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City Production through Sexuality and Space Appropriation"s Perspective: A Case Study at Sao Paulo"s Gay Street

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Abstract - Which identities a space can acquire? What about a public space? For instance, a street, how can it be defined and who is able to do so? A street can acquire a "sexual identity"? This article concentrates on some aspects observed in my master"s dissertation. My research was ethnographic based and captures the appropriation of public spaces in large cities as a way of defining a socio-sexual identity, in this case,FreiCaneca Street in Sao Paulo. In this article, I will address some of the data from my participant observation, which tells how the identity"s definitions are constructed at street"s space and at the spaces on the street. I also tackle how these settings interact with everyday local basis, make possible the separation into groups and trigger political demonstrations. Moreover, I address how these definitions help to outline the city of São Paulo and shift their centralities.

Keywords : *urban sociology; ethnographic research; sexualities; urban planning; são paulo city.*

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I. Introduction

Which identities a space can acquire? What about a public space? For instance, a street, how can it be defined and who is able to do so? A street can acquire a "sexual identity[1]"? This article concentrates on some aspects observed in my master's dissertation[2]. My research was ethnographic based and captures the appropriation of public spaces in large cities[3] as a way of defining a socio-sexual identity, in this case, FreiCaneca Street in Sao Paulo. In this article, I will address some of the data from my participant observation, which tells how the identity's definitions are constructed at street's space and at the spaces on the street. I also tackle how these settings interact with everyday local basis, make possible the separation into groups and trigger political demonstrations. Moreover, I address how these definitions help to outline the city of São Paulo and shift their centralities.

FreiCaneca Street is known (and recognized) for its alleged massive presence of gays, name commonly used to refer to male homosexuals. This broadly shared representation has conformed sexual identities fixed in that space, allowing descriptions of this peculiar fact, as well as the conglomeration of businesses aiming gay audiences and also the aggression and violence from homophobic slant at the surroundings. What is highlighted here is the way by which individuals define themselves at the same time that they define others accordingly to sexuality and the space they occupy (at city and street level). Moreover, the aim is to show what these identity process are configured as a desired setting, positively valued or not, as well as inclusion and exclusion relations of certain groups formed based on such identity process.

The emphasis on the identity question does not mean the understanding of identity signs thought a priori, but the speech observed in the locus of study, namely, the definition of a established identity or an identity established through others, which allocates individuals in specific spaces. After a brief contextualization of the researched reality, I will proceed to a further assessment taking as unit of analysis the relationships built in the surroundings of the Bar d'ALoca(Bar of The Loca[4]), a corner bar seemingly without great attractions to a specific audience, except for congregating a large contingent on weekends.

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[1]The conceptualization of sexual Identity is apprehended here in a similarly way to McIntosh (1998) works, specifically speaking abouthomosexualrolesas part of social dynamics.

[2]"Se essarua fosse minha: sexualidade e apropriação do espaçona 'rua gay' de São Paulo", translated as "If this street was mine: sexuality and space appropriation at 'Gay's street' in Sao Paulo" (If this street was mine is a reference to a Brazilian's popular song). Research developed at the Graduate Program of Social Sciences of Federal University of Sao Paulo (Guarulhos' campus) between September/2010 and February/2013. The master dissertation is available (in Portuguese) at: http://www.humanas.unifesp.Br/ciencias_sociais/dissertacao-bruno-puccinelli.

[3]Although I'm not personally familiar with their realities, it's an attempt (and pretension) of this work to approximate the observation made at Sao Paulo with the data of Chueca (Madrid), Marais (Paris) and most importantly, Castro (São Francisco) through their differences and similarities. I am particularly interested with the case of Castro neighborhood, to which I had secondary source of information about the increase and decline of real estate market's prices been closely related to the presence – and absence – of gay men.

[4]Places, neighborhoods and natives term as kept throughout the text as they are written or spoken in Portuguese. Whenever possible, an approximate translation will be provided at the first appearance of each word and but they may appear in other sequences if it seems necessary.

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Map 1 - Macroregionin the SãoPaulo's downtown. Featuredneighborhoodsof the Republic andSé;inred, FreiCaneca Street.

Therefore, understanding the dynamics of flows and shifts of particular group through the perspective of a socio-sexual bestowed identity, not just personological, but territorial, is a major focus of the article. In order to contribute to a broader discussion, I focus, in one hand, on city's dynamics, and, on the other, on the assignment of gender and sexual identities. The idea of "ghetto"shuffles those two perspectives. Moreover, the combination of urban questions with definitions of belonging and legitimacy triggered by sexual identity is certainly one of the most controversial points of the speeches analyzed in this article, contributing to some emphases regarding the street.

The gay mall, the gay street, the gay ghetto: identity and spacial conformations.

São Paulo, the largest Brazilian metropolis, brings together about fifteen million people who identify and separate via the most different reasons: tastes, purchasing power, place of residence, etc. The city is also known for its social inequalities, combining a street full of international brands such as Oscar Freire Street and dirt streets on its limits, on the border with other municipalities. On the last ten years, the city is also known for having the largest LGBT Pride Parade in the world, at Paulista Avenue, a major route, symbol of financial capital. More recently, some neighborhoods and regions closer to the old/historical town Centre[5] have received a number of incentives and increments estate to revitalize degraded areas by time, forgotten by private investment and without attention from the public. This is not necessarily the reality of FreiCaneca Street, located between Paulista Avenue and old town Centre, but it is possible to determine a number of changes occurring there since the last decade.

[5]Sao Paulo's Centre will be written with capital letters when I refer to the neighborhood, which includes Sé (old downtown Center, known as Centro Velho in Portuguese) and República (known as Centro Novo, New center, in Portuguese) districts. When the term is employed by interlocutors, I will use quotation marks, since, on the majority of the cases, there isn't an official understanding of where is town centre. Moreover, I believe that the self-definition and the alter, constructed by the interlocutors, also depends on their city's definition. In this translated version, I opt for the use of "Centre" instead of "downtown" because I believe that part of the meaning of the analysison the spatially defined Center and the discourses and desirescenter of the speaker would be lost.

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Map 2 – FreiCaneca Street.

Opened at 2001, the FreiCaneca Mall & Convention Center, located in the homonymous street, is one of the symbols of these changes. The Mall has been the scene of several discourses of belonging, flows and identities, concerning the already well know attendance of homosexual audiences. Since at least 2003, one can contextualize the greater disclosure of gay audience due to some events related to Mall FreiCaneca administration's discontinuities with their peculiar audience[6]. In 2003, a couple of men were asked to leave the mall by security for exchanging kisses in public. This act translated in the prosecution of the

[6] I use the term in its plural form to highlight the malleability of the so called sexual identities. However, in order to simplify the reading, I will use only the term generally used to refer to gay men, gay, since much of the assignment and discussion regarding identity of belonging to the locus of the research is related to this public. In addition, ethnographic data attest to a greater presence of young men, although the allocation of socio-sexual identities are subordinated to other issues such as gender performance, circulation spaces, etc. A deeper discussion on the subject can be seen in Fry (1982), Carrara&Simões (2007), Butler (2003), Newton (1979), McIntosh (op. cit.), Facchini (2009) and França (2006; 2012)

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Map 3 – Some spots at FreiCaneca Street

shopping mall based on Sao Paulo state's anti-discrimination law[7] and a public protest in a food court called beijaço[8] . Since then, the place came to be known by the gay audience, mainly earning nicknames that made reference to this, as FreiBoneca (doll[9], in English) and Gay Caneca(CARVALHO, 06/22/2003).

