

CORPO LIVRE: BODY AND ART AS MEANS OF ACTIVISM IN SÃO PAULO

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ABSTRACT

New forms of organizing social movements are debating the intersection of different social markers or axis of oppression, as gender, sexuality, class and race, problematizing sexual and gender norms. Using an ethnographic approach and qualitative methods such as interview and observation, the present study aims to answer the question: What does it mean to the activists from A Revolta da Lâmpada to do activism using artivism as a method, on a collective with intersectional inspiration that has the free body as a common struggle denominator? The collective from São Paulo, Brazil, claims to be a platform with intersectional horizon, creating a common denominator – the free body – among different identity groups without the hierarchization of agendas and delegitimization of its exclusive spaces. Through the celebration of their bodies occupying public spaces, it uses diverse artistic expressions to do activism, what is being called artivism.

KEYWORDS

Social movements; identity; body; intersectionality; artivism.

1. INTRODUCTION

The Brazilian LGBT movement, initially known as the homosexual movement, first made its appearance in the late 70s in association with the global ripples of counter-culture and developed an antiauthoritarian tendency (Benetti 2013: 31-34). During the 80s, there was a significant reduction in the number of groups due to the association between AIDS and homosexuality. This resulted in a more pragmatic approach for creating alliances with the State aiming at guaranteeing civil rights and protecting homosexuals from discrimination and violence (Green 2015: 291-292, Miskolci 2011: 40-41).

From the beginning of the 1990s, the movement once again has begun to grow and has diversified the institutional formats through which it had been organized. Using an identitarian discourse and a rights-based approach (Itaborahy 2012: 21), the movement focused the political struggle on law reforms, believing in a 'legal utopia', which lead to an unwanted consequence: the stratification of respectability/citizenship considering the sexual identity (Carrara 2012: 143, Colling 2010: 3-5).

In recent years, new forms of social movements have appeared debating the intersection between different social markers or axises of oppression, such as gender, sexuality, class, and race. Together with the emergence of artists who problematize sexual and gender norms (Troi and Colling 2017: 127), they are constantly attacked by conservative sectors in Brazil. Within this context, an *artivist* collective called A *Revolta da Lâmpada* ('The Lamp's Revolt') was founded in São Paulo in 2014, choosing as common denominator the *Corpo Livre* ('Free Body') to gather activists from diverse identities who suffer different kind of oppressions for being how they are. With *Fervo tambem é luta* ('Party is also fight') as one of its mottoes, the collective proposes the celebration of deviant bodies and uses diverse artistic expressions to create a different way of doing activism, called *artivism*.

Considering the inquiry perspectives opened by feminist scholarship with the use of intersectionality, using from an ethnographic approach, this paper intends to use intersectionality as lens with analytic sensibility to investigate intersectional dynamics and the social movements praxis from the collective *A Revolta da Lâmpada*, by answering the research question: What does it mean to the activists from *A Revolta da Lâmpada* to do activism using *artivism* as a method, on a collective with intersectional inspiration that has the free body as a common denominator of struggle?

In the context of identity politics and rights-based approach within the Brazilian LGBT movement, it is relevant to understand the mechanisms that social movements are creating to join forces against conservative tendencies and work different issues in solidarity. To do so, this paper explores this process of experimenting new ways of resistance on the Brazilian social movement, investigating the praxis from the collective A Revolta da Lâmpada.

1.1 BRIEF HISTORY OF THE BRAZILIAN LGBT MOVEMENT AND SOME REFLECTIONS ON ITS POLITICS THROUGHOUT TIME

The second half of the 20th century was marked by a new trend on social movements – especially the feminist, homosexual, black liberation, and environmentalist movements – that were interested in questioning modern disciplinary institutions and fighting for their own rights. They largely emerged in the US and Europe in a moment of cultural and political effervescence, with "the influence of the hippie movement, the Beatniks, May 1968, and a whole perspective of sexual liberation and rethinking political and social issues" (Benetti 2013: 31). During that time, and unlike the countries from the global north, which were experiencing a moment of sexual and political liberation, Brazil's experience was characterised by exile, censorship, torture, and lack of civil rights.

The year of 1978 was marked by the beginning of the "First Wave of the Homosexual Movement". This early activism emerged within a larger context of democratic opposition to the military regime, inspired by socialist and anarchist ideologies, characterised by a "strong antiauthoritarian language aimed at strengthening a 'homosexual identity'" (Green 2015: 273-274). MacRae (cited by Facchini and Lins França 2009: 60) also pointed out in this context the emergence and the visibility of the feminist and black movements, as some of its activists started to defend a strategy of social transformation that would go through an alliance with other minorities, workers' movements and left-wing groups.

As such, the homosexual movement was born in a much broader context of social justice through social and cultural change, establishing some dialogues with other minority groups, contesting gender norms and heteronormativity. Some researchers as Benneti (2013: 36-37), Colling (2010: 3-5) and Sant'Ana (2017: 20-21) also believe that some of these concerns of the movement reflect a 'queer Brazilian embryo'.

Analysing the movement's ideology, MacRae (cited by Facchini 2010: 89-90) explains that it carried a great deal of counterculture and the anti-authoritarian spirit of the time, producing a discourse aimed at a broader transformation, including homosexuality as a strategy for cultural transformation, corroding the social structure from the margins.

In the early 80s, a drastic reduction of groups took place. Many factors contributed for it, ranging from a lack of financial resources, financial crisis, and so on. Regarding that reduction, it is crucial to remember the role of the HIV/AIDS epidemic, when international and local media started to frame it as the 'gay cancer' or 'gay plague'. Many activists died, and the movement suffered internal divisions, as some groups wanted to gather efforts to fight the epidemic while others wanted to avoid the identification of AIDS as a homosexual disease (Itaborahy 2012: 19).

The "Second Wave" followed in the mid-80s, with the process of re-democratization and fight against HIV/AIDS. Groups focused on the epidemic learned how to get money from the government and international organizations, helping to develop the movement with these investments, and succeeding in dialoguing with the State to assist in the creation of the Brazilian AIDS program. However, the epidemic had the effect of re-pathologizing homosexuality, creating the stigmatized 'bioidentity' of the AIDS patient by reconfiguring the pyramid of sexual (and social) respectability, and did not develop a more critical and 'denaturalizing' view of heterosexuality, which remained in a 'comfort zone' (Miskolci 2011: 40-41).

