MEMBERSHIP CATEGORIZATION ANALYSIS ON COMMUNICATION STUDIES:

an essay of applied methodology

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ABSTRACT - This paper presents a naturalistic methodological perspective applied to the studies of media communications called Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA). Originally developed for classifying and ordering categories within the framework of natural conversation using sequential analysis (the analysis of turn-taking), we present MCA as a promising methodological approach for analysing media discourses due to its context sensitivity, empirical foundations and its view of communication as a social practice that integrates production, distribution and reception to produce meaning.
Keywords: Membership Categorization Analysis. Research Methodology. Communication Theory.

ANÁLISE DE CATEGORIZAÇÕES DE PERTENCIMENTO NOS ESTUDOS DE COMUNICAÇÃO: um ensaio de metodologia aplicada

RESUMO - Este artigo tem por objetivo apresentar uma perspectiva metodológica naturalista aplicada aos estudos da comunicação midiática, a Análise de Categorizações de Pertencimento (ACP). Originalmente concebida para dar conta dos procedimentos de classificação e ordenamento de categorias no âmbito das conversações naturais, associado à análise sequencial (análise do encadeamento dos turnos de fala), nossa intenção neste texto é apresentar a ACP como aporte metodológico promissor também para a análise de textos e discursos midiáticos em geral, por sua sensibilidade ao ambiente, fundamentação empírica e por sua perspectiva do processo comunicacional como prática social, integrando as instâncias da produção, circulação e recepção na produção de sentido.
Palavras-chave: Análise de Categorizações de Pertencimento. Metodologia de Pesquisa. Teoria da Comunicação.

ANÁLISIS DE PERTENENCIA CATEGORIAL EN LOS ESTUDIOS DE COMUNICACIÓN: un ensayo de metodología aplicada

RESUMEN - Este artículo presenta una perspectiva metodológica naturalista aplicada a los estudios de comunicación mediática, la Análisis de Pertenencia Categorial (APC). Originalmente diseñada para dar cuenta de los procedimientos de clasificación y ordenamiento de categorías en el ámbito de las conversaciones naturales, asociado con el análisis secuencial (análisis de secuenciación de los turnos de habla), nuestra intención en este artículo es presentar la APC como un enfoque metodológico prometedor también para el análisis de textos y discursos mediáticos en general, por su sensibilidad hacia el ambiente, por su base empírica y por su perspectiva del proceso de comunicación como práctica social, integrando las instancias de producción, circulación y recepción en la producción de sentido.
Palabras clave: Análisis de Pertenencia Categorial. Metodología de la investigación. Teoría de la Comunicación.

1. Introduction

This paper presents a naturalistic methodological perspective applied to the studies of media communications called Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA). This is a praxiological method derived from Ethnomethodology (EM) and closely related to Conversation Analysis (CA) developed in the late 1960s and early 1970s mainly by the North American sociologist Harvey Sacks. Originally developed to account for classification procedures and the ordering of categories within the framework of natural conversation as associated with sequential analysis (the analysis of turn-taking), our objective is to present MCA to positively support both the analysis of texts and media discourse in general.

After presenting the basic theories of this technique and some of its distinctions, we will analyze an excerpt of journalistic discourse taken from an ongoing study (DEPINÉ, Juliana, s/d) of discussions on the proceedings of Bill 122 from the Brazilian House of Representatives which deals with the criminal classification of homophobia (Bill 122), proposed in 2001 and recently filed in 2015.

2. Membership categorization analysis within the framework of naturalist perspectives in communication

Even though the theory and techniques of membership category analysis are attributed to Harvey Sacks, their origins lie in cultural anthropology, in a perspective called "ethnoscience" or "component analysis" (WATSON and GASTALDO, 2015). Around the 1950s, anthropologists who were conducting fieldwork among tribal societies began to organize their local knowledge systems for organizing plants, animals and the stars into more complex systems such as "ethnobotany", "ethnozoology" and "ethnoastronomy".