Amid this context, a favorable economic situation combined with a significant increase on the real estate market in the city of São Paulo, as well as with the growth of leisure businesses primarily intended for a GLS or gay-friendly[10] audiences were responsible for the perception of FreiCaneca Street as a space with predominant gay audiences. Within this 'gay circuit'[11] of FreiCaneca, one may also include significant flows in Augusta Street[12], a parallel street endowed with diverse audiences, whether we discriminate by purchasing power, gender, sexuality and lifestyles (VEGA, 2008), the so-called social markers of difference. There are also cartographic changes andrecent displacements of homosexualcircuits in this period. First locatedin the region of Jardins[13], at Consolação Street, next to Paulista Avenue, the displacement to FreiCaneca Street left many shops and leisure businesses bound forgays and lesbians audiences closed today.

More recently, FreiCaneca Street has gained prominence due to the controversy created around the project made by a GLS association that aims to "revitalize" the street and also make it anofficial thematic

[7] Sao Paulo state department. Law n. 10.948, November, 5th, 2001: 'Dispõesobre as penalidadesaplicadas à prática de discriminaçãoemrazão de orientação sexual e dáoutrasprovidências' (in english: 'Provides penalties to the practice of discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation and other measures').

[8] Commonly used protest against discrimination of homosexuals. At the event, many same-sex couples kisses in public. In this particular event, the mall management, aware of the negative impact of the expulsion, took advantage of the event to make it a party, adorning your hallways with rainbow flags and hiring a DJ. A similar situation can be observed during theLGBT Pride Parade realization on weekends, since the mall is close to the streets of the march. For further information, see Frúgoli Jr. (2008).

[9] *Boneca*is a pejorative term that refers to male homosexuals and transvestites.

[10] GLS stands for Gay, Lesbian and Sympathizers and commonly refers to commercial premisses who aims this audience. Gay-friendly is a term widely used in the United States to designate businesses that do not discriminate against homosexuals (FRANÇA, 2006).

[11] According to Magnani (1996, 45) a circuit "unites facilities, spaces, and equipments characterized by the exercise of a particular practice or offer a particular service. However, they are not contiguous in the urban landscape, being recognized in its entirety only by their users (...)".

[12] Augusta Street, on parallel stretch to FreiCanecaStreet, is historically known for the presence of female prostitutes on the streets and houses of prostitution. About five years ago, the investment in distinguished bars and nightclubs is changing its attendance, as well as the purchasing power of the goer and their new investments. It is currently under construction a luxury apartment building next to one of these brothels.

[13] It is an upper middle classandupper class neighborhood, mainly residential, with spots for luxury commerce. It is located at the opposite side of FreiCaneca Street, using Paulista Avenue as a reference.

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"gay street"[14]. However, thesubject that proved important to be explored, and that still generates discussion is the controversy created around the project of turning FreiCaneca Street into officially gay street. Some actors became central in this discussion due to their use of the idea of a local gay ghetto. In order to provide a better understanding of the conflicts over the definition of the legitimacies around FreiCaneca Street, I recover onwards the major events on the subject, still in vogue, as well as my ethnographic data.

In July 2008 the newly created AssociaçãoGLS CasarãoBrasil (CasarãoBrasil GLS Association)[15] president, Douglas Drummond, presented the project to the press to make a FreiCaneca Street an official thematic street, in this case, a gay street. Based on data from internet searches on what would be Sao Paulo gayest street[16] and a visual investigation done by his assistant, Drumond definedFreiCaneca Street as a street "made by gays". In his own words, "just look at the street to see, there's no need to ask"[17] . Thus, in their view, in order to defend the project, a visual examination was enough to define the prevalence of this public. According to the press (PRONSATO, 08/13/2008), the project relied on the support of then town councilors Sonia Francine (PPS) and Netinho (PSDB)[18].

Shortly after this presentation, the Sociedade dos Amigos e Moradores de Cerqueira César - Samorcc (Society of Friends and Residents of Cerqueira César), represented by its then president, Celia Marcondes[19] , stood against the project: "I hope the FreiCaneca Street is a street for everyone. The streets are public for everyone. They can't be a ghetto".Marcondes argued that not all street residents are gay and that they could not live with this stigma. She also pointed out the existence of children and elderly and a centennial parish church atFreiCaneca Street data to be considered on the issue.

Associação da Parada do Orgulho LGBT de São Paulo - APOLGBT (LGBT Parade Association[20] of Sao Paulo) joined the discussion. Responsible for organizing the LGBT Pride Parade in Sao Paulo and one of the main articulators of homosexual militancy in the city, APOLGBT believed that the creation of a thematic gay street would generate a space for homosexuals segregation, a "ghetto", when in fact the community needed to fight the acceptance of "sexual minorities" in all public parks in the city.

Much of the literature with focus on gay ghettos at Sao Paulo took as an example the north-American researches on the paradigmatic case of some neighborhoods in the city of San Francisco (Levine, 1979). In the Brazilian case, the expression was not carried out without a series of mediations. Often, the concept of gay ghettos refers to a fluid grouping of shops aiming to or frequented by gays. The ghetto was, thus, either the expression of these individuals movement through leisure or an important political marker of public and visible[21] existence. However, the notion of no madism characteristic of this group, as shown by Perlongher (2008 [1987]) about Sao Paulo's gay ghetto, if connected to the Chicago School's "moral region" conception[22], provides an important starting point for reflection on the recent territorial changes at the gay city spaces of sociability. None the less, rather than presenting a ascertainment based on reliable data, to talk in the constitution of a gay ghetto in FreiCaneca Street indicates, primarily, political positions of actors who regard themselves as legitimated to talk about the street. There is no evidence of large contingent of openly gay residents, but only the observance of gay audiences presence and preference to various public spaces in the street, alongside other groups not directly related to homosexualities.

Even the notion of gay circuit in the region of FreiCaneca should be qualified. Although there is a concentration of establishments identified with a sticker,

[14] Sao Paulo city has at least 52 thematic streets (Bride street, Brand street, etc). Only few of those are officially recognized as a thematic street.

[15] This association had its headquarters closed as a result of real estate investments in the area. Douglas Drumond was the owner of the "largest gay sauna in Latin America," the 269, a shed located at BelaCintraStreet. The sauna space was rented and was sold to a building company, who is completing the construction of a residential building with back view to Augusta Street, at the stretch of some still existent brothels. According to Drummond, on his personal page, the sauna income kept the Association CasarãoBrasil site - a colonial style mansion - opened. Without these gains, it was not possible to keep the rented mansion. The attendance activities were terminated in July 2011. About a year later (April 2012), Douglas Drumond opened another project, also focusing on sexual entertainment (the "hotel for single men" Chilli Pepper) in Arouche Square, at República district, a space that can be regarded as a counterpoint to FreiCaneca Street at the speech lines highlighted in this article.

[16] See the article "Gay Caneca", 07/21/2008. Avaiable at *MixBrasil* website.

[17] Interview conducted in april/2009.