During the 80s, PT (Worker's Party) was the only party to include gays and lesbians' rights in their political agenda (Green 2015: 291-292). The 90's saw a revival and inaugurated the 'Third Wave', establishing the AB-GLT (Brazilian Association of Gays, Lesbians, Bisexuals, Travestites and Transexuals), a national umbrella organization that helped to unify the movement, approving a resolution defining same-sex civil unions as its top priority (Facchni cited by Itaborahy 2012: 23). After the withdrawal of PT's support for the issue, one of its deputies at the time, Marta Suplicy, launched a national campaign to approve a bill legalizing samesex domestic partnerships. After a decade of unsuccessful attempts, the movement dropped the legalization of same-sex civil unions as its priority and adopted a different discourse which embraced all the segments of the LGBT movement: the discourse against homophobia (Itaborahy 2012: 23). Another important remark for this period was the idea of organizing street events to celebrate the International Day of Gay Pride, which became the mark of the movement on the national and international level in the beginning of the 21st century (Facchini 2010: 110-111).

Due to the relative success of public policies focused on STD/AIDS, social demands gained more political relevance in the area of healthcare, education, culture and, finally, in the demands for the recognition of rights. Carrara (2012: 143) analysed this process and pointed out two hazardous unwanted consequences of the 'judicialization of the Brazilian sexual politics': it can cause differential access to justice and its application

in an unequal country such as Brazil. The legal achievements can generate unequal results that can only be accessible by an elite, resulting in a hierarchy of those who hold more rights than others and/or in a stratification of respectability/citizenship considering the sexual identity (Carrara 2012: 143; Miskolci 2011: 42).

1.2 BRAZILIAN POLITICAL/SOCIAL CONTEMPORARY CONTEXT

The year of 2013 was marked by numerous protests in hundreds of Brazilian cities. The protests were summoned on the internet and triggered by an increase in the price of public transport but ended up bursting a bubble of discontent. The original claims – or the variety of different claims – got coopeted by right-wing movements trying to forbid the participation of left-wing parties and workers' unions, a sign of the polarization that started to divide the population between "left" and "right". The parties' supporters, who believed in an imminent coup, were opposed by those claiming to be against corruption, who believed in an impending impeachment (Tatagiba 2014: 39-44).

Although Dilma Rousseff managed to win her second election in 2014, Brazil's Congress voted for her impeachment in 2016. The vice-president, Michel Temer, was declared president and promoted a complete change in government (from left-of-centre to right-wing). Temer's administration began by approving a constitutional amendment known as 'the end of the world' that imposed a 20-year cap on federal spending, including education and health care. He also approved a labour law reform pretty much celebrated by big companies, but not by workers (Barbara 2017).

In an effort to distract the population from these scandals and playing with its sense of morality and the need to protect the "Brazilian traditional family" (Herdt 2009), non-gender conformist groups were being demonised. During our fieldwork, a museum exposition called 'Queermuseum: cartographies of difference in Brazilian art' was accused of paedophilia and zoophilia by the group who fuelled the protests for Dilma's impeachment called MBL ('Brazil Free Movement'). Some days after, a federal judge decided that the Federal Council of Psychology should reinterpret an internal standard, issued in 1999, to stop prohibiting psychologists from offering 'sexual reorientation' therapies, opening a rift for the notorious 'gay cure' (Langlois 2017).

All this was taking place in one of the most lethal countries for LGBTs. According to GGB (Gay Group of Bahia), 347 murders were reported in 2016 and according to the TGEU's Trans Murder Monitoring Project, Brazil was the country with more killings of transgender people in the world due to transphobia, with 40% of the total the accounted killings, 868 out of 2.190, from 2008 to 2016 (TvT research project 2016: 7-16). The 2013 IBGE

(Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics) survey showed that the life expectancy of the transgender community is no more than 35 years, less than half of the national average of 74.9 years (Rede Trans Brasil 2017: 56).

All these recent events reveal a more complex process of advancing the interference of fundamentalist religious groups over the constituted powers of Brazil. Groups that were already dominating the Legislative agenda and influencing the Executive, now extended their arms also to the Judiciary, museums and theatrical stages in a true crusade against sexual and gender diversity (Brum 2017, Quinalha and Galeano 2017).

1.3 THE INTERSECTIONAL AND/OR ARTIVIST COLLECTIVES' SCENE: PRESENTING *A REVOLTA DA LÂMPADA*

Many examples can be found of groups that gather activists from the black and LGBT movements, as *Rede Afro LGBT* ('Afro LGBT Network'), a group that emerged in 2005 and is a multi-identitarian organization, which also assumes the fight against machismo, sexism, among other human rights agendas (Ratts cited by Luz 2012: 3). Although it was created because of the insufficiency of an identity representation, it opts for the strategy of reaffirming identities, forcing an extension of the limits of both (Bairros cited by Luz 2012: 3).

In an attempt to explain the recent emergence of *artivist* collectives in Brazil, "especially those in sexual and gender dissent", Troi and Colling (2017: 127) list the following reasons:

the expansion of access to new technologies and the massification of social networks; the broadening of the LGBT theme in the media in general, especially in soap operas, films and television programs; the emergence of diverse trans identities and people who identify themselves as non-binary in our country, as well as the valuation of $fechação^i$, non-compliance with the norms (corporal and behavioural) of effeminate boys, masculine lesbian women and other several flexible identity expressions (...). But perhaps the most important of the reasons lies precisely in the self-declared or not need to react to the terrible picture in which we are inserted, marked by the return and growth of conservatism and religious fundamentalism.

According to the authors, a profusion of diverse collectives, with an emphasis on performances, such as *O que voce queer?* (Belo Horizonte), *Cena Queer* (Salvador), *Anarcofunk* (Rio de Janeiro), *Revolta da Lâmpada* (São Paulo), *Selvática ações artísticas* (Curitiba), *Cabaret drag king* (Salvador), *Coletivo coiote* (nomadic) and *Seus putos* (Rio de Janeiro) is arising (Troi and Colling 2017: 127).

^{1. &}quot;The <code>fechação</code> consists of a performance that is characterized by exaggeration, by the deliberate artificiality and, in this case, by a set of actions, gestures and postures that intentionally do not conform to what society generally expects from a male person" (Colling 2012).

