

## State-Sponsored Activism

In *State-Sponsored Activism*, Rich explores AIDS policy in Brazil as a lens to offer new insight into state–society relations in democratic and post-neoliberal Latin America. In contrast to the dominant view that these dual transitions produced an atomized civil society and an impenetrable technocratic state, Rich finds a new model of interest politics, driven by previously marginalized state and societal actors. Through a rich examination of the Brazilian AIDS movement, one of the most influential movements in twenty-first century Latin America, this book traces the construction of a powerful new advocacy coalition between activist bureaucrats and bureaucratized activists. In so doing, *State-Sponsored Activism* illustrates a model whereby corporatism – active government involvement in civic mobilization – has persisted in contemporary Latin America, with important implications for representation and policymaking.

**Jessica A.J. Rich** is Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science at Marquette University. She has also held positions as a visiting fellow at the London School of Economics, and as a postdoctoral fellow at Tulane University's Center for Inter-American Policy and Research.

Cambridge University Press  
978-1-108-47088-9 — State-Sponsored Activism  
Jessica Rich  
Frontmatter  
[More Information](#)

---

# State-Sponsored Activism

## *Bureaucrats and Social Movements in Democratic Brazil*

JESSICA A. J. RICH

*Marquette University*



CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press  
978-1-108-47088-9 — State-Sponsored Activism  
Jessica Rich  
Frontmatter  
[More Information](#)

---

## CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom  
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA  
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia  
314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India  
79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)

Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9781108470889](http://www.cambridge.org/9781108470889)

DOI: 10.1017/9781108626453

© Jessica A. J. Rich 2019

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2019

Printed and bound in Great Britain by Clays Ltd, Elcograf S.p.A.

*A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.*

ISBN 978-1-108-47088-9 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>page</i> vii
<i>List of Illustrations</i>	ix
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xi
1 Introduction	I
2 A New Approach to Studying Civil Society	22
3 Grievances, Resources, and Opportunities: The Initial Success of Brazil’s AIDS Movement	55
4 Transformations in the State	86
5 Expanding the Movement from Above	111
6 Expanding the Movement from Below	138
7 The Rise of Hybrid Social Movements	157
8 Re-examining State–Society Relations in the Twenty-First Century	187
<i>Appendix</i>	215
<i>References</i>	218
<i>Index</i>	232

Cambridge University Press  
978-1-108-47088-9 — State-Sponsored Activism  
Jessica Rich  
Frontmatter  
[More Information](#)

---

Figures

2.1	Direct mechanisms for promoting civic mobilization	<i>page</i> 41
2.2	Direct and indirect mechanisms for promoting civic mobilization	42
4.1	Number of national government councils or commissions with seats allotted for AIDS activists (1986–2001)	101
4.2	Number of federally-funded civic AIDS projects per year (1999–2003)	104
4.3	Number of AIDS associations outside the southwest, 2002	105
5.1	Federal direct spending on civil society groups in 2006	126
5.2	Frequency of contact between civic AIDS associations and federal bureaucrats	135
6.1	Weak professionalization of new civic AIDS organizations	140
6.2	Relatively small budgets of civic AIDS groups	141
6.3	Large number of associations with little or no paid staff	141
6.4	Percent of AIDS associations dedicated exclusively to the issue of AIDS	142
7.1	Number of AIDS associations with donor funding, by type of donor	160
7.2	Frequency of demand-making on government	161
7.3	Indicators of professionalization among AIDS associations in RJ and SP states	162
7.4	“How important for your group is it to serve as a consultant or counselor for a government body?”	163
7.5	Frequency of contact between civic AIDS groups and government bureaucrats	164
7.6	“How important for your group is it to enter the legal system through class action suits or other legal means?”	172
		vii

7.7 “How important to your group is it to organize or participate in public marches or protests?”	179
7.8 “How frequently does your group protest or march with other groups?”	179
7.9 “How important is it to your group to call the attention of the press to existing problems?”	184



Illustrations

Image 3.1	World AIDS Day 1991 and 1988. Image courtesy of The Brazilian Interdisciplinary AIDS Association.	<i>page 79</i>
Image 4.1	The national STD/AIDS department office building	100
Image 4.2	National HIV prevention campaigns	101
Image 6.1	Voting at a 2007 ENONG	145
Image 6.2	Soliciting feedback at AIDS movement workshops	149
Image 7.1	AIDS activists meeting with a member of the national congress	176
Image 7.2	2010 Protest in Rio de Janeiro	180
Image 7.3	2007 Protest in São Paulo	182