[18] PPS is thePopular Socialist Party (Partido Popular Socialista), which, despite its name, maintains a right ideological positioning, as well as the PSDB, Brazilian Social Democratic Party (Partido Social DemocrataBrasileiro).

[19] Marcondes is identified as one of the responsibles for the court proceedings that forced most businesses targetting gays and homosexuals audiences to close during the last 15 years at Jardins district.

[20] *LGBT*is the acronym used by gay rights movement and brings together lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (transvestites and transexuals).

[21] On different approaches of this expression see MacRae(1983),Simões&França(2005), França (op. cit.) ePerlongher (2008). One might even infer a similarity between the notions of gay ghetto and circuit, as understood by Magnani, concerning the prevalence of commercial sites that targets in a given locality.

[22] It is inevitable - Park argues - that individuals who seek the same forms of entertainment should, from time to time, meet at the same place."These areas population - not necessarily its residents, but the ones who wander about this spot - 'tends to segregate not only according to interests, but according to tastes and temperaments" (Perlongherapud PARK, 1973, p.64).

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and even though I was able to assess the constant changes in addresses of these locations, it was not possible to observe a contiguous or minimally localizable space with businesses that aimed preferentially gay audiences. Furthermore, most of these businesseslies on the sidewalk next to the mall and there are many proper establishments for this audience in various other parts of the city and many others at FreiCaneca Street and Augusta Street's neighborhood.

There's even a local disagreement between which of the two streets (FreiCaneca and Augusta) have begun thechanges and improvements process in the region. As could be seen on my field experience: Was it the inauguration of the mall, real estate constructions, and gay presence in FreiCanecaStreet? Or the opening of bars and nightclubs, as well as the occupation of the street by individuals with progressively morepurchasing power at the expense of prostitutes in Augusta? What is certain is that ethnography allowed to observe the continuous circulation of Augusta's and FreiCaneca's goers through the connection made byPeixotoGomide Street, aspace where identity differences are particularly marked.

Augusta Street watched the capture of its spaces by a group generically called emos[23] after the opening of some nightclubs directed to musical styles such as rock and electronic music. Besides occupying much of its driveways on Friday's nights, some crowds sits on the pavements of PeixotoGomide block in connection withFreiCaneca, drinking and talking, while observing a steady stream of people towards the latter. Apparently mixed in this space, gays and emos, aattentive eye perceives a gradual change in public as you walk inFreiCaneca's direction. At this path, one can observe the decrease on the amount of emos due to the increase of gays. Vega (2008) discusses in a recent study the identity dynamics in Augusta. He was able to recognize identity dynamicsas widely permeated by conflicts related to cleavages as gender, class and race performances, and also the perception of effeminateattitudesas negative. Conflictual relations between different groups are common and have been observed in my ethnographic field experience and also in the press. [24] A symbolic differentiation process was observed between the groups, given that there are no attempts to prevent any group to settle on one or other space. In addition, It's possible to infer how individuals of either group wouldn't be able to recognize themselves, despite a more general discourse that undertakes fixed identity separationsamong those who understand themselves as gay or not, a kind of masculinity gradation to be witnessed accordingly to the space occupied in a same street.

"Hitting on atthe mall": desiring flowsand consumption spaces

The research and ethnographic field incursions initiated at FreiCaneca Mall. The study conducted into this business premises intended to understand the internal uses and dynamics between the various audience types, shopkeepers and other social actors with regard to the general idea of gay audience majority. Afterwards, it became essentialto pay special attentionon the movement flow of people on FreiCaneca Street and surroundings due tothe context described above, and its importance to comprehend the conformation of identities fixed in a space.

Research on shopping malls, willing to analyze consumption, rarely are interested on sociability constitution among its audience, far fewer interested on the audience's symbolic ties. Except for the pioneering work of Frúgoli Jr. (1990), there is little research in this direction[25]. We must stress the importance of Douglas & Isherwood (2004) critics on consumer relations in the western context.Usually seen as satisfaction of basic survival needs orhedonistic and superficial practice ofassetsacquisition; the two authors indicate this ideology, commonly linked to the 'rational individual' and economistic theories,do not consider the possibility of social construction through symbolic valuation and acquisition of certain assets. Thus, Douglas & Isherwood (2004) attempt to demonstrate that the world of goods is endowed with cultural data and, therefore, "saying an object is fit for consumption is the same as saying that the object is likely to travel as a marker of particular sets of social roles "(p. 41). Similarly, it is possible to say that a place, such as a mall, is able to bring together certain" sets of social roles" not always predicted, as shown by Frúgoli Jr. (1990) through the analysis of the use of its spaces by diverse young groups. Moreover, it also can be seen in FreiCaneca Mall, in my attempt to understand how some markers brought together or set apart individuals from diverse groups.

[23] According to Vega (op. cit., 71): "Emo is a youth style derived from punk. Due to great commercial success among young crowds (...) the style eventually spread to several cities in the country. On account of disputes with other symbolic aspects of punk, emos were widely criticized and the term became pejorative outside style supporters circle". Though I highlight differences between gays and emos, I do not intend to state that the individuals present on my field experience cannot be understood in either group. I only aim to say that there's lines that could lead to the latter understanding.Nowadays, there's a perception of reduction in this audiences.

[24] On 06/12/2009 evening, the eve of the 13th LGBT Pride Parade in Sao Paulo, I witnessed a boy sitting on PeixotoGomide street, close to FreiCaneca street, being assaulted at the head with a skateboard. His acquaintences and other people at the scene said the attackers were either skin heads, punks or skaters, triggering various group identities present in that spot. For further information, see Redação – Folha de São Paulo (06/15/2009).

[25] The excelent work by Isadora LinsFrança, "Consumindolugares, consumindonoslugares: homossexualidade, consume e subjetividadenacidade de São Paulo" (2012) is one of the rare examples that attempts to fill the gap in the subject.

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As social roles markers, the "temples of consumption" mark identities and political positioning spaces - as occurred with beijaço - as well as unanticipated uses of its spaces[26]. Even the location of certain social identities can be observed in enclosed spaces of the mall, even though it is not fully outside the daily local dynamics. Withal, such socio-sexual identities in flow often overlap with other local audiences and must be understood relationally.

A way to define some groups and attempt to create a more precise classification, though not definitive, was watching body and dress codes. Wearing brand X or Y of clothing not only helped me to locate myself, but served to situate common groups. For example: showing off sporting muscles in a tight T-shirt creates a space interdiction of access to men if they are not using code similar. Another way is to observe the intensity of flows in some venues of the mall, the existence of meetings spaces and also interaction among individuals. Thus, to behave like common audience of FreiCaneca Mall, sitting on benches and in the food court, going to cafes and stores, allowed me a broader picture of the local dynamics. But it did not solve my insertion or interaction problems.

Some findings are noteworthy. The discovery that certain clothing stores were identified more closely with a certain group, as well as the observations of interactions and conversations between groups of friends and the confluence of male couples holding hands and even kissing occurred inside the mall, which is difficult to observe on the street. These data are crucial in the formation of a average homosexual identity of the mall audience. At an initial ethnographic process, knowledge of specific pieces of certain brands of clothing helped in the previous construction of some groups in affluence to the mall and its corridors; it also helped me to better determine local indices of masculinity, such as voice intonation, muscles on display, famous brands boasts, and attendance to certain spots.