Among these groups is the collective *A Revolta da Lâmpada*. 'The Lamp's Revolt'. Its name is a reference to a homophobic attack that took place in Sao Paulo in 2010, when two gay men and their heterosexual friend – who was 'read' as gay – were violently attacked with long lamps (G1 2010). Four years later a group of friends/activists from different movements organized a protest at the same place. In the event's description on Facebook, the activists said that "the fluorescent lamp has become a symbol of oppression not only to LGBTs, but to all bodies perceived as inadequate by the hegemonic model" (R7 2014).

The collective claims to use an intersectional framework, gathering activists from different movements fighting for the 'free body' of all those who suffer any kind of oppression. Using a language of resistance through protests which become parties, the public is invited to express itself freely.



FIGURE 1 "RDL in the street 2016". Photographer: Rafael Canoba².

2. Rafael Conoba's pictures were given to the collective, sharing his personal files for this paper.

The agendas of these protests range from current political issues or scandals to the violence against different oppressed bodies, with speeches and gigs from different activists and artists, closing in a big celebration in the streets. The work done by the group is not limited to protests, but extends to promote roundtables, seminars in universities, workshops about *artivism*, etc.



FIGURE 2 "RDL in the street 2016". Photographer: Rafael Canoba.

As claimed by one of its activists, Gustavo Bonfiglioli (2017), there is a need to rethink the resistance and organisation methods in the movements, considering the fragmentation of different identity groups while the enemy more openly promotes oppression – more lamps onto everybody's faces. Explaining the collective, he says that it is

a platform with an intersectional horizon which wants to create a common denominator among different fights without the hierarchization of agendas and delegitimization of its exclusive spaces. On the idea of free body, trans and cis women, travestis, black men and women, poor people, bichas, sapatonas, transmen, immigrants, refugees, fat bodies, aged bodies, independent artists, workers, people in street situation, etc. march together in the streets. Different realities, different levels of privilege, but with something in common – oppressed bodies for being how they are and operating as they wish. To occupy the streets for the free body has been an exercise of resistance and meeting, sharing, affection and celebration among these different bodies who march - and dance - together: because Fervo tambem é luta (...). And not to unify under the same flag, but to host all the flags at the same time, on the same space (Bonfiglioli 2017).



FIGURE 3 "RDL in the street 2016". Photographer: Rafael Canoba.

2. CONCEPTUAL AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 NECESSARY DEBATES ON SOCIAL MOVEMENTS' THEORY: A SHIFT IN POLITICS?

As shown above, the mainstream Brazilian LGBT movement structured its claims on the recognition of different identities to demand rights and citizenship. Categories such as heterosexual, gay, transgender, *travesti* etc. not only provide an illusion of belonging, but also limit our understanding of gender and sexuality as variable behaviors, constantly changing throughout history (Ingraham 2006: 312-313). "Rights-based organization strategies and developed interventions around sexual orientation and gender expression need to shift away from common categories of identity toward a broader context of struggle" (Budhiraja et al. 2010: 131-132), as that approach masks the real diversity in sexual/gender expressions.

Butler believes that it is necessary to make political claims using categories of identity and to have the power to name yourself, but it is also necessary to remember the risks that these practices imply (cited by Colling 2010: 2). The queer political proposal does not point to any division, but rather it is a unifying appeal to various non-conformist gender/sexual experiences: the experience of shame. Being cursed as <code>bicha/faggot</code>, <code>sapatão/dyke</code>, abnormal or degenerate is the founding experience of the homosexuality discovery, or what our society still

attributes to it, the space of humiliation and suffering. Turning this experience into a political force of resistance is the purpose of the original queer proposal (Miskolci cited by Colling 2010: 2). For Seffner (2011: 75-76), using the injury as the common denominator that constitutes LGBT, also allows articulations with other social movements where injuries of race, class, religion, gender, HIV status, disability, migrant or refugee status are discussed.

Manuel de Landa introduced useful distinctions between two general network types: hierarchies and meshworks. The first has a centralised control, is over-planned, homogenised, with particular goals and behaviour rules, operating in tree-like structures, as the military, bureaucratic organisations and capitalist enterprises. The second, on the contrary, is flexible, based on de-centralised decision making (as 'swarming effect'), self-organisation, heterogeneity, diversity, not having an overt single objective (cited by Escobar 2009: 397), non-hierarchical relations, direct democracy, and the striving for consensus (Juris 2008: 354). Deleuze and Guattari used the metaphor of 'rhizomes' to describe meshworks, suggesting that they are "networks of heterogeneous elements that grow in unplanned directions, following the real-life situations they encounter" (as cited by Escobar 2009: 397).

Another important point on the social movements' field is the centrality of knowledge-practices in movements and how these enactments weaken the boundary between activist and academic knowledges. The present paper aligns with the two-fold argument from Casas-Cortes et. al. (2008: 45):

First, movements generate knowledge and that knowledge is material – that is, concrete and embodied in practice. As such, it is situated. Second, knowledge-practices are politically crucial, both because of the inextricable relationship between knowledge and power and because of the uniquely situated locations of these practices.

2.1.1 The role of emotions in doing activism

Due to the enormous personal commitment entailed by being an activist, the role of emotions and pleasure involved in the collective action should not be underestimated. Therefore, the safe space created by some social movements plays an important role on why activists stick to their movement, by promoting a place where they can share painful experiences, know about each other, share knowledge, and work their reflexivity and positionality – what is called 'affective politics' or 'politics of affections' (Brown and Pickerill 2009: 32-33).

2.2 INTERSECTIONALITY

Intersectionality "has been heralded as one of the most important contributions from the feminist scholarship" (Davis 2008: 67). The term intersectionality was first coined in the 80's by Kimberle Crenshaw, a black North-American feminist. She first used it to explain the difference in experiences and struggles of women of colour, considering not only their gender, but also their race. The concept, however, originated in the 70's when different feminist groups – black, lesbians, third-world, anti-colonial - started to challenge the category 'woman' as a united block. They claimed, instead, that different groups of women have different struggles, considering their variety of identities and power relations involved, and that the idea of 'sisterhood' was taking in consideration the experience of western, white, heterosexual, middle-class women (Denis 2008: 679). The concept evolved and can be explained as an analytical tool to explore the interaction between different categories of identities, but also of oppression/subordination/privilege – as gender, sexuality, race, ethnicity, caste, class, religion, age, body, etc. According to Cho, Crenshaw and McCall (2013: 785), intersectionality is developing towards a field of studies, that can be divided by fluid boundaries into three different areas of engagement:

the first consisting of applications on an intersectional framework or investigations of intersectional dynamics, the second consisting of discursive debates about the scope and content of intersectionality as a theoretical and methodological paradigm, and the third consisting of political interventions employing an intersectional lens.