Cambridge University Press  
978-1-108-47088-9 — State-Sponsored Activism  
Jessica Rich  
Frontmatter  
[More Information](#)

---

## Acknowledgments

I find it both gratifying and daunting to acknowledge the dizzying array of people who contributed to this book. First, I am grateful beyond words to the civic activists and government workers who inspired and made possible my research. Despite their busy schedules, they gave me long interviews (often more than once); they invited me to participate in their meetings and conferences; they supplied me with key documents; and perhaps most importantly, they made me feel welcome and important. Too many people helped me along the way for me to be able to fit a mention of everyone into these few pages, but I value all of your contributions. Thanks in particular to Willian Amaral, Ernandes Costa, Rubens Duda, Gilvane Casimiro, Kátia Edmundo, Américo Nunes, Richard Parker, Roberto Pereira, Rodrigo Pinheiro, Veriano Terto Jr., and Márcio Villard. My desire not to have wasted your time is what drove me to complete the project. In addition, this book would not have been possible without my four brilliant research assistants, some of whom have already moved on to their own exciting projects. Alline Torres and Paula Vedovelli provided perfect transcriptions of my interviews. Pedro Andrada assisted enthusiastically with the survey in São Paulo. And Elis Andrade played a key role in just about every fieldwork endeavor.

In Brazil, I also benefitted enormously from a vibrant and generous academic community. I am grateful to IESP in Rio de Janeiro and CEBRAP in São Paulo for providing me with institutional homes, and to their teams of scholars for engaging me in fascinating discussions about Brazilian politics. Thanks in particular to Renato Boschi for inviting into the fold of his academic tribe, and for supporting my project with his enthusiasm. Rebecca Abers supported me in a myriad of ways throughout the process. Toward the end of the project, I was fortunate to be introduced to Laura Murray, who not only generously shared her rich scholarship on sex workers with me but also gave me encouragement, contacts, and new ideas. Igor Brandão and Rafael Viana shared their brilliant theses with me and patiently answered my endless array of questions about waste-picking and low-income housing. Their scholarship is the basis for two

of the case studies in Chapter 8. Wendel Antunes Cintra graciously helped me translate the survey, exhibiting far more rigor and patience than I had myself. For intellectual and moral support, I also depended on Elena Martinez Barahona, Flavia Campos, Matthew Flynn, Guilherme Macedo, Paulo Mario Martins, Ed Pereira, Tricia Perry, Andrés del Rio Roldan, Laura Schieber, and Javier Vadell. Most importantly, Barbara Gomes Lamas and Daniela Tranches de Melo first welcomed me into their home and generously invited this gringa to all their scholarly and social gatherings. Without them, fieldwork would have been a much lonelier experience; and I am honored to count them among my friends-for-life.

I began the study leading to this book while a graduate student in the Department of Political Science of the University of California at Berkeley, where I was blessed with advisers who allowed me the freedom to invent something new while holding me to the highest standards. Each of the five brilliant members of my dissertation committee inspired large pieces of the project, and I cannot imagine this book without every one of them. Beyond their specific insights, they also imparted key lessons that I will carry with me through my career. Christopher Ansell showed me how to present complicated arguments in plain English. Laura Stoker helped me improve my writing through her painstaking, spot-on comments. While Ann Swidler technically served as my “outside” adviser, she guided me as though she were one of my committee chairs. From the start of this dissertation, Ann provided immeasurable support through her thoughtful feedback and her expressions of enthusiasm, and by describing my project to me in words far more exciting and poetic than my own.

I owe my greatest intellectual debt to Ruth Berins Collier and David Collier. Their mentorship made me the scholar I am today, and they set an example for the kind of scholar and colleague I want to be. Ruth taught me intellectual rigor by never settling for anything less than outstanding work, and by dedicating vast amounts of time helping me achieve that. Not infrequently, I would enter Ruth’s office with a “quick question”, only to leave two hours later with ten pages of notes addressing critical issues in my project. David taught me to focus my research on the issues that matter for people’s welfare, rather than on standard political science questions. He also taught me to be a member of an academic community through his myriad of advice ranging from the prosaic to the profound, and through his constant encouragement of peer collaboration. Through their attentiveness and support, and through the support network of scholars they cultivated, Ruth and David largely made my graduate school experience. I look forward to continuing to learn from them in the years to come.