Thus, one can recognize a very intense presence of young men commonly identified as gays (for themselves and to others) especially with three clothing stores. One has broad exposure in magazines and websites targeting gay audiences. This particular shop also publishes a calendar with pictures of men in underwear, one of the main items sought and highlighted at the shop's display window[27]. The other store exists only in FreiCaneca Mall also sells male clothing, but used to have an area of women's clothing. The last shop also has a significant attendance of gays, but in smaller numbers compared to the previous ones, and has a smaller foot print[28]. The first two stores mentioned are opposite each other and form anintense circulation space.

These stores also serve as a meeting point and as reference for those who want information about nightclubs GLSparties. At these shops, an emphasis on consumption of underwear is common. Its acquisition is valued within the younger group of gay audiences who are used to working out at gyms. Two of these stores can only be found at FreiCaneca Mall and Franca Street, near the site of Jardins neighborhood that once had a large concentration of facilities geared to gays (FRANÇA, 2006, p. 49-51). There is also the presence of men defined as maricon as (effeminate and old gay, with no sex appeal) or tias (literally aunts, also old and effeminate gay men)by the groups of gays cited above, older gays, boasting beards and a less defined body[29] usually detected in cafes.

There is a both public and private feature of malls. On one hand, they allow access to certain people and, at the same time, they limit it to others. On the other, they expect that most of the regulars were in leisure moments on their use of the mall premises. As shown in many of the speeches I collected, the leisure ambiance became a reasonable obstacle in approaching informants and became a significant ethnographic data, since it is expected to be in this "closed, private" space without being bothered by others. This perspective also informs one of the mall use done by several regulars homosexuals, that is, to walk freely with their teammates, making flirting contacts and mutual cognition, and as I will address later, furtive sexual contacts in specific spaces. These actions were possible because, in this site, they are free of misfortunes, guaranteed by the security of the mall. Such dynamics, however, is not unambiguous.

It is important to stress that the ethnographic findings show, in the context of discourses and everyday relationships observed, a simultaneous acceptance and rejection of the idea that the FreiCaneca Mall's space and also FreiCaneca Street are especially frequented by gays. Many of the informants who recognized themselves as gays claimed there was a great contingent of this group at the sites, tracking it by certain aspects such as specific type of clothing, a particular hairstyles, mannerisms and voice intonation. Many of them didn't include themselves in the groups they classified, stating to makerestricted and sporadic use of the mall and bars in the surroundings. It became common to hear statements that addressed adversely

[26] It is known that GLS happy-hours occurs on Mondays at MetrôTatuapéMallmall, located at the east side of Sao Paulo city and attended by low-income crowds (FRÚGOLI JR., 2008, 237-238). In Suzano, one of the cities that make up the metropolitan area of Sao Paulo, there are gay encounters on Saturdays in the town hall square for socializing and for discussion.

[27] It's Foch Store.

[28] It's Anjo da Guarda Store.

[29] They usually define themselves as ursos (bears), but I wasn't able to depeen my relationship with this group at the research.

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to the presence of gays, combined with a classification of the regular crowd by other terms, insulting and connected to an effeminate gender performance. The curious thing was to observe the transition of the informant from a discourse of self-definition as gay to claim that the FreiCaneca Street is full of gays and, shortly thereafter, to state a dislike of this ostensible presence of queer people. Since most of the time I had contact with young men, this is my base analysis, which I intend to expand to other age groups as far as possible.

Two lines exemplify this issue: when I talked with a lad, migrant from Rio de Janeiro and resident on the mall surrounding a few years ago, about what he thought of the mall, he claimed it was a place "full of crazymaricona", referring to some of older men who he identified as gays circulating at the mall. Another respondent claimed the mall as "a place with a making-out climate, full of middle-aged gay men with money." Both stated that they used the mall just to go to the movies and eat at the food court.

Another exemplary speech about the mall importance came from a boy living in the neighborhood of Itaquera[30] claiming the reason to move about from his neighborhood to go to the movies, even with good offer this type of service in his district, to the FreiCaneca was "obvious". At the time of the interview, he was showing the place to a colleague of Santos, south coast of São Paulo, who had heard of the mall. The presence of people from other cities and states is common, due to their prior knowledge of a constant presence of homosexuals. Another young man from Rio de Janeiro said he was passing through town and used the opportunity to know the Sao Paulo "gay mall". He said he was disappointed because he thought the attendance was less intense than he imagined.

Allow me to quote two observations fairly recent and draw attention to the question: in one, I met a gay activist friend to walk around the region of FreiCaneca Street. He promptly asked to go to the Republic Square because he could not stand anymore that lot of bichaqua-qua (quack-quack fag, referring to a voice intonation). Surprised, I asked the reasons of his statement. He haven't elaborate on the topic, but associated the pejorative use of an expression frequentlyrelated to effeminacy to his view of the FreiCaneca audience as snobs. On another day, during the search field, as walked by FreiCaneca Street, a guy was talking on the phone and stated that he was leaving that street because it was "full of viados[31]". These two examples show the series of conflicts that exist and persist at sites recognized as intensely occupied by gays and other public homosexual.

Finally, the continuous observation of the space allowed to infer, for example, the low presence of women couples, walking hand in hand, unlike male couples. Among the latter, the highest frequency can be observed mainly on Sundays. On one of the Sundays that I conducted the ethnographic research there was about fifteen couples, holding hands or exchanging kisses, quietly circulated in the aisles. This is an important fact to be considered in order to highlight the positive and negative opinions regarding these gay flows.

II. Discussing Issues: Flows to the Restrooms and Shifting Boundaries

In addition to walking through the mall and other leisure activities, followed by flirt and paths by the mall corridors that provided the possibility of eyeing others up, there is a specific use of mall popular between the called gay domains:making out in public restrooms or banheirão[32]. This dynamic is not without conflict. There is a sign, visible at the entrance of the male toilets, warning about the penalties of practicing obscene acts in a public place[33] and a dynamic into and out movement of guards and janitors to suppress such acts. On one occasion an exalted janitor thundered against the "filth that viados (queers)"performed in bathrooms, claiming to be able to physically assault those who were caught there. However, this practice does not cease to exist and is typified by a series of unique signs: exchange of glances, gestures and signs shared in the silence.

Rather than indicating a feature common to gay ghetto's culture (POLLAK, 1983), the existence of banheirão has particular meaning to allow our understanding of some belonging and exclusion identity classifications. Although it was filled with negative values on the speeches, many informants directed themselves to restrooms to conduct such interactions. A native term that defines the regulars at restrooms looking for sex is age and gender performance marker: mariconalouca (crazy maricona). Other scholarly works have addressed

[30] Itaquera is a district at the east zone of the city, know as a poor locality.

[31] *Bicha qua-qua*is a pejorative term used by gays. It refers to an individual with effeminate mannerisms and low income, poorer. *Viado* (queer) is a very derogatory term widespread in the general population and it refers to homosexuals men and also generally used when someone wants to offend a supposedly heterosexual.This dynamicresemblesthe Newton (op. cit.) observations on thedrag queensand difference production based ongenderperformances of the investigated individuals.In this sense, fairies can be viewas an approximationto what pejorative term intend to purport.