2.3 THE BODY

As Grosz states, "we understand bodies as sites of cultural meaning, social experience and political resistance" (paraphrased by Harcourt et al. 2016: 149). Since Foucault's exploration about resistance to systemic power situated on the body, feminist scholarship has tried to shake presumed concepts of gender and biological sex (Harcourt et al. 2016: 149). Queer theorists, such as Butler, allowed the theorization of heteronormativity as a set of legal, cultural and institutional practices which keep assumptions of gender as a binary system that reflects biological sex, believing the only natural sexual attraction is the one between the supposed 'opposite' genders (cited by Schilt and Westbrook 2009: 441). Spivak and Mohanty wrote about the experience of female embodiment being informed by sexism, racism, misogyny and heterosexism (cited by Harcourt et al. 2016: 149). However, this experience can be enlarged to all bodies who express the feminine, as effeminate gays, transwomen and all others who do not conform with the heterosexual norm.

In the last decades, body politics place the body as a site of resistance, being an important mobilizing force for gender equality, sexuality and human rights. On an essay about 'unworthy bodies', Borghi (2016: 4-5) explores the relationship between public space, body and performance, giving attention to the bodies that do not conform with the heterosexual-patriarchal sexist and capitalist norm, which considers these bodies as out of place, putting them aside, marginalized and excluded from the privileges. She departs from the point of view that the public space is not neutral, and it is ruled by the heterosexual norm. In this perspective, the body is in constant relationship with the space, not only the body inhabits the space, but it is also space. Hence, the body is a social space, relates with other spaces and participates on producing the space. In this way, bodies have enormous potential - bodies outside the norm have even more -, as they have a strong subversive potential that can allow the transgression of the norms that regulate public spaces. If we add artistical performances to the body, we perceive forms of activism and resistance in which we use our own body as support for action in the public space, what allows us to make visible the relations of domination and social injustice, bringing a new way of doing activism.

2.4 ARTIVISM

Distinct aspects traditionally characterize art and activism: art is situated in the symbolic, while activism operates symbolic actions that interfere in the real. The historical value of authorship has led art to build itself from the individual, activism aims to incite a collective action; art reinterprets the world, while activism aims to transform it. However, a simple exercise of reflection is enough to dismantle these conceptual premises that dictate exact boundaries between what are no more than cultural constructions, that can always be overlapped, reinvented or, subverted (Mourão 2015: 53-54).

Artivism can be understood as a conceptual neologism that calls for links between art and politics, and stimulates the potential uses of art as an act of resistance and subversion. It can be found in social and political interventions, produced by people or collectives, through poetic and performative strategies. Its aesthetic and symbolic nature intensifies, sensitizes, reflects and questions themes and situations in a given historical and social context, aiming at change or resistance. Hence, according to Raposo (2015: 5), artivism is merged as a cause and a social claim and simultaneously as an artistic breakthrough – namely, by proposing scenarios, landscapes and alternative ecologies for enjoyment, participation and artistic creation.

From the different kinds of the *artivist's* expressions, the performance is the one which allows to bring together the constructions coming

from what is historically understood as art and activism, since it uses the body as a mean of expression, which is presented in both these two historical traditions. According to Mourão (2015: 67), there are four key factors needed for a successful performance:

- 1 transmit a vibrant dissonant dimension, using forms of communication more emotive and symbolic than logical-rational;
- 2 exerting itself unexpectedly, creating an impact by the element of surprise;
- 3 in space and/or time with special meaning, playing with the artistic notions of site-specific and dramatic narrative (associated with dates and symbolic events);
- 4 be registered and transmitted by the media and/or the internet, reaching the public sphere and public cyberspace, the media stage that generates public.

By using their bodies, they create a different kind of art, that is used politically to express a message, and that will only be acknowledged by the emotions that it will provoke.

3. RESEARCH APPROACH AND ROLE AS RESEARCHER

Considering the objectives of my research, it aligns with an ethnographic approach, as it involves the exploration of a cultural group, trying to understand and interpret the point of view of its participants (O'Leary 2004: 118). In order to answer the research's question, different research methods were used to gather primary data, such as interviews and observation. However, the main method used was informal, semi-structured, one to one interviews, as it is the method that allows the development of rapport and trust between the researcher and the interviewee, providing rich and in-depth qualitative data (O'Leary 2004: 161-170).

The questions around my positionality appeared mostly intuitively in the process of choosing my topic. For a long time, I saw myself as a sexual minority who suffers discrimination for being *bicha* and fat. The fear of discrimination and violence shapes and forces the person to analyse himself, to be aware of his difference in relation to the others. I had already acknowledged that I did not suffer the same oppressions as others and started to see my struggle in a different way. However, this only came to light when I started to study intersectionality in its different ways of engagement. Now I understand my position of privilege for being a cisgender, white, middle class man, even being a fat *bicha*, considering the sum of my other identities, I am on a privileged position within the LGBT community.

Now as a researcher I position myself as doing a research with, and not on social movements. I listened to my interviewees as someone curious to learn what the experts on that kind of activism had to tell me, always investigating what all the concepts that I am discussing on this paper meant to them and trying to understand how they practice them.

3.1 DATA GENERATION METHODS

3.1.1. Interview and sample selection

The interviews had an informal and flexible structure, following a guideline questionnaire elaborated previously, but on a way that enabled to explore specific points following the natural flow of the conversation. With the help of Cadu Oliveira – one of the activists from the collective – I sent them an explanation about my project and asked for a response of those who would like to contribute to my research. As the first interviews were happening, different names started to appear. In a snowball sampling method, I asked again for Cadu's help to name other activists that could reflect the collective's diversity. Most of the interviews took place at a friend's apartment in Paulista Avenue, where I could create a safe and inviting environment. Other interviews took place in their houses and in a park, attending to my interviewees' preferences.