One of the most important ways in which Ruth and David shaped my academic experience is through the community of scholars they created, in particular, the graduate students in the Latin American politics group who came before me and continue to guide me, especially Diana Kapizsewski. I am also indebted to the rest of my fellow Latin American politics students, who helped me through graduate school with their feedback, their encouragement,

## *Acknowledgments*

xiii

and most importantly, their friendship. Among those I am lucky enough to consider colleagues and friends are Benjamin Allen, Mauricio Benitez-Iturbe, Taylor Boas, Christopher Chambers-Ju, Miguel Defigueiredo, Tasha Fairfield, Candelaria Garay, Samuel Handlin, Veronica Herrera, Danny idalgo, Maiah Jaskoski, Benjamin Lessing, Olivia Miljanic, Simeon Nichter, Brian Palmer-Rubin, and Wendy Sinek. Lindsay Mayka and Neal Richardson deserve special acknowledgment for helping me through a tough year with sumptuous and lively feasts, and by showing me through example how to balance work and pleasure.

I am also deeply grateful for my other Berkeley peers, who made graduate school a collaborative effort, and who showed me that smart people need not be dull. I would like to thank, in particular, Boris Barkanov, Jordan Branch, Jennifer Bussell, Naomi Choi, Thad Dunning, Brent Durbin, Rebecca Hamlin, Amy Lerman, Mike Murakami, Claire Perez, Regine Spector, and Zach Zwald – as well as the non-academics who rounded out the crew, Inseeyah Barma, Nate Martinez, Erin Rowley, and Indira Windiasti. Special thanks go to Rebecca Chen, an exceptional roommate, cheerleader, and friend. During my last year of graduate school, Jody Laporte served as my dissertation, job, and life coach. Even busier than I was, she always made time to proof-read my writing, talk me through difficult decisions, and give words of encouragement (occasionally in all-caps). Without her, I certainly would not have maintained my sanity during the writing process.

Various friends outside Berkeley's Political Science department brightened the more difficult days. Kartik Hansen served as my confidant and my one-man technical support crew. Paco Martorell, among his many contributions, kept me fed during my first year of graduate school. Erica Mohan knew just when to make me come out and play. Geoffrey Barton supplied me with the cookies, ice cream, and sympathy that saw me through the last grueling months. Thanks also to Alisa Dichter, Melissa Disney, Todd Disney, Margaret Flores, Kristy Graves, and Katie Wolford, who made me feel accomplished just for being me.

The book version of this project began to take shape at Tulane University's Center for Inter-American Policy and Research (CIPR), where I was lucky enough to spend two years as a post-doctoral fellow. Ludovico Feoli created a vibrant community of social scientists and served as a gracious host. Thomas Reese of the Stone Center for Latin American Studies built a strong interdisciplinary community. Kelly Jones kept things running with both exceptional efficiency and exceptional cheer. Eduardo Silva shared his wisdom and advice, and made me feel so welcome. Arachu Castro, Martin Dimitrov, Aaron Schneider, and Mark Vail were integral parts of this welcoming community. I am also deeply grateful to Robert Kaufman, Ken Roberts, and Ben Ross Schneider, who dedicated a few days out of their busy weeks to fly down to New Orleans and participate in my book workshop. Together with Ruth Berins Collier and Eduardo Silva, they gave me detailed and constructive feedback on the first draft of the manuscript. The book's theoretical core was born from

their input. And thanks to their combination of kindness and thoroughness, the workshop was both intellectually stimulating and fun. I was also fortunate to meet the kind and wise Manuel Alcántara during my time at Tulane. Thanks to his generosity, I spent six weeks at the University of Salamanca, where the article version of Chapter 6 took shape. I cannot imagine better post-doctoral colleagues than Matthew Johnson and Federico Rossi.

The quickest way to build close bonds of friendship is through crisis. My crisis in New Orleans was fortunately relatively minor: a hurricane that struck shortly after my arrival and left my apartment uninhabitable for several weeks. Thanks to this rather unwelcome introduction to the city, I came to know quite suddenly the couches, air mattresses, and deep wells of generosity of those who have since become close friends: Ana Margarida Fernandes Esteves, Christine Hebl, Matthew Johnson, Mattea Musso, Federico Rossi, and Kristin Wintersteen. My life in New Orleans was both intellectually rich and well-rounded because of these friendships, as well as those of Michael Brumbaugh, João Gonçalves, Virginia Oliveros, Jason Pollentier, and Jessi Taylor. Thanks especially to Mattea for cucorífica creative adventures, to Kristin for anxiety empathy, and to Virginia for making me come out and play.