These indigenous peoples did not consider the bodies of nature to be wholly indistinct; they saw them as a complex system in which each different species of plant is related to other plants, following logical classification procedures different from those of western botany yet still perfectly reasonable. Collectively, these classification systems are an important element for understanding the world views of these cultures; that is, looking at the way the elements of a system are grouped and distinguished can give you a glimpse into the complex logic that organizes them.

Harvey Sacks, during his short and brilliant career (Sacks died in 1974 at the age of 40, in an automobile accident), dedicated himself to studying a fundamental element of social life which the social sciences had not paid much attention to: everyday conversation. In this way, he used the ethnoscience argument to understand how a world view is expressed in everyday conversation through categorizations employed by interactants. Aside from the structural components of ethnoscience, Sacks placed an emphasis on its praxiological character; that is, its practical use by interactants, its connection to a direct social context instead of its relation to an alleged "basic structure" of culture. Membership categorization analysis, within the context of talk-in-interaction, aims to understand the way in which different categories are grouped together and, through the relations between these groups, understand the cultural methods and meaning of a social situation. (SACKS, 1992)

The basic concepts of MCA were placed in an article called "On the Analyzability of Stories by Children", originally published in 1972. (SACKS, 1974) In this article, Sacks analyzes a story told by a small child, made up of just two phrases: "*The baby cried. The mommy picked it up.*" Sacks found elements of a narrative in this apparently

simple utterance: a sequence of events temporally organized as "first this, then that", in addition to a group of identity categorizations. He emphasized the cultural methods used to categorize people and the way the categories of "baby" and "mommy" give a clear implication that the "mommy" is the mother of *that* baby, whereas in a literal grammatical reading this is only one possibility. Anyone can be described by a wide range of membership categorizations (Bostonian, centre-forward, holy woman, family man, first in line, etc). In other words, whichever category is used in order to describe this person is a question of contextual relevance. (HOUSLEY e FITZGERALD, 2002)

Here, Sacks links the utterances (and their meanings) to a specific situational context in which they occur, differing significantly from formalistic approaches (for example, Greimasian generative grammar) and corresponding more to the ethnomethodological naturalistic perspective (WATSON, 2009; BRAGA and RODRIGUES, 2014).

Membership categorizations are often grouped into "collections", what Sacks calls membership categorization devices (MCD). In the above analysis, "mommy" and "baby" may be seen as belonging to the same MCD, which might be called "family", and would include other terms such as "daddy" or "grandma". However, the term "baby" could belong to another MCD called "stage of life" which would include terms like "teenager", "adult" or "senior". The preference for the first MCD derives from an ethnomethod which Sacks refers to as the "consistency rule", which is defined as follows: "if two membership categories are used for the same collection, and it is possible to hear them as belonging to the same MCD, then hear them that way" (WATSON and GASTALDO, 2015, p.143).

The consistency rule expresses criteria for co-selection of membership categories: in the present case, "mommy" and "baby" should belong to part of the "family" MCD. It is important to note that the terms within a particular MCD are most often hierarchized. In many societies, the categorizations of the "stage of life" MCD involve an increasing order of empowerment; that is, in these types of cases the terms are rarely neutral as they express relations of power and subordination.

Another important concept towards understanding the analytic power of MCA is the "category-bound activities". It deals with a set of attributes or activities connected to a certain categorization. For example, "cry" is an attribute associated to the category "baby". If applied to another categorization, this attribute could be an element of social control. If you say to an adult: "stop crying like a baby", it involves

lowering the hierarchy in the "stage of life" MCD by linking it to an inferior category, as a form of social coercion. Thus, the MCA emphases the production of meaning as a social process connected to practices which are actively occurring within a context. The participation of an audience is fundamental as it demonstrates the potential for MCAs in communication studies, particularly studies on media reception, use and consumption, as indicated in the following excerpt:

> ...listening, in conversation analysis, is not just passive and idle reception, it is an active process, and like all actions it has a methodical character guided by procedural rules called the rules of audience. In that sense, the production of a statement is active reciprocally, an example of oral listening. This is one of the points where the analysis of conversation supports the production of a statement as a multilateral process instead of a simple decision by whoever makes the statement. In order to do this, we need to consider the practices of audience and the rules of audience that guide them. (WATSON and GASTALDO, 2015, p.144)

As shown, the attribution of characteristics to certain categories is a cultural method which underlies the practices of power and coercion. Pairs of categories are frequently organized in a standard format such as interdependent relationship categories like "husband-wife" or "doctor-patient". In these cases, attributes and hierarchies frequently mix and define asymmetries and powers. For example, when consulting with a doctor, the activity of "asking questions" is categorically linked to the doctor. In order for a patient to ask a question, they must first get permission: "Doctor, can I ask you a question?"

In the legal sphere, issues like the allocation of blame could be affected by the categorization of the parties involved. For example, in the case of an assault or a rape, part of the blame could be placed on the victim if she were categorized as a "prostitute" or a "transvestite"; the credibility of a statement could be questionable if the witness were categorized as a "drunk" or being "drugged" (WATSON, 1983). In other words, categorizations are social actions involving relations of power which are the basis for many criminal acts like "hate crime" or "prejudice", as we shall see below.

However, the act of categorization also includes activities affected by "moral inferential logic" (HOUSLEY and FITZGERALD, 2009), meaning that when people categorize they are judging the world around them and imposing their bias towards a particular topic (EGLIN, 2002; STOKOE, 2012). Therefore, this methodological per-

spective is applicable to studies on gender, sexuality, ethnicity and identity. When talking about the morality of categorizations (1991), Jayyusi states:

> Very clearly, the use of even mundanely descriptive categories, such as of practical mundane social knowledge. These features might be 'moral' features in the first place (such as the kinds of 'rights' and 'obligations' that are bound up with one's being a 'mother', or a 'doctor' or 'policeman'), or they might be otherwise – such as the 'knowledge' that is, for example, taken to be bound up with a category such as 'doctor', or the kind of 'work' that is taken to be constitutive of, or tied to, a category such as a policeman. But even in the latter case, it turns out that as evidenced in our actual practices, for example, 'knowledge' has its responsibilities – even these features provide grounds for the attribution of all kinds of moral properties, for finding that certain kinds of events or actions may or may not have taken place, for determining culpability, even for defeating the applicability of the category or description in the first place[1]. (JAYYUSI, 1991, p. 241)

Lastly, we would like to draw attention to the multisensory dimension of membership categorization. Many membership categorizations such as stage of life, civil status, gender, sexual orientation, ethnicity, club membership or military ranks exhibit visible expressions. Wearing military uniforms and badges, wearing gold wedding rings on the left hand or even gestures like walking hand in hand are all visual expressions of membership categorization (WOWK, 1984; WATSON and WEINBERG, 1982). Similarly, perfumes and body odors, colors and styles of clothing, texture of fabric as well as words, accents, slang, biotype, stature, weight, etc. are all basic components of categorizations and interrelated to social interaction.

In this way, even though it had originally been designed to study face to face interactions, MCA has successfully been used to analyze complete texts from callcenter telephone interviews (GARFINKEL, 1967) judicial processes (WATSON, 1978), newspaper headlines (LEE, 1984), blog comments (BRAGA, 2008), public advertisements (GASTALDO, 2013), interviews (BAKER, 2004) or institutional communication inside an express delivery company (PSATHAS, 1999). The articulation between categorizations, collections and attributes in all these cases offers an extensive view of the topics being examined.

In order to illustrate membership categorization analysis in journalistic discourse, we will analyze an excerpt taken from a debate in the House of Representatives on Bill 122 which proposed to treat homophobia as a crime in Brazilian law.