The interviewing process took around 4 weeks and earned me 11 interviews. Before starting each interview, I asked the consent from the interviewees to record our conversations. Considering the topics that were touched during the interviews and their role as activists and public figures, I explained that anonymity is not recommended in this research, and I offered a 'term of free and informed consent' explaining the research and giving the option to be asked previously in case I decide to cite them on the paper. All of them signed the term and only one activist asked to be asked about the use of his words expressly. It was assured the confidentiality in specific topics in case they would find necessary, giving them "the right to decline to answer any particular questions, and the right to end the interview upon request" (O'Leary 2004: 167).

3.1.2 Observation

Another research method used was to gather primary data through observation. I observed a meeting from two GTs (group work) about a fundraising party for their protest in November/2017 and a cinema event organized by the collective. This observation was fully disclosed, non-participant and unstructured. Another episode that was observed was the collective's participation during the major protest that happened in São Paulo on the 23rd of September 2017 in response

to the judicial decision that allowed the usage of 'sexual reversion therapy' by psychologists in Brazil, the commonly named 'gay cure' (Langlois 2017). This observation was, however, fully participant – as I could not fight against my bias and my positionality around the theme. The data collected during my observation helped me to form my analyses on how the collective structures themselves work out their own horizontality.

3.1.3 Secondary Data

Besides that, secondary data was collected from scientific articles, reports from NGOs, international organizations, and mostly from the collective and some activists' production to inform the background. A very rich amount of material about the collective has been produced by them, and they are available in newspaper articles, videos and interviews on the internet. An internet research yielded 623 webpage results, as well as 221 results on YouTube, on the 20th October 2017.

4. ANALYSIS AND RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.1 RDL'S INSPIRATION AND FIRST STEPS TO ORGANIZE THE COLLECTIVE In 2014, the LGBT Parade in Rio de Janeiro was cancelled due to lack of funding and help from different government institutions. An independent one was organized and gathered LGBT groups, but also had huge representation from feminist and black movements. The festive aspect was very strong with provocative artistical performances, but not without meaning and political claims. It was this joining of politics, statement of different claims, articulation of different groups, and celebrations of different bodies in the public space that started to interest Gustavo³. Back in São Paulo, a group of friends decided to post a call through his Facebook page (Bonfiglioli 2014) asking for a meeting with friends, activists or not, to think together a different way on doing activism and to prepare the first RDL protest. More than 50 people showed up on that meeting, and a manifest was collectively written with several claims towards the Corpo Livre. Their first protest took place on the same spot where the lamp episode happened on the Paulista Avenue.

4.2 SELF-IDENTIFICATION AND THOUGHTS ABOUT CATEGORIZATION I interviewed 7 gay men with different social-economic backgrounds, races, and migrant status; a bisexual woman, a lesbian one, an older heterosexual black woman, and a trans man - as it can be seen on Appendix A. All the activists preferred to name their different identities and some of them explained the political importance or need of using those names.

^{3.} Interview with Gustavo Bonfiglioli, 17 August 2017.

Ariel⁴ explained that he feels he belongs to all letters of the LGBT letter soup. He says that he never saw himself as a lesbian, but as a $sapat\~ao$, and does not agree on how this term is seen nowadays, expressing only relationships between two women, while there is a whole ' $sapat\~ao$ culture' that englobes lesbians and trans men. For him, differently from discovering himself as $sapat\~ao$, to identify himself as trans man was a political choice that was taken in order to make people take his masculinity more seriously. However, Ariel also identifies himself as bicha, but this process happened from the general opinion of him. He started to be "read" as bicha, as he believes that this is the masculinity – more effeminate – that he expresses on other people's eyes and suffered homophobic attacks because of this image.

Luana⁵ affirms herself as *sapatão* as she feels comfortable despite her privileges as white, middle class, with a university degree, although she knows that this is not the reality for many women in many places. She believes we are living in a period when it is necessary, and political, to name the identities but hopes that in the future, we will no longer need to use those boxes. For Luis⁶ it is necessary to distinguish how you identify yourself politically and how you see yourself personally.

Vitor⁷ told me how he explains to his students why he uses the word *viado* and not gay. When he affirms himself as *viado*, he is claiming a place different from the hygienic one that the word gay gained throughout the years. He says that this conservative process was also promoted by the so called 'Brazilian Homosexual Movement' in order to separate the gay men who deserves respect from the more effeminate and peripheric (and mostly black) *viados* and *bichas*.

Gustavo⁸ explains that it is a paradoxical relationship, as he believes on a hypothetical world where these categorizations should not matter. However, while the different bodies get different value considering the way they are perceived, it is necessary to embrace those categorizations in some levels to gather in community and fight together for legitimacy. Talking about critiques towards identitarian movements, which blame them for promoting the weakening of the human rights, workers', and leftist agendas, he believes that it was a necessary political phenomenon in order to understand their own specificities.

^{4.} Interview with Ariel Nobre, 1 September 2017.

^{5.} Interview with Luana Torres, 18 September 2017.

^{6.} Interview with Luis Arruda, 22 August 2017.

^{7.} Interview with Vitor Grunvald, 4 September 2017.

^{8.} Interview with Gustavo Bonfiglioli, 17 August 2017.

4.3 CORPO LIVRE: HOW THE ACTIVISTS SEE THIS INTERSECTIONAL PLATFORM In brainstorms during the collective's first meeting, the conclusion was that they should articulate their actions around the body. This was based on the idea that different bodies have different values for the society. According to Gustavo9, when the black movements says, "the cheapest flesh on the market is the black flesh", is because the black bodies are undervalued in comparison to the white body. When an LGBT person receives a lamp on his/her face is because this body deserves to be beaten, because this is a body that has less value. All these bodies are different, have different privileges, but have something in common: they are oppressed for being how they are. The idea that all the different bodies need to be free and live with dignity, with access to resources, to jobs, to affection, to sex, to whatever they wish.

Some of the interviewees explained that it is very important to be in a space that acknowledges the complexity of their own intersectional identities, as some identity-based movements do not open the space to discuss the specificities of people who embody different intersections, as sexuality and race; sexuality with race and class, or all of those and HIV status.

Most of the interviewees explained in different ways how it is necessary to have a better perspective of the society by an intersectional confluence of power relations, as many other movements are very closed and do not dialogue with other groups. They agree that it happened for a reason, but what had attracted them is that the collective gives an overview, passing through different kinds of oppressions, as it is impossible to live in a society if you do not have a perspective on how this society is composed.

