a clear identity marker for LGBTs, especially for gay men and *travestis* with their greater vulnerability to HIV/AIDS compared to wider society. However, this is undermined, as was noted in Chapter Six, by the Federal Government's focus on the concept of 'diversity' through which it promotes the inclusion of free treatment. There are clear indications that pragmatic decision making – cause and response – is being distorted through discursive filtering. Within the LGBT public sphere, the health concerns of men are not 'diverse' enough or 'radical' enough, and attempts made to distance LGBTs from

HIV/AIDS serves to exclude carriers from the LGBT public sphere as 'diseased bodies' (Longhurst 2001).

Black Brazilians are also significantly marginalised and excluded from these spaces. While the one visible black gay participant is undermined in the conferences, on the face of it due to his 'over-complication' of issues and the transgression of movement groups' 'scripts' and 'codes', there is a noticeable absence of non-white participants, especially as senior group members, in Freyre's (1933) land of racial democracy. While the *Movimento Negro Unificado* is notably older than any of the Porto Alegre LGBT groups, there is still an antagonism between them. While there are many contextual reasons for this, such as Rio Grande's nineteenth century policy of 'whitening'; the continued wealth and therefore spatial disparity between black populations and white populations, and the associated educational access disparity; this was explained somewhat by the influential religious movement, which I would posit is as much an identity-based movement as the others.

Identity has the ability to shape tribal belonging, creating groups of 'us' and 'them'. Despite the drive to differentiate the various types of LGBT identities in wider society and policy-making, the broad-brush category "religion" is used to describe mainly Pentecostal conservatism. This is problematic as it demonises all Christians as actively homophobic and encouraging violence against LGBTs, yet the same difference LGBTs seek to have recognised in the wider sphere, they deny to religious groups. The difference between Christian identity, understood as a monolith, and LGBT identity, is that while the former displays hegemonic tendencies as an institution and is well able to mobilise resources, the latter lacks physical wealth and must unite with other groups to establish force in numbers. Paradoxically, a great number of urban poor are now members of community-based Pentecostal charismatic churches (Freston 2013), the vast majority of whom are black Brazilian (Telles 2004).

What is evident in non-religious identities is the parallel broadening and deepening of identities, becoming more diverse and imbued with more meaning and symbol. Such greater depth necessitates an anchor in a meaningful meta-category so that social atomisation does not mean people can no longer be understood as a collectivity. While it could be expected, especially given the views of Bauman (2004) and the findings of this thesis, that identities are in a constant state of flux, in fact what has been demonstrated in the conferences are ongoing attempts to stabilise their meaning and constituents in policy for recognition and resources. Such difficulties are exacerbated by the fact that while the conferences attempt to attend to LGBT identities, these are intertwined with various levels of professional, governmental and status identities.

While the main themes of these conferences were based on post-material resources – citizenship and, through the process, empowerment – the normative bases of Brazilian society were often left unquestioned, for example in the continued Brazilian use of ID cards as the official validation of identity. Brazilian society is characterised as saturated with violent elements, and governmental control over identity is viewed even here as a way to keep society safe from itself (Goldstein 2003). This is conceived as ‘normal’. ID cards provide an accepted validation of identity, visibility and acceptability, and provide the basis of emotional narratives in the establishment of *travestis* identity in Chapter Six. ID cards are also symbolic of the different types of freedom sought by the respective groups, and their relationship with wider society as explored in Chapter Five. While the emission or withholding of ID cards constitutes a dominating state power in itself, their very necessity and the logic of state surveillance threatens the freeing space of ‘the margins’ so valued by Nuances yet so despised by *Igualdade-RS*. This different was addressed in Chapter Five’s consideration of movement-state relations.

On top of establishing the social specificities and differences of gay groups, various other symbols of social cleavage and current international popularised academic discourse are overlaid. In addition, feminist discourses pervade the conversation, and feminised forms of almost all major LGBT-referenced terms (e.g. ‘homo’ as being insufficient to cover ‘lesbo’ and ‘trans’) play a significant part in LGBT discourses, making each constituent group visible, but similarly creating a sense of division within the whole and resulting in an uncomfortable alliance. These spaces, as was discussed at length in relation to *travestis* deliberation of Old Age in Chapter Six, only provisionally allow participants to recognise themselves and each other on their own terms, but in all cases raise visibility of internal diversity. Without representatives from other bodies to deliberate with, however, key decisions cannot really be made and the allocation of resources not assured. In the main public sphere it could be viewed that these groups are ‘pushing their luck’. With no physical or symbolic output, it is questionable how much the LGBT sphere impacts upon the wider public sphere. Yet the attention to sexual health has in fact reached the public sphere as a result of LGBT awareness-raising, no longer as simply an LGBT concern but as a public health concern.