Due to the praxiological and pragmatic characteristic of

MCA, absolute sensitivity to the context must be taken when analyzing any text. Thus, before beginning the analysis itself, we shall contextualize the history and external circumstances set out in the text (political, social, economic, etc.); a situation of tense posturing which includes justifying spurts of violence.

3. BILL 122: categorizations under discussion

Bill 122 of the Brazilian House of Representatives was an attempt at including sexual rights on a more comprehensive list of human rights in Brazilian law. Also known as the "anti-homophobic law", the bill aimed to include discrimination against sexual orientation or gender identity as identified in the criminal code (specifically Law 7716 from 1989, also known as the Racism Law), which lays out the punishment for discrimination against race, color or ethnicity, religion or land of origin. Proposed in 2001 by Congresswoman Iara Bernardi (PT-SP) in the House of Representatives, the bill was later filed in the Senate in February 2015 (all bills which pass through the three stages of legislature but do not become approved or are rejected must be filed).

One of the fundamental goals established in the Brazilian Constitution is the prohibition of sexual or racial discrimination, as laid out in Article 3, paragraph IV of the Brazilian Constitution ("to promote the well-being of all, without prejudice towards origin, race, sex, color, age and any other form of discrimination"). It also states that "the law shall punish any form of discrimination against fundamental rights and freedoms" (paragraph XLI, Art.5). However, before Law 7716 was passed, racism was defined as a misdemeanor; it was only after the law had been passed that it became a crime punishable by imprisonment.

Racism ended up being categorized as a "hate crime", which itself is defined as an attack on property, a threat, verbal aggression, theft, harassment, acts of violence, beating, abuse, sexual aggression, torture or homicide. In other words, any form of prejudice-based crime whether racial, sexual, religious, or related to the nationality or gender of the victim became considered a "hate crime". In short, even though an act of violence or a threat may be committed against one person, the law defends a social category; a group of people with similar characteristics (ALMEIDA, 2013, p. 8).

Therefore, including gender and sexual discriminations in the Racism Law was a way to create tougher punishments for homo-phobic[2] crimes and therefore classifying them as hate crimes. The fourteen years of proceedings in the House of Representatives and the Senate resulting in the bill being shelved are representative of the difficulties faced in this political debate. Organized groups of members of congress, both against and for the proposal, generated heated debates across the media. Discussions across communication media on Bill 122 created tensions and conflicts between knowledge and advertisements coming from the diverse social groups. Different social fields were called upon to represent the LGBT community such as legal, scientific, political and religious groups which gives us a wide array of arguments within the debate.

A strong presence of religious politicians (the so-called "evan-gelical bench"; an informal, conservative and extensive group that spans over other parties) was in strong opposition to Bill 122. Priests and evangelical leaders summoned their followers to protest the bill by writing on blogs and websites of priests and religious institutions, voicing concern about the possible damages that could be caused if this law were passed; the most serious being the violation of the right to freedom of expression and belief. Many emblematic statements were given by Father Silas Malafaia[3] from the Assembleia de Deus Pentecostal church.

Groups in opposition to the bill made some progress during this period: they held a public debate not only on specific religious websites and blogs but also across traditional forms of media, pre-venting the House of Representatives from voting on and approving the bill. In December, 2010, it was announced on the Senate website that it would be shelved at legislature's end; however, Senator Marta Suplicy (then a member of the Labour Party) obtained 27 Senate sig-natures in favor of reinstating the bill, and did so in February 2011.

In May 2011, the Supreme Court officially recognized same sex relationships. In that same month, after negotiating with Sena-tor Marcelo Crivella (PRB-RJ), a representative from the evangelical bench, Marta Suplicy proposed an amendment to the bill. The amend-ment was for the removal of the articles criminalizing public demon-strations against homosexual relationships and the articles punishing those who spoke out publicly against homosexuals. Violence against homosexuals would therefore cease to be a criminal act according to the terms laid out in the bill. Crivella did not accept Suplicy's proposal

and stated that if the amendment had been voted on, the evangelical bench would have voted against it[4]. The religious community did not accept the proposal, and those who defended the anti-homophobia law were also unsatisfied as they considered it to be a "distortion" of the original bill[5]. This debate attracted wide media coverage.