[32] The practice of banheirão (tearoom practices, in Anglo-Saxon studies), briefly consists in furtive sex between two or more partners within the urinal space. Such sexual exchanges are usually quick and silent and do not exceed the limits of touches and fellatio. It did not take long for me to perceive these practices in the ethnographic field.See Humphreys (2002 [1970]).

[33] The sign says: "'The practice of lewd act in a public or open place, is punishable by imprisonment for three months to a year" (Article 233 of the Brazilian criminal Code). To respect the laws of your country is to ensure your right of citizenship ".

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the types of deprecatingcategorization of homosexual men seen as very effeminate, sometimes defined as "bichas quack-quack" or "poc-poc", not always situated as gays, but as viados (queers), bichas (fagots), mariconas. As previously mentioned, such terms were destined to the other, and never meant a self-identification with these categories. The site observation allowed the questioning of this arrangement at the mall, since some of the regulars who place themselves on a positively valued category were also users of sexual practices at the mall bathrooms.

Rubin (1998), in his assessment about healthy sexuality, builds a framework that enlightens the reality presented here. The author presents a framework in which not monogamous, non-heterosexual and non-vaginal sexuality just only can be allocated as wickedness. In the case of sexual exchanges between some of the individuals mentioned here, taken either as gay or as mariconas, puts in perspective the effeminacy as the nerve centre of identity definition that can downgrade: those evaluated negatively are precisely the effeminate, from whomit is expected a sexual passivity. Despite this assessment of the speeches, I must point out the field aspect of the observations in the sense of deconstructing behavior and acquiring more polite and politically correct conduct about what is said. Nonetheless, it is significant the permanence of effeminate individual at perverse, negative and wrong spectrum. This portrait might not exist in fact, is not known to the speaker, but built by speech.

FreiCaneca Street case is significant: generally speaking the street becomes a gays' space. It is also well perceived by those who walk through it and present themselves as gay, although it does not translate necessarily in a positive sense. It is seen by some individuals self-defined as gay as a space for the presence of homosexual men classified in a effeminate, and therefore negative, sense. Moreover, these divisions conform spaces of identity fixity: a street corner, mall bathrooms, mall shops or mall cafes, as quoted above.

Below, I address how this observed relationship t the mall is very similar to the differentiation process at the space of the street, especiallycorner with intense flows betweenFreiCaneca Street and PeixotoGomide Street, site of overcrowding at night and on week ends.

Society at Corner Street[34]: paths convergence on the street, differing senses identities.

From where can one start to tackle the study of a street or a corner? Would this definition be anmethodological exaggeration to fit a ethnography, as this would not account for an entire street, even in the slightest? And in this case, FreiCaneca Street has a mile long, dozens of residential, commercial, hotels buildings, a mall, and premises being built, in short, a plethora of possibilities to be explored. My choice for this street study was set on two fronts: (1) to treat it as a discursive agent, taken in its whole regarding a broader city context and (2) address the street, in a specific context, most located, aiming mostly its nightlife. Thus, it was possible to enlighten the street, its places and its agents moving, embodying what I call a procedural ethnographic approach[35]. My approach to the field at the corner follows Lopes (2013), referring to his research, conducted in two urban centers located in different national realities, Sao Paulo (Brazil) and Porto (Portugal):

> "therefore, it's sociologist-ethnographerskillto transform the novelty (...), the surprise and the shock into new problems that the research will try to clarify. (...) The immersion that I just spoke off lead me to carry out the walker methodology, similar to what Monica de Carvalho calls the 'rovingnarrative' (...). The roving narratives address territories as empirical settings (in Elias sense: from the simplest networks of interaction and interdependence - meetings, conversations - to the most complex urban societies) and will have omnipresent concern to understand individuals trajectories in the vein of space-times and interaction scenarios, that is, the singularities that the contexts stimulate by triggering certain arrangements at the expense of others. "(p. 52-53)

The notion of "itinerant narrative" seems interesting to consider the process of methodological and analytical insertion. Moreover, yet dissimilar, it can be brought closer to what Perlongherunderstands as "itinerant territoriality", by thinking city spaces without fixing them. But a research includes necessarily a personal approach, whether familiarity or estrangement. In my case, there were two processes in congruence: recognition of space and estrangement of FreiCaneca. I lived for many years on a street very close to FreiCaneca Street. It has always been an easy, simple, quiet, accessiblepath to me; but even this familiarity did not prevent some completely unexpected contexts, monitoring the dynamics of the street, of the public and open urban space.

I tracked some paths that arrive at or depart from the Bar d'ALoca.Gathering place, it is also as differences marker not per se, but through a context that elected it as part of the transitional so-called gay fauna at Sao Paulo city. The bar is nothing more than another one of the pubs style "pé-sujo" [36] that thrived through the

[34] Freely inspired by Foote-White's famous work, "Street Corner Society" (Portuguese edition: Sociedade de Esquina, 2005).

[35] This is a ethnography at the in between. It doesn't attempt to address a ideal reconstruction of past symbols linked to the street, as well as to the "gay street", nor wishes to introduce a static present and much less a future prediction.

[36] Native term used to describe a bar that serves cheap alcoholic beverages and snacks and is fairly marked by slovenliness of the owners about the caring for the premises. Most of the staff is formed by men. There are a few iron tables and chairs and white light

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Huge amount of people who attends it in weekend's nights. As is very close to the A Loca nightclub, it became known as the Bar d'ALoca, but has no direct relationship with the owners of the nightclub. It's used as a sort of "first stop" before the club, a meeting place, and one of the indispensable tour destinations for those who want to present night clubs from a less glamorous point of view.



Map 4 - FreiCaneca Street highlighted in red, PeixotoGomide street highlighted in blue, portraying some of the spots addressed in this article.

Two years ago the bar underwent a renovation that expanded its inner hall as a result of the acquisition of the next door premises. However little has changed in the general characteristics of the place. Blue and white tiles were placed, as well as more tables and chairs, although most people prefer staiyng outside by the sidewalk. There are few tables on the sidewalk and few tables in the site closer to the exit spot. However, combined, these are the ones that raise more competition among the visitors. Depending on the amount of public, even the street space is taken by the regulars. In the surroundings, drinks and food are informally sold and a chewing gum, candy and cigarettes seller has become part of the night landscape through the catchpraise: "Black Halls for blowjob, Green Halls to cunete and Red Halls to roll down the padê"[37] .

She is part of the street attractions, besides the very men and women that circulate in the bar all the time. Because the public on the street is located outside the service area, one must go into the bar and pay for the beer, bringing the beverages to the street afterwards. This creates an intense and constant movement until closing time at 01h in the morning, in accordance with city law that prevents bars without external acoustics insulation from remaining open all night.

At one Sunday late afternoon, circling on FreiCaneca Street, I met Silas[38] (25 years old, Jabaquara) and Cássio (22 years old, Jardim Miriam)[39] leaving the mall after giving information about the region (both wanted to know where was the sauna 269). I toldthem I was conducting a research regarding the street and asked if I could talk with them a little. Initially reticent, they accepted that I talked to them whilst accompanying them until the sauna proximities. Both defined themselves as gay when referring to their own sexuality. As a methodological mean to comprehend how they understood the street and being at the street I asked them to indicate the places they knew or liked:

[37] That seller uses a widely known lexicon for most regulars in the region, as gay slang. This lexicon made her famous. In the highlighted line, "blowjob" is fellatio, "cunete" is the act of licking the anus and "padê" is cocaine.