As has been argued, a major difficulty faced by government with regard to action and policy formulation is the sheer diversity of self-realisation and belonging that is represented in these conferences and the extent to which each group and sub-group requires specific attention. Inevitably, despite a certain amount of governmental innovation to stretch participatory programmes to identity-based groupings, it follows that there is a practical difficulty in reconciling governmental resources and roles as society identification broadens

and deepens away from national meta-narratives. Indeed, it is clear that there is mutual constitution of state, society and space (Miller 2006). Governments already have difficulties providing basic services (Warner 2011) under economies of scale, so will have even more difficulties providing sites for increasingly detailed identity discussions; groups must scatter according to who will recognise them. In general terms, LGBTs belong to higher income groupings, as confirmed by preliminary surveys of group members. This struggle can be conceived in multiple ways: as a class struggle between the lower and middle classes; as a struggle on moral/religious grounds; or, most importantly and relevantly, as a struggle over identity, symbols and meaning in the political sphere.

Identity-based groups may use one identity aspect as the primary base of contentious politics. However, they inherently embody multiple identities and are politically active on several of these fronts. The multiple, fluid and contextually-shifting nature of identity is not necessarily compatible with rigid, inflexible governmental departments, and so priorities and cost-benefits are internalised within groups. In spite of the fact that the uniting process and communicative settings can prove to be awkward and imperfect, citizenship and recognition should, however, constitute a tapestry in which LGBTs are a unified identity grouping within the broader concept of fluid individual diversity. This is difficult for the traditionally-conceived public sphere to deal with, and the bureaucratic structures are not yet fine-tuned enough to enable strong publics as discussed in Chapter Six (Fraser 1990).

## **The last word**

This thesis has provided a conceptual model for understanding the process of *Políticas Públicas* as an institution, which uncomfortably attempts to insert a bottom-up system into top-down overarching governance structure. As such, the fit is incomplete. Such frames do not reflect the realities of the lived process and modern forms of contention, so an improved model to capture all aspects of the process was proposed in Chapter Four, based on Schumaker's (1975) concept of responsiveness. Within the process, power and its relations were shown to be situational, yet also contingent on discursive skill, status, and experience. Not only did Chapter Five reveal the disciplinary power of adhering to sanctioned 'scripts' and 'codes' (Horton 2003), but argued against both state-centred and society-centred approaches to understanding exclusion or empowerment. The power of identity in relation to movement contention and social action was explored in Chapter Six in relation to *Políticas Públicas* (Castells 2004). It was argued that a greater appreciation of the fluidity and situatedness of identity has to inform the implementation state-society engagement mechanisms. Society must be perceived as a series of situationally identity-defined micro-public spheres in constant dialogue with a main central sphere in which the work of

governance takes place (Fraser 1998). It is the ability for a group to access this main public sphere, as a “strong public” that enables or constrains meaningful decision-making (Fraser 1998). Yet, linking back to the format of these conferences, the structural barriers to access and thus ability to reduce the ‘democratic deficit’ have not been overcome.

However, the conception of bottom-up politics, and the results of this thesis give a positive view that there is potential in *Políticas Públicas* to deliver emancipation through attention to improving the structural format and mitigating the pernicious stratification resulting from status-differences. Porto Alegre should be well able to achieve this, and provide another model not just for the developing world, but for wider structures of democracy. Building on *Orçamento Participativo* (OP), Porto Alegre’s municipal administration (influenced by the Workers’ Party) has increased its scope of engagement programmes. It has moved from a focus on district-based neighbourhood improvement programmes, and the city-wide thematic and interest group programmes with material tangible output, towards a focus on identity-based groupings aiming for more intangible gains of visibility and citizenship. In this, it seems well aware of the changing nature its society, and able to overcome the stratification of the past that took place through discourse hiding inequality (Freyre 1933), and the continuing discursive means through which certain groups are marginalised, as shown throughout this thesis with reference to LGBTs.

While there has been plenty of academic attention paid to ideas of governmentality and identity, there needs to be a way of creating empowering, participatory, decision-making processes that can deal with structural inequality at all stages of engagement, especially in an age of identity politics and unstable meaning-making. Through the work undertaken in the commissioning of this thesis, it has been shown that Porto Alegre provides a model for the world in *Orçamento Participativo*. However, in the final analysis, it must be concluded there seems to be neither the political will nor vision in the current administration to experiment in a development programme as more dependent on trial and error than visionary design. If this deficiency is to be overcome, as this thesis would argue it should be, then considerations for a reformatted process, opening the closed channels outlined in Chapter Four in particular, would provide a useful first step. Such advancement would be of benefit not just in Rio Grande do Sul or Brazil, but could be made suitable to any local context in a programme of engagement. The result is that this thesis has not only explored a new, emerging and continually evolving political process of engagement that define modern *Políticas Públicas*, but it has also thoroughly critically interrogated them beyond their branding as progressive emancipatory mechanisms for citizenship. Attention to local context has been highlighted, yet broad and extrapolatable analysis has been formulated to enable the production of improved programmes locally and elsewhere. In doing so, this thesis has

made an original contribution to the ongoing way in which *Políticas Públicas* should/could operate across multiple spatial scales.

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