4. An analytical study

The excerpt from this debate selected for analysis was published in the *Folha de S. Paulo* newspaper on August 13, 2011. It is an opinion article written by former councilman Carlos Apolinário from São Paulo (DEM), in which he proposed the creation of a "Straight Pride Day" in response to the Gay Pride parade in São Paulo. After presenting the entire article, we shall highlight the main categories the author used to categorize the actors and groups involved, as well as MCD, attributes and collections categorically connected to it and compare them to the publication in order to infer logic and meaning from the text. We hope this example clearly illustrates the MCA techniques and its capabilities.

The untouchables
There is no truth behind Straight Pride Day encouraging homophobia. My objective was to discuss what rights are and what privileges are. Many people do not approve of gay marriage and of homosexuals adopting children, but they have the right to fight for it. However, holding the Gay Pride Parade on Paulista Avenue is a privilege; a privilege that leads society on a path to deifying homosexuals. It might seem like an exaggeration, but this is what gay activists are doing with their attempt at passing Bill 122 in congress, a bill that threatens the freedom of the press. If this law is approved then any newspaper that interviews someone who speaks out against gay marriage could be prosecuted. Gay movement leaders want to situate homosexuality beyond good and bad, and make themselves victims of everything. This gives the impression that there is someone on every street in Brazil who wants to kill a gay person. They say that every 36 hours one gay person is murdered in the country just for being gay. Where does this statistic come from? Does it come from a public organ? Of course it doesn't. These statistics cannot be proven which is why I am skeptical of their accuracy. What ends up happening is that when a heterosexual is murdered or attacked there is no mention of his/her sexual preference. If it is a gay however, the media itself says: another gay was murdered regardless of the motives and circumstances of the crime. In February, six youths beat a man near Paulista. At the same time and place, four different youths attacked three others. The repercussion was different for both cases. The first went practically unmentioned yet the youths' aggression has been used as an example of intolerance. In the first situation, the victim was beaten because he was from the northeast. In the second situation, the victims were considered homosexuals. It is a double standard. Every day I hear that gays are being discrimi-

nated against. I have to say that I have not seen this discrimination against gays. On the contrary, I see soap operas and the media giving special treatment to gays. Actually, what they call discrimination is society's disapproval of the excess of public demonstrations. Some of them think it is their right to exaggerate in public and no one can say anything about it. This was the case with two gays who made a point to kiss each other in a restaurant and be seen doing so. The waiter asked them to be a bit more discreet yet afterwards, 20 gay couples came into the restaurant and all started kissing each other in protest. This is a clear demonstration of the gay movement's desire to prevent any form of protest against their behavior. We are able to democratically speak out against hetero marriages and criticize politicians, priests and churches, but we are not allowed to share our opinion about homosexuality and public behavior of gays. The fact is that society is a hostage to gay activism. We should fight homophobia, but we cannot forget that heterophobia is just as bad as homophobia. This is the point I raised when I approved Straight Pride Day. My objective was to protest against the privileges and excesses practiced by gays. I have always respected one's right to be gay because, as a Christian, I respect freedom of choice. But society needs to wake up and not allow for a special class of people to have their own rights created, a special class called the untouchables who raise the gay flag and break the flagpole of democracy. (Carlos Apolinário, *Folha de S. Paulo*, 13/08/2011)

In this text, a series of categories is used to describe the antagonists ("the gays") and also members of the LGBT social movement (referred to as "gay activism" or "gay movement leaders"). The title of the article, 'The Untouchables', already hints at the emphasis of the discussion. The argument is that this activist group's search to criminalize homophobia would end up "situating homosexuality beyond good and bad" and exposing a supposed strategy of victimization adopted within these groups.