[38] All names are fictional.

[39] JabaquaraandJardim Miriam are two neighborhoods located in the south of the city. Close together, they are both known by its lower class population and to their proximity to cities of the metropolitan area, defined as outskirts of Sao Paulo.

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Silas: "Ah, ALôca, the corner bar, sometimes, the Bar Verde (Green bar)[40], since it is cheaper. But things here are expensive. The good thing is that it has beautiful boys! Even at the street, drinking, there's no need to get into the club."

Cássio: "I've been at the mall from time to time. At Saturday, I meet Silas, we come here to have some drinks, meet up with some friends, and, there's also the possibility of meeting people we know at the bar, do you want to see?"

Indeed, on Bard'ALoca sidewalk there was two Silas and Cássio's friends, Jorge and Mate us. They both lived near by:

Jorge (27 years old): "At FreiCaneca, down the street, we share"

Silas: "Frei Canecamyass, viado (fagot). The madam here lives at Paim Street[41] ! Tell him already that you are a transvestite! "

Jorge (embarassed, he assumes living at Paim Street): "But it is in a very good place, okay!"

Mateus, 23 years old, Jorge's flatmate, laughs, does not comment on anything, but Silas insists:

Silas: "Come on, Matt, tell him that you live in a slum tenement!"

Mateus: "It is a kitchenette, with Nove de JulhoAvenue[42] land scape, it is beautiful! [Laughs] Before, I got a bitfrightened, we would go out and became a bit suspicious, I had the chills from the idea of getting robbed. But it has been a while that the are some coxin has (cops)by the 14Bis[43]. Although I have a friend that lives there, I know another who lives here lower down, at FreiCaneca Street, no kidding. He was a salesman at Anjo da Guarda Store, you know?"(I say no, despite having done research at the mall.)"He was a doableboy, but not a handsome guy. He was a salesman and he fancied himself! But we used to go to talk in the store, tried to get some VIPs tickets, get good deals, you know? It was cool, now the store has changed a little, but we stop by there from time to time to talk to other friends".

Me:"Women friends?"

Matthew: "No, viada (queer) friends! We hardly know sapatão (butches). If you want to see some dykes you have to go in Tirrenos bar. Here at the Bar Verde, or at the Bar d'ALoca there have little attendance".

At the Bard'ALoca bustle, there are two spaces that people recognize as lesbians spots: the "pool bar" and, to a lesser extent, the Tirrenos, bar restaurant businesses. Iuse the idea of less intensity as a means to "measure" the understanding that people have of this or that site, since this is not a quantitative survey, but a perception of perceptions. Conducting a ethnography in a busy environment, at a sidewalk, space of intense circulation at the prioritized periods of time for research, transformed my field experience in an act of intelligibility. Through the apparent chaos, it was impossible not to notice a target in various speeches about the closest "pool bar". One shouts: "It is true, there are only"racha"[44] and boys, these punks who lay there on the street". "If you're going to end up there in the street, is open all night, so is a end of evening program!"said another. "I thought it was cool!"says a woman. These are lines that appear at one point, and fades in the other, but they assisted the formation of the spectrum of notions about the spaces and the street.

Silas and Cássio gave up going to the sauna and stayed at the bar itself, with Mate us and Jorge, who also defined themselves as gay, despite the jokes of friends. The idea was to drink a bit, it was still 20h00, and then they would decide where to go:

Cássio: "If we booze up there is still A Loca next door. But I don't like so much there, I never know what kind of music they will play. Sometimes it is the best, but sometimes it sucks. What saves it is the audience, there are some cute guys some hunks, but I think we're going to Bubu[45]."

Me: "And how do you know what will play at Bubu today?"

Cássio: "Some people hands over flyers in here, but it doesn't change that much. Maybe we head to Blue[46] "

Me: "Any others? No clubs here?"

Cássio: "Well, there is always the Bofetada[47] next door, but it is little odd ..."

[40]The Bar Verde is located at PeixotoGomide Street, on the opposite corner of Bard'ALoca. Nowadays, it has parties that goes on through the night, like a nightclub, but before it was just a bar.

[41]Paim Street crosses FreiCaneca Street in its central portion, and differs from the latter for its higher concentration of slum dwellers and brazilian northeast migrants, discriminated by their origins. Currently, Paim Street undergoes through a very strong process of residential change, with the destruction of several of these tenements for the construction of apartment buildings targeted at people with higher purchasing power, similarly to FreiCaneca Street concerninghousing and housing population profile.

[42]Nove de Julho Avenue, in its central portion, is characterized by buildings with kitchenettes and residentes of lower middle class.

[43]One of the best known buildings at Paim Street, with many kitchenettes units and a shopping arcade on the ground floor. The 14 Bis building is known for its alleged massive presence of transvestites residents and drug traffic. Some people defined the building as a occupancy invasion, because of its worn appearance, but this does not correspond to reality.

[44]Pejorative slang for women which refers to the vagina as a "crack", a defectin the woman.

[45] Bubu Lounge is a self-defined gay nightclub located in Pinheiros, in the west area of São Paulo city, and high-priced locality.

46Blue Space, self-defined gay nightclub e located at Barra Funda neighborhood, at west area of São Paulo.

[47] Opened in 2011, o Bofetada Club is at the opposite corner of Bar d'ALoca and is characterized by low light, older couples presence on the ground floor (bar area), and the presence of younger men and women (from 18 to 25 years on average) on upstairs dance floor. The nightclub is quite muffled and attracts a large and loyal public, despite

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Silas: "It's dreadful there! Only poor, ugly bichas (fags), it seems like you are to República district! And no air conditioning, it's all in cooling fan base! I'm not going there! "

Me: "But nowhere else around here? Augusta? "

Silas: "But Augusta [Street]has viado (queers) [48] ? I see only skaters, bros, those sort of people. No, viado (queers) clubs aren't at Augusta."

This seems to be a widely shared view among the street regulars, and this corner (FreiCanecastreet with PeixotoGomide street) of the region. Not necessarily about the Bofetada, but about the sites that on will not, or would not go, acknowledging these as ugly, similar to places located Arouche-República's region, with "shitty people".

This definition and antagonism toundesirable types and places became clearer in conversation with other informants, like Adriano. White, tall, clear-eyed, self-defined as gay, Adriano was 23 years old, lived with his parents at Bela Vista neighborhood and had graduated in Journalism at FundaçãoCásperLíbero, number 900 of Paulista. As a better place for us to talk, he chose another bar, the Frey Café & Coisin has, quite close to FreiCaneca Mall, because it was "tidier": "The Bar d'ALoca is also gay, but is very 'shitty'."

Adriano relates his purchasing power to a greater tolerance, information and "culture." In his view, there was a clear circulation of people with lower income and therefore less information and training at the FreiCaneca Street are and the mall:

Adriano: "People of lower income are more ignorant, have more prejudice, and are very misfortuned, "poor ones". Still, I think there are people with less purchasing power with more open-minded at FreiCaneca Mall. In my opinion, someone with more money, a family-type, is more prone to feel good about being gay, and about their own situation as a gay person. Actually the mall has become a 'gay den', but this is good because people can greet with kisses, exchanging affection without major problems. At first I thought it was a normal mall after I realized two flirting practices. One was in the mall bathroom. I was at the urinal and the guy at my side began to show his hard cock, trying to pick on me. I got out of there quickly and realized that it was a common activity there. [Laughs] I do not come here for sightseeing. Because, well, everything is related to money, to purchasing power. The lower the social class, the more bichapco, bichapoc-poc[49], and the less education and culture. It happens because there are effeminate gays and gay men, but these have difficulties on recognizing that they are gay. "

Me: "And how would you define FreiCaneca Street, where it is in town?"