Jose¹⁰ gave the example of how diverse are the oppressions suffered by the different activists from the gay bubble inside the collective. The differences between a white middle class gay man from São Paulo as Luis, and himself as a gay man from the countryside, coming from a more conservative family. As between Andre, gay man from the Northeast of the country, and Cadu, an effeminate black gay man, and Gustavo, a white middle class gay man, but who is also fat and extremely *fechativo*¹¹. He tells that those people are "read" in different ways, even all being gays. To him, this intersectional inspiration is a 'mess' that helps them to understand that things are different for everybody regarding their own embodied experiences, considering the place they occupy, their social class or race.

^{9.} Interview with Gustavo Bonfiglioli, 17 August 2017.

^{10.} Interview with Jose Alberto, 29 August 2017.

^{11.} This term is used to explain people who gain the attention where they go by the way they dress up and or express themselves. In this case, letting very clear that he is an effeminate gay. See footnote n. 4.

Different activists that were interviewed showed their concern to join different oppressed bodies to the collective, in order to see their intersectionality not only as a perspective, but also as real practice. They say that the collective started mostly with middle class gay men and for a long time they were the majority – a source of discomfort for them and one of their biggest challenges. In order to counter this situation, the collective has worked on gathering forces with different identitarian groups, asking for the help of black and transgender activists for specific events, and this relationship has helped them bringing those different embodied experiences to the collective.

4.4 FERVO TAMBÉM É LUTA AND ARTIVISM

Fervo tambem é luta ('Party is also fight') has an overall meaning perceived by all the interviewees as celebrating the different oppressed bodies in public spaces, the same spaces that do not allow their expression nor their existence.

As shown before, the collective was inspired by the independent LGBT parade that happened in Rio de Janeiro in 2014. Not unlike the Brazilian Carnival in the streets, it is far from being just a party, but is also political on the sense of a democratic celebration that gathers people from different social markers on the public space. Interestingly enough, as the LGBT parades served as inspiration to this RDL's motto, according to Jose¹², the last two LGBT Parades in São Paulo began with a drag queen shouting *Fervo também é luta*, a sign that their message was starting to be assimilated by other movements.

The first time I saw an *artivist* performance from RDL was in 2015. At that time, inspired by Eduardo Cunha's declaration – President of the Lower House of Congress – that the discussion about the legalization of abortion would only happen over his corpse, they organized the 'Catwalk over Eduardo Cunha's corpse'¹³ (A Revolta da Lâmpada 2015a), where diverse people explained their different reasons for walking over his body, linking it to their free bodies, and walked over a doll with the congressman's face, indicating that the fight for women's rights over their bodies would not be silenced (Grunvald 2015: 37-38), ending with one activist taking off his clothes and dancing over the doll. In the same year, one of the biggest and most powerful Evangelical churches in Brazil released a video showing a paramilitary army called 'The Altar's Gladiators Army' (Exército Gladiadores do Altar 2015), showing a real threat to LGBTs and afro-religious groups. In response to that, RDL produced a video presenting 'Amazonas do Fervo'¹⁴ (A Revolta da Lâmpada 2015b), where a group composed by many

^{12.} Interview with Jose Alberto, 29 August 2017.

^{13.} See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U-iUEDhf8g4.

^{14.} See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WYmKmDgnKl4.

different bodies wearing provocative clothes made fun of the military language, while dancing and shouting the 'Free Body Manifesto'.

Vitor¹⁵, as an activist and academic, has been involved in various discussions around *artivism*. For him, *artivism* is a practice that belongs to the political arena and to the art field. In some way, the *artivism* is this grey area between art and politics, and talking about the *artivism* proposed by the collective, he believes that it is built with a different language to try to connect people in a way that traditional political languages are not able to connect.

From structured projects to improvised ones, the collective has different ways of practising *artivism*. Through the discovery of their bodies' possibilities, political statements can be made with little resources. The collective organized a workshop about *artivism* requested by MASP, and an activist that collaborates with the collective, called Leandrinha Du Art¹⁶. In this event, wheelchair trans women performed lying on the floor, in front of the museum on Paulista avenue, with a poster: 'The men who desire me, kill me!' (A Revolta da Lâmpada 2017c), explicitly linking the contradiction between desire and oppression over trans bodies.

In response to the recent attacks to arts and culture, with the demonization of nudity, the collective organized a photoshoot called "Meu-KooPraCensura"¹⁷ ('My Ass to the Censorship'), celebrating the beauty of different naked bodies, gathering women, *bichas*, black bodies, trans bodies, etc (A Revolta da Lâmpada 2017g).



FIGURE 4 Photoshoot "MeuKooPraCensura". Photographer: Rafael Canoba.

^{15.} Interview with Vitor Grunvald, 4 September 2017.

^{16.} See https://www.facebook.com/LeandrinhaDuArt/>. Accessed 7 November 2017.

^{17.} See https://MeuKooPraCensura.tumblr.com/>.



FIGURE 5 Photoshoot "MeuKooPraCensura". Photographer: Rafael Canoba.

Using the four key characteristics for a successful *artivist* performance proposed by Mourão (2015: 67) as a framework to analyse the performances – and the photoshoot – described above, it is clear that they attend all of them, as (i) they transmit a vibrant dissonant dimension, through emotional and symbolical communication; (ii) were unexpected, creating a surprise element; (iii) were on a time/space with special meaning and a dramatic narrative; and (iv) were registered by the mass media or shared on the internet, perpetuating the message that different bodies need to be free from different kind of oppressions.

Thus, *artivism* is a new concept that is not consensual yet, probably because is something that is still under construction but so far is very clear that they discovered that anyone can be an artist/*artivist* and that they are delivering their political message in a different way, a way that goes through emotions, as only art used to do.

4.5 LET'S TALK ABOUT PRAXIS!

The collective has the purpose to be horizontal, for Luis¹⁸, a challenge to keep the horizontality is its size, as it is very important to bring more and different bodies, however, with more people, different methods will have to be elaborated to keep it horizontal and spontaneous, as he sees the spontaneity as one of the collective's main characteristics.