The author questions the credibility of the statistics on the number of homosexual homicides as they are unverified; he states: "if the source does not come from *any public body,* then the statistics are not *credible*". If we examine the numbers, however, they are probable. According to a 2014 survey on the G1 website, the total number of homicides listed by the Departments of Public Safety from all 27 states reached more than 52,000 in Brazil, an average of 143 homicides per day. There were 218 counts of homosexual homicides in this period, an average of 0.6 deaths per day or one homosexual homicide every 1.5 days (every 36 hours). If treated as a question of hours, it becomes a politically motivated complaint demanded by their opponents. Comparing the number of homicides committed against gays to the total number of annual homicides we get 0.4% of the total homicides; irrelevant in terms of statistics. Presenting numbers and statistics is a common practice in argumentative discourse

due to its supposed objectivity (POSTMAN, 1995), even though, as we have seen, presenting numbers in one form or another can 'prove' the opposition's argument.

The author builds up an interesting element for membership categorization analysis when he compares two accounts of hate-motivated violence. He starts by presenting similar situations ("at the same time and place") which act as the basis for a comparison. The first situation is "six youths beat a man", the second is "four youths attack three others". Initially, the MCA technique requires us to compare the categorizations of the victims and the offenders, as well as the act committed: "six youths" "beat" "a man". The victim is categorized as "a man" and the action is "beat", clearly representative of physical violence. According to the rule of economy, the same MCD (stage of life) is being applied to 'youth' preceding 'man'; in other words, the 'man' here is older than the 'youths'. Most of them (six to one) committed the act of violence which could easily be categorized as cowardice due to the disproportionate level of strength and the age of the victim.

The second situation is: 'four youths' 'attack' 'three others'. Just as in the previous one, there were seven people involved in this second situation except the strength was basically balanced out here as it was four against three. Membership categorization in this case is identical: 'youths' were the aggressors and 'other youths' were the victims. The action is defined by the verb 'attack' which is a slightly less descriptive verb than 'beat' since the former could include verbal and moral aggressions, and not necessarily physical ones. The disproportion of strength in the second situation was in favor of the aggressors at 4 against 3, but the first situation was 6 against 1. Since the second situation did not involve any age difference (all seven were 'youths') it lessens the 'aggression' by making it less cowardly. Furthermore, the small advantage in numbers the aggressors had did not make it impossible for the victims to retaliate, not so in the first situation. Not retaliating when it was possible to do so makes the victims appear in part as cowards. It is interesting to note that the fourteen people involved in both situations were adult males and could be all categorized as 'men', yet only the victim from the first situation is categorized as such. Be that as it may, the ethics of hegemonic masculinity in Brazilian culture, as demonstrated and exacerbated in fight clubs (GASTALDO, 1995), a man does not lose respect if he is beaten by another man as long as he stands up for himself and faces his opponent. The accusation category of 'cowardice' only applies

when a fighter refuses to 'act like a man' by either using others to give himself a bigger advantage or by running away. In other words, all thirteen 'youths' involved were considered cowards, and only the victim in the first situation was categorized as 'man'.

The argument adds new membership categories to the victims used in order to justify aggression. "In the first situation, the victim was beaten because he was from the northeast. In the second situation, the youths were attacked because they were believed to be homosexuals". It is interesting that 'north easterner' is a category initially related to MCD 'regional membership' just as 'northerner' or 'southerner', yet the category 'homosexual' is basically related to the MCD 'sexual orientation' just as 'heterosexual' or 'bisexual'. However, in this case the MCD applied to group together the two categories was 'justification for aggression'; an MCD that could also include 'negro', 'thief' or 'prostitute'. The author claims that "the repercussion in both cases was different. The first did not make much of an impact. The aggression of the youths in the second is still reported on today as an example of intolerance."