Adriano: "The street is at the centre, at old Augusta, downtown Augusta, theoretically poorer. The Augusta has Centre feel: it has beggars, bitches, it gives fright of being mugged as you go down the street. However FreiCaneca Street is gay, so if you go down the street is not so scared because gay is not violent, you feel at home. The street is quiet even when it's crowded. The FreiCaneca Street is warm, you feel at ease. Even trade employees here have a more open-minded view of world because of their constant contact with gay audiences. The street became a way of gay audiences having their spot. Every city has a gay spot, at São Paulo, the most famous, is here, the FreiCaneca Street. In the centre, there was a gay street previous to FreiCaneca, I can't recall its name, but here's the gay street now here, because, at downtown, there's only a minor crowd, very marginalized and FreiCaneca offers a better option. "

In Adriano speech, FreiCanecais positively identified at some spots, like FreyCafé &Coisinhas, chosen by him for the conversation and the Barão de Itararébar, located at PeixotoGomide Street and characterized by its higher prices and an older audience. It's Centre, downtown Augusta and has in itself a movement of people with less acquisitive power, more "ignorant", more "misfortuned". But still, there is something positive in this less desirable position.

A similar idea was introduced to me by Fernando, who was even more definitive in his Centre definition, as well as his definition about the location of FreiCaneca and its unwanted people. I met Fernando through acquaintances. He was introduced to me because of his frequent visits to FreiCaneca Street, especially to the Bar d'ALoca and ALocanightclub. At 22 years old, self-identified as gay, Japanese descendent, Fernando resided at Penhadistrict, at Sao Paulo city east zone, and worked at Paulista Avenue. At his suggestion, we went to the Mall Center 3[50]. In his view, this mall is part of the same space that was going to be our topic of conversation, the FreiCaneca surroundings. I asked him what was the FreiCaneca Street:

of several informants lines that characterize it as undesirable place. After Bofetada's inauguration, three other bars started their businesses right next to it. These bars are mostly frequented by gays and lesbians, having a larger number of the latter regarding other bars in the area.

[48]Other respondents claimed to perceived a heavy gay flow in Augusta Street, parallel to FreiCaneca Street. In fact, Augusta Street congregates more intense and diverse crowds, aside from being part of the paths leading to FreiCaneca Street and vice versa.

[49]Both "ploc-ploc" and "poc-poc" are adjectives that accentuate the effeminacy of a bicha (fag), as a reference to the sound of high heels. "PCO" is an abbreviation for "bread with egg", a term that refers to poverty. That kind of food is seen as the only food option to the poor crowd.

[50]Center 3 is a mall located Paulista Avenue, at a block between Augusta and FreiCaneca streets.

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"To me, it comes down to the mall. Bar d'ALoca only if I'm going to meet friends, I do not like it there. I prefer the Barão deltararébar. It is quiete, you can go there with your boyfriend, ithas a different audience. At the bar d'ALôca, there's too much ploc-ploc, I think all this faggot way is unnecessary"

Fernando says the mall has a gay history and even people from country side know that reputation, even though they haven't been to the site: "There are a lot ofgayzinho (little gays) down there, but it is a more open place. I'm always meeting friends at the mall, but I will not go for a walk there. It is shameless there, you go to the bathroom and see a crowd at the urinal. "

He said he have gone only twice to ALoca (nightclub):

"A Loca is full of cockatiels[51], people with colored hair. But I what I really enjoy is going to The Week[52], when there's theGambiarra party. There is a difference between publics on one place and another. The Week covers people of a higher economic class. You can tell it by the goers' conversation, and also by people's training. Actually, gay clubs at FreiCaneca [Street] I only know A Loca. There's the Bofetada, but it is a bar, the climate there is cool, relaxed, and the audience is very different from ALoca, less over the top. Gay bar, to me, there's only Bar d'ALoca."

And FreiCaneca street differs much from Augusta street?

"A gret deal! FreiCaneca Street is gay, has more club options and prettier things. The street itself is prettier. Augusta Street is more underground, more dark, with old buildings. Its crowd is ... more indie rock, over the top. But there are crowds from both streets that moves between them. But it is impossible not to know that the FreiCaneca is a gay street, it is even in tourist guides. Here is the gay area of Sao Paulo. Here, at Paulista, it's the southern area of Sao Paulo. But FreiCaneca Street is as the center. I live at Penhadiscrit. It has much more elite features here than there, and I could perfectly live here, specially because in my neighborhood, I live alone. I do not do anything there, I go out much more here. Besides this area, there are also gays at Centre-República site. This region has a concentration of dirty gays, if you talk for too long with them you can even catch a disease, AIDS, for example. At Centre-República surroundings, people dress in a more flamboyant, more colorful way and are less educated. There is also very thin people, who resemble to be sick. República district is also packed with transvestites and male prostitutes, something you do not see here in Paulista Avenue. "

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Márciocan be spotted at the front of the Bar d'ALoca, smoking and drinking a beer at the end of a Saturday afternoon. He is alone, but waits for the arrival of two more friends with similar age to his, 26 years. He lives with his parents and a younger brother at Vila Matilde[53] neighborhood and everyone knows that

Márcio: "I come down here. Working all week in a bank, I make my aqué (a slang for money), they did not even bother me. But they have bothered me a lot, including because I'm gay."

Márciosays he comes frequently to FreiCaneca Street from Augusta Street, but he uses the path between Augusta - PeixotoGomide to get to the Bar d'ALoca, for example.

Márcio: "There's nothing at FreiCaneca! If you go down by Augusta it is already half the fun, you meet someone, it's great. In FreiCaneca Street you do not see anyone. "

Me: "But we are at FreiCaneca Street ..."

Márcio: "Ah, but it is the Bard'ALoca, it is the mall, that's it, here is the spot that congregates everything. I mean, there is some punks there on the street, nearby..."

Me: "InPeixotoGomide?"

Márcio: "Yes, right there, a people hanging loose. Now it is ok, it is quiet, but soon enough they will arrive."

At the corner, a man is walking a cat and stops to have a beer. The cat, siamese, is loose, approaches with curiosity some people. Some people approach the black, medium height, dressed casually man. Come near the cat, and it seems to does not care much, its owner has a half smile on his face. The cat almost meets me in his path, but it goes away. It climbes the table, gets into a woman's lap, dandling itself, and, afterwards, it gets back to its owner. I stand up and ask, "Do you live around here?" He replies without paying much attention: "Yes, one block away." I realize that I'm disturbing and I return to the table.

The street dynamics goes on. People go, stop, talk to each other. Some follow other paths, heading for the continuation of PeixotoGomide Street, going towards the Barão de Itararé street. Others sit on sidewalks, where nearly a hundred very young boys and girls must be right now. They drink, they laugh, they walk to the other sidewalk. The movement seems to indicate very different paths, but the concentration shows certain spots of interest and must stop places, such as the Bar d'ALoca. You can get in or not, but when you pass by it, just by being there, you define who you are. Being in another bar, in another part of the corner may imply another configuration, even another mapping of the city.