Many activists explained that they have three major events during the year: the *Revolta da Lâmpada* parade in the street, the 'CICLA das 5' and the monthly events on MAM. The other events are organized mostly

^{18.} Interview with Luis Arruda, 22 August 2017.

by invitations received from universities, museums, and other collectives. The themes are chosen mostly based on the Brazilian social/cultural/political context. An example is their monthly talk at MAM. One of the museum's entrances is in a major park in São Paulo, 'Parque do Ibirapuera'. There, every weekend, hundreds of teenagers from different social classes gather to skate, listen to music, flirt, and have fun. Through events on their Facebook page they announce the theme to everybody that would like to join. However, the teenagers that are already there are the ones who are invited to participate using non-usual ways of persuasion, as little parties (fervos) and artistic performances. Once they got their attention, they propose to talk.



FIGURE 6 Event at MAM. Photographer: Rafael Canoba.

On April 4th, 2017 the new national school curriculum was announced by the Brazilian Government to journalists. Two days later, a new version of the document was published excluding all the references to 'gender identity' and 'sexual orientation' (Cancian 2017). On April 23rd the collective organized the talk: 'Gender in Schools: past and future of the LGBT youth'. Considering that black people, women, LGBT, fat people, people with HIV are systematically expelled from the spaces of power but also from the spaces of affection. The collective proposed discussions around sadness, depression and bullying, bringing diverse activists' bodies to tell their stories. (A Revolta da Lâmpada 2017a).

In May they addressed the theme: 'Masculinities: Are Men Educated to Be Violent?'. The event ended with guests and activists publicly admitting that reinventing masculinity into a healthy culture is only possible in political and affective connection with women (A Revolta da Lâmpada 2017b). A similar process took place in July that year, this time addressing the topic of HIV-based discrimination (A Revolta da Lâmpada 2017d).

Not all themes are chosen unanimously. According to Luana¹⁹, she and Gustavo were trying to bring 'fatphobia' to the light many times but there was always a more "urgent" theme. During the discussions about the talk in August both had to stay still, and the group brought the theme 'The Fat Body is Beautiful'. Activists from different generations, races and gender identities discussed models and stereotypes that marginalize the fat body in our daily lives (A Revolta da Lâmpada 2017e).

Working together with FESPSP, the collective and the foundation organized annual cycle seminars – 'CICLA das 5' – to discuss different issues within the academy, activists, and the broad public. In 2017 the umbrella theme was 'Work's Uncertainties', and the collective discussed different aspects of 'Labor and Vulnerable Bodies: The Company Imitates the Society'. The tables were made by activists from cut-outs that prioritize the diversity of race, ability, class, gender, sexuality, age, and HIV status (A Revolta da Lâmpada 2017f).

The invitation for the 2017's protest is an example of how the collective operates as meshworks with other social movements, to use the analogy from Escobar (2009: 393-404). In the text, RDL intersects its intersectional inspiration and praxis with *artivism* and the idea of celebrating diverse bodies in the public space ('Fervo também é Luta'), bringing a strong message of resistance against the censorship promoted by conservative sectors with the theme: 'Corpo Livre É a Cura! Meu KOO para a Censura!' ('Free body is the cure, my ass to censorship').

We want to give a response from the streets to the neo-fascist avalanche that censures, precarizes and criminalizes our bodies, our art, our expressions, rights and public policies to make a smoke curtain to divert attention from the largest slurry tsunami ever experienced in politics in the recent decades. The ass will have a fundamental role in our march. Look at the irony: the ass is one of the only things that all world has in common, but it is the most censored body part of all (A Revolta da Lâmpada 2017h).

Apart from their own activists, other collectives and activists were invited to perform and talk about the intersex body, the body in street situation, the LGBT peripheric body, the asexual body, the sex workers body, the body from Afro religions, the refugee body, etc.

^{19.} Interview with Luana Torres, 18 September 2017.

4.6 HOW THE ACTIVIST SHARE KNOWLEDGE: AFFECTION IN DOING ACTIVISM Since I got to know the collective, I always found interesting their very well-grounded discourses through posts on Facebook, videos or texts promoting their events. Many times, a very witty language has been used, mixing up and creating new words – which makes translations sounds very boring. The question arose as to know how the knowledge is shared among the activists, considering that they came from so many different backgrounds or bubbles.

The link with the academy was not denied, as some of them pursue a Master/PhD degree. Vitor²⁰, one of the academic activists says that a very complicated delegitimization process of academic knowledge is taking place within activist's circles in Brazil nowadays. He agrees that the academy should be denounced for being a very masculine, white and cisgender space. Nevertheless, it should be occupied by the bodies who are historically excluded from it, turning this space into a place that do not consider these voices only objects of study but used also as an empowering tool.

Cadu²¹ says that they must be in touch with the academy, to have this knowledge exchange, but they need to "keep a foot outside, it's what keeps us on reality, it's the foot on the ground". For him, the collective's language cannot be too academic as it becomes less accessible. According to Amanda²², "at RDL your curriculum must stay at the door, outside, before you get in the meeting. You will leave your Lattes there and will participate here like me as equals".

Hence, the knowledge is shared mostly orally, during their meetings, events, and their personal relationship within the group. Stories about endless and chaotic meetings were shared, describing their challenges to focus and discuss the practical issues, but always with the wish not to silence any voice. And during those meetings, in between practical discussions, the activists share personal problems and stories. The collective became a safe space where they can speak, listen, be listened, learn without judgments, support, and help each other.

4.7 MOTIVATIONS TO DO ACTIVISM: PROCESS TO SOCIAL CHANGE

As many other movements, RDL elaborated a very poetic and pragmatic manifesto (A Revolta da Lâmpada 2014). Their claims include the implementation of different public policies and the approval of diverse law reforms. Many activists mentioned the manifesto and that it still serves as a north for their fight.

^{20.} Interview with Vitor Grunvald, 4 September 2017.

^{21.} Interview with Cadu Oliveira, 21 and 24 August 2017.

^{22.} Interview with Amanda Alencar, 18 August 2017.

Some activists showed their deep appreciation on other movements that do a more "community-based work", helping oppressed groups in their basic needs. Sometimes this appreciation was shown as a critique about the work that the collective does, asking themselves, what is more important. Is that the right question?

A lot was said about their roundtables with LGBT and or peripheric youth, conferences, workshops, and the reaction from common people who start to follow their protests. They find pride and joy in seeing a little seed planted in someone's heart, hoping that their message had touched these hearts and it will be replicated in their home, in their daily relationships with different people. It is very strong the sense that nothing will change/happen if it is not promoted a cultural and social change in society. Hence, there is this way of looking to their activism, as a process to promote social change.