To end this remarkable parallelism, the reason for comparing the "double standards" was to accuse the media of not giving the same coverage to the hate crime attacks. If the media gave more coverage to the aggression suffered by 'homosexuals' than 'north easterners', they would be giving them more 'entitlements' by promoting their 'victimization'. This would be considered as 'giving gays special treatment' as categorized in the title of the article "the untouchables".

It is also worth noting the collective category which the author refers to as 'society'. Throughout the whole text 'society' is presented as a social actor that performs actions such as 'society moves toward the deification of homosexuals'. On his website (www.carlosapolinario.com.br), Evangelic Church member Apolinário states that "he has been an evangelist since birth". The term 'deification' is categorically linked to 'society' and reaches a level of 'idolatry'; something which is a serious sin in evangelical circles.

'Society' is also represented as a victim in the phrases "society is intimidated by gay activism" and "society needs to wake up and not allow for a special class of people to have their own rights created". The activities in all these excerpts categorically connected to the term 'society' represent it as an idle, sleepy victim that "quietly accepts" what the author refers to as 'gay activism'. The blame changes the categorization of victims and aggressors proposed in the text. The victims of aggression, homicide, or violence become the ag-

gressors: being identified as "victims of everything" is just one more way of producing this bizarre reversal. "Victimizing" becomes a form of aggression if the "victim" is "society" which "gay activism" accuses of trying to "deify homosexuals": idolatry of sinners in an amazing role reversal between aggressors and victims.

5. Conclusions

We hope that this testing methodology applied here has presented the ethnomethodological method of membership categorization analysis and has demonstrated its potential for a wide range of developments in communication. Although the concept is initially geared towards the study of talk-in-interaction (something absent from communication studies in Brazil), the analysis of media texts and discourse can also benefit from context sensitivity, solid empirical foundations and the analytical power of membership categorization analysis. After considering the capacity of the audience as an active producer of senses, and the activities of listening and reading as abilities intrinsic to the process of media communication, we believe it can contribute towards expanding on the theory and methodology of communication science so it surpasses the dichotomy of production and reception and sees communication as a reflexive social process.

* This paper was translated by Lee Sharp

NOTAS

1 Very clearly, the use of even mundanely descriptive categories, such as of practical mundane social knowledge. These features might be 'moral' features in the first place (such as the kinds of 'rights' and 'obligations' that are bound up with one's being a 'mother', or a 'doctor' or 'policeman'), or they might be otherwise – such as the 'knowledge' that is, for example, taken to be bound up with a category such as 'doctor', or the kind of 'work' that is taken to be constitutive of, or tied to, a category such as a policeman. But even in the later case, it turns out that as evidenced in our actual practices, for example, 'knowledge' has

its responsibilities – even these features provide grounds for the attribution of all kinds of moral properties, for finding that certain kinds of events or actions may or may not have taken place, for determining culpability, even for defeating the applicability of the category or description in the first place (JAYYUSI, 1991, p.241).

2   We consider Borrilo's depiction of homophobia: "Outside of being used to refer to a set of negative attitudes towards homosexual relations, little by little, this term has come to also be used to allude to prejudice, discrimination and violence against LGBT individuals" (BORRILLO, 2010, p. 8).

3   Even though he is not a politician, Malafaia does have a political influence on public opinion. He runs support campaigns for candidates running for mayor or councillor, as well as hosting television programs broadcast in Brazil, the United States, Europe and Africa. He has used all these media outlets to protest the bill. Malafaia also has a YouTube channel, a profile on Twitter with 863 thousand followers and a Facebook page with more than one million "likes".

4   Anti-homophobia bill upsets gays and evangelists. (B. Huberman, Site Veja.com, 08/12/ 2011). Available at http://veja.abril.com.br/noticia/brasil/projeto-de-lei-anti-homofobia-desagrada-gays-eevangelicos.

5   One example of this dissatisfaction is found in the magazine given to journalist Fernando Rodrigues by Federal Representative Jean Wyllys (PSOL-RJ) (Churches that preach "cure for gays" should be punished. Folha de S. Paulo, Dec. 26. 2011).

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