It has been a joy to be a member of Marquette University's Department of Political Science. My colleagues are not only deeply committed to research and teaching, but they are also kind and supportive and make me look forward to going into the office. Risa Brooks, Mike McCarthy, Barrett McCormick, and Duane Swank provided constructive feedback on key chapters and related articles. Thank you as well to Rich Friman for support of my project through the Center for Transnational Justice. As department chair, Lowell Barrington supported this book in a thousand ways both large and small. My Political Science colleagues Julia Azari, Mark Berlin, Mónica Unda Gutiérrez, Paul Nolette, Brian Palmer-Rubin, Phil Rocco, and Amber Wichowsky kept me sane during the process. Thanks to Noelle Brigden for taking the office next door, and for providing me with endless supplies of feedback, snacks, and moral support. I cannot imagine how my life would be had we not moved into Wehr Physics Building together. My broader Milwaukee family came together without any precipitating crisis, and since my arrival has helped me balance work with pleasure. Renee Calkins, Jeffrey Coleman, Lafayette Crump, Tara Daly, Antonio Furguie, Sarah Hamilton, Nicole Hendrickson, Bryan Johnston, John Martin, Laura Mele, Elmer Moore Jr., Travis Reed, and Ellen Wagner, each in their own ways, have provided me with important intellectual and personal support.

During the final stretch of finishing this book, I took up residence for a few months at the Department of International Development in the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). My hope was that, by transferring myself to a gloomy winter that was six time zones away from my day-to-day concerns, I would leave myself nothing to do but write and perhaps visit a few museums. How wrong was I. The vibrant intellectual community

## *Acknowledgments*

xv

I found in greater London gave me far more talks to attend and give than I had anticipated, and new sources of intellectual sustenance. I especially want to thank Cathy Boone, Kathy Hochstetler, Peter Kingstone, Martin Lodge, Dann Naseemullah, Anthony Pereira, Tim Power, and Ken Shadlen for inviting me into the fold. Victoria Whitlow gave me creative sustenance during my time abroad, and Shermeen Al Shirawi provided me with a beautiful and welcoming home.

I also benefitted greatly from a larger community of scholar and mentors, who through their wisdom and guidance shaped not only this project but also my broader way of thinking. I have the strongest admiration and respect for Alfred Montero, my undergraduate thesis adviser at Carleton College, first mentor, and continued collaborator. Kevin O'Brien gave me new words for thinking about my project and new ways of thinking about research design. Kent Eaton, Ken Foster, Mimi Keck, James McGuire, and Irfan Nooruddin provided me with generous feedback and encouragement at key moments. Rose Skelton was a perfect writing-retreat host.

Financial resources are essential for doing fieldwork. This project would not have been possible without the generous support of the Inter-American Foundation, Harvard University's Hauser Center for Nonprofit Research, UC Berkeley's Institute of International Studies and Center for Latin American Studies, Tulane University's Newcomb College and Stone Center for Latin American Studies, and Marquette University's Center for Transnational Justice and Center for Peacemaking.

Most of all, I am grateful for my family, who has supported me in all my endeavors. Thanks first to my late grandmother, Kitty Jolicoeur, for telling me everything I do is great, and for reminding me not to work too hard. Thanks also to my Aunt Rocky, Aunt Sue, Uncle Paul, and Aunt Alice for their affection. Thanks to Casey Bruno for taking an interest in my intellectual endeavors. Thanks to my stepmother, Magnhild Lien, and my stepfather, Mike Doyle, for—among their countless contributions—preparing all my welcome-home meals. Finally, thanks to my father and mother, Harvey Eric Rich and Pamela Mary Jolicoeur, for making me who I am. My father is my biggest and loudest champion, even when he tries to play it cool. My mother influences me profoundly every day, even though she is no longer here. I could not imagine more perfect parents, and I dedicate this book to them.

Cambridge University Press  
978-1-108-47088-9 — State-Sponsored Activism  
Jessica Rich  
Frontmatter  
[More Information](#)

---