The collective also tries to give attention to more pragmatic agendas, community-based work and implementation of public policies and law reform, but it is impossible to embrace all areas in which a social movement can contribute. The idea of connecting and collaborating with other movements was pointed out by many of the interviewees as a short term aim from the collective, which again resonates with the idea of meshworks proposed by Escobar (2009: 393-404). Different independent and horizontal movements focusing on their own specificities but collaborating and strengthening each other in ways of fighting.

5. CONCLUSION

The present paper attempted to answer the question: What does it mean to the activists from A Revolta da Lâmpada to do activism using artivism as a method, in a collective with intersectional inspiration that has the free body as common denominator for struggle?

I assumed a very critical view from the collective in relation to identity politics and how a rights-based approach and essentialist discourse from the mainstream Brazilian LGBT movement. However, through the various answers the activist expressed their belief in the political need of:

- a) Embracing your own identities and creating safe spaces with affection;
- b) Fighting for each identity specificities;
- c) The importance of working in solidarity with bodies who suffer different or intertwined kind of oppressions.

The collective go beyond the established debate in identity politics, using it strategically when necessary, but trying to find intersectional

ways to collaborate with other movements and fight against the oppressions that are structural in our society. The different possibilities that intersectionality as inspiration entails to the collective's praxis is the common denominator found in the activist's responses.

There is a need to understand the intersection of your own embodied identities integrally, what cannot be found even in movements which work with specific intersections of race and sexuality, for example. The safe space to learn about each embodied experiences worked through their affectionate relationship is also fundamental by the overview that it gives from the diverse society they are embedded on. The hermetic and bureaucratic way of organizing different social movements, which is also expressed on their communication with the public is another important factor, as they believe in the need of rethinking methodologies on how to do activism that embraces a festive aspect of their bodies' celebration, as well as the use of their bodies to express a political message through art.

The common denominator of struggle found by the movement to work in solidarity is the free body, the claim that all the bodies who suffer different kind of oppressions and receive different values from the society need to resist together and celebrate their own specificities. The body is the centre of the collective's framework, as it is seen as site and mean of resistance and celebration. The discovery of your own bodies' possibilities and need to occupy different spaces, as streets, academy, companies, etc., is used as means for personal empowerment to promote collective empowerment to other oppressed bodies. Not detached from the body lies the emotions, as affection within the collective, in creating a safe space of learning, understanding and welcoming but also in establishing an affection network with anyone who is open to listen to their message. The celebration of those bodies is also embedded in pleasure, as they do not believe it is necessary to be serious all the time and avoid the fun in sharing experiences with others.

Artivism joins it all together as a strong methodological tool to reach other hearts and minds, finding out different forms of communicating and informing, exploring the hidden possibilities of oppressed bodies, not denying their emotions while spreading political and practical messages, and using them to connect with people in a way only art could ever do.

The collective believes in a different way of organizing social movements, avoiding institutionalization and hierarchical models. The horizontality gives them freedom and a lot of challenges to deal with different points of view and sense of urgency. Consensus is not reached every time and there are conflictive opinions among the activists about different issues.

However again, the creation of this safe and affectionate space helps them understand each other's experiences and needs. The political crises and the creation of factoids around gender and sexuality issues put the collective in a very reactive agenda, demanding urgency in creating responses to the different issues they would like to work on. But through and in between these reactions they manage to negotiate and give their message to the various issues concerning different kinds of oppressions.

From the fieldwork, it is clear the way that they try to promote an intersectional view of the society through themes that matters to everybody. Working on themes like HIV, labour market and masculinities, they bring the particularities and different perspectives about the theme depending on each body's positionality. Black LGBT bodies, travesti bodies, trans men bodies, white middle class gay bodies have different experiences in relation to those themes and suffer different oppressions. Working with those differences, they show the need to gather forces and work in solidarity with each other.

The collective developed a manifesto with all the claims that they found necessary to free the different bodies from their oppressions. This manifesto is still remembered and used in events when it is appropriate. It is a cardinal point that guides their work. However, as the collective and its activists evolve with every internal and external interaction, they must learn how to put intersectionality in practice and their body and artivism as means to do activism. This leads to their actions having to be at the same time very practical, reacting to the political crises and the conservative wave in the Brazilian society, but also very symbolic, trying to connect with people in an emotional level.

This way of acting, at the same time that can put some activists to think on which kind of activism is more urgent, has also given the collective the idea of the need to work on solidarity with different social movements, which have different focuses and work on different causes, in rich collaboration to give strength to the different actors.

To embrace their way of acting in a more symbolical level, talking through art, emotions and embodied experiences with the aim to promote deep social and cultural change is a path that they are taking and learning with their daily experiences. This experience has shown to be very successful in the way they use this intersectional inspiration and put it in practice, working strategically with identity politics, a point of view that needs to be acknowledged by scholars in the development, social movements, and intersectionality fields. As stated above, the situated knowledge from social movements has a lot to inform and contribute to these areas, finding ways to go beyond academical debates

and showing that it is possible to put identity, intersectionality, body and artivism in the daily practice of social movements.

Word Count (excluding bibliography): 9.993

APPENDIX A

NAME	AGE	OCCUPATION	SELF-IDENTIFICATION
Andre Bandim	33	Adman and bar's owner	Gay man from the Northeast
Gustavo Bonfiglioli	30	Diversity consultant and artist	Bicha gorda (fat faggot), gender disobedient
Amanda Alencar	28	Cultural producer and actress	Bisexual, white, middle class, full of privileges
Cadu Oliveira	39	Studied Marketing and People Management, give lectures, etc.	Bicha, black, effeminate, out of the standard
Luis Arruda	40	Lawyer and admin	Effeminate gay
Rodrigo Abreu	32	Actor, performer, director, art producer, cleaner	Gay from the periphery
Cida Baptista	59	Handcrafts woman	Black heterosexual woman
Vi Grunvald	34	PhD, Anthropologist, university's teacher, cinema director, photographer	Viado/Bicha
Jose Alberto	35	PhD, Psychologist, university's teacher, SP City Hall mental health coordinator	Cis man, white, gay
Ariel Nobre	30	Visual artist	Trans man, sapatão, bicha
Luana Torres	36	Banker, student of Psychology	Sapatão

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