[51]Fernando refers to a white bird with yellow fluff at the top of the head, comparing it to people with decolored or bright colors dyed hair, regulars of A Loca nightclub.

[52]A large self-defined gay nightclub located at Lapa district, west area of São Paulo, known by its affluent audience. França (2012) has an interesting comparative analysis between different parties and nightclubs in São Paulo, including a detailed analyses about The Week.

[53]East sideneighborhood of São Paulo.

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III. The Street that Does not Stand Still: Some Final Thoughts

The legitimatingtopicconcerning the belonging to FreiCaneca Street found at the field visits and talks with interlocutors its answer through the observation of actors empowered to talk about it, define it, act on its behalf, be part of its life, and circulate by it. At the heart of the matter is the Centre: FreiCaneca is a geographical and symbolically center. And at the core of the discourses is also the definition of permitted sexuality, but not permissive. Controlled and very homogeneous, closely connected to what Rubin (op. cit.) concludeconcerning "good" or "bad" sexualities. Although I reckon that I am describing novelties at this direction, but I believe I can bring up new epistemic conformations: city and sexuality, two converging points of social life understanding.

As in the previously described talks with goers, the speeches of Bard'ALoca staffduring Sao Paulo LGBT Pride Parade setthe tone to this convergence spot of the place studied. A great part of the bars of this site boast flags, balloons, inflatables, except the Bar d'ALoca. "No need," said a waiter, "people come here anyway." In front of the barO Freia stage presentation of drag queens and gogo boys followed electronic music was set in this day two consecutive years. The street corner gets filled up. Following the initiative, Bofetada bar also put in speakers; but the public chooses to pullulate at Bard'ALoca.

Part of this FreiCaneca Street's dynamics has changed its intensity during the time of the LGBT Parade, since this space is in the middle of the protest route[54] . The town gets quite hectic, but, certainly, not the whole city. Yet most of the participants of the event who are not from Sao Paulo city and also visiting the city.

The event program is prior to the march. The prior wednesday before Corpus Christi holiday[55] - temporal point of reference to the realization of the Parade - there is a large movement of people, parties and side events that intends to attract the flow public at Sao Paulo. Part of these events, for many visitors, is being on the street, like strolling at FreiCaneca Street. There are several guides for foreigners that indicate a walk in this street as a way to meet gay life that vibrates at Sao Paulo. This guide can include the mall, sometimes defined as a mall that targets the gay audience, and even bars and nightclubs in the vicinity[56].

It would be frivolous to assert that the city's program turns exclusively to the environs of Paulista Avenue and FreiCaneca Street because of the parade. There is a spreading of consumption possibilities and private fun at the Sao Paulo west area, as well as an intense and historicaloccupation of Vieira de Carvalho Avenue, at Arouche–Repúblicasurrondings. However, the presence of a large number of people circulating through FreiCaneca and Augusta streets, though resembling the movement at Vieira de Carval hoat times, sharply differs from the flow of the latter avenue if we consider the space occupied by the crowds.

This discovery became clear in 2011, when some of the Parade public who weren't following anymore the convoy of electric trios toward Franklin Roosevelt Square changed their path at FreiCaneca Street. Groups of six, seven, fifteen people would go down through FreiCaneca Street to reach the March at Consolação Street. Some called it a day at FreiCaneca Street, going to Frey bar. "Now the fad is to hang about at FreiCaneca, nobody goes to República district, there has only ugly people", said a young man with a friend. Fact is that much more people continues their path down to República and its surroundings instead of remaing at FreiCaneca Street, crowding bars, saunas, nightclubs, porn cinemas, and mainly the streets of this district. But being at FreiCaneca Street is to be among the beautiful, attractive people, the interesting ones.

Sexuality is producing the city. What stands out at FreiCaneca Street is the emphasis on sociability places known and recognized as gay, or by its homosexual massive presence. It is the possibility of a social and geographical comprehension of São Paulo from a semantic matrix based on differences. Such differences are expressed, primarily, through an understanding about attitudes, behaviors and sexual identities rates that flow around a general idea of male homosexuality, a notion of being gay. This research express very clearly that being gay can be better comprehended as a state, the state of being gay. This states can be grasped when one refers to oneself, or when one refers to the individual that speaks of himself through contrast with others that are allocated in a different space, elsewhere. Roving narratives emerge allocating territoriality. Identity place may change, though they may seem fixed in the same spot. I don't intend to suggest that this is a universal movement, neither in the scope here presented, nor in the relationship dynamics and sociability gay sites, but there seems to be a more general process of defining oneself

[54] Gay Parade path starts at AvenidaPaulista avenue and goes through Consolation street in direction to República neighborhood. FreiCaneca Street is right in the middle of this path.

[55] Catholic Holiday with different dates every year, most frequently occuring in May or June. This date was chosen a while ago by APOLGBT as a strategy to gather a greater amount of public.

[56] Catholic Holiday with different dates every year, most frequently occuring in May or June. This date was chosen a while ago by APOLGBT as a strategy to gather a greater amount of public.

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in opposition to one another that is not semantically close.

Take the example of relationships built on a spatiality as a corner, the intersection of two quite narrow streets that earn the definitions presented here by its use, occupancy and seizure, definitions whose vector are meetings mediated by leisure, consumption and affective-sexualinterests. In a few meters site, one can finda gay spot but also a bicha spot, a viado spot, a"pco" spot, a "ploc-ploc" spot. Who speaks at Bard'ALoca and looks to the opposite corner, just ahead, defines himself as gay, but do not see gays or observes them. The dynamics of this bar shuffles what could suggest a contrast setting: consumers and strollers of these streets (FreiCaneca and PeixotoGomide) circulate among the people of Bar d'ALoca and also moves to the other corner, follow the PeixotoGomidepathto Augusta street and go to FreyCafé & Coisinhas.

But not all do: Adriano, in FreyCafé &Coisinhas, is categorical in saying that he doesn't go to Bard'ALoca, Fernando describes displeasure when sitting at the spot and the nightclub that gives its name. Both Adriano and Fernando, show that they are gay, and not something else, because there are not in those spaces for which they assign another illegitimatesexuality understanding. The space they occupy and demonstrate interest, as well as their own social identity definitions related to their sexuality undergo a process of self legiti macy and their choices while delegitimizing others that do not seem to have made similar choices. These speeches are marked by a sense of space and sexuality fixity that can't find support on observance of local dynamics.

In addition, the emerging city of this data is as diverse as the possible paths to the sites described, that is to say, they obey certain standards, but do not enclose a single definition. For instance, take the idea of city Centre: being at the Centre can be stating where you are, while the place where one do not want to be. Once more Adriano and Fernando enfold the street and its surroundings on an idea of city Centre as, among other things, undesirablemainly because of its crowd. FreiCaneca and Bar d'ALocaboast people who are not like them and they are Centre people. In their turn, the latter hold a fixed homosexuality based on femininity and poverty, on a tacky taste and lack of information, as well as instruction. Features that can be summarized by expressions such as bicha, viado, "poc-poc". There is no doubt that these other people, these other homosexualities, are not on the center of interest and therefore are not in the same position of the speaker, even if they are at the Centre.

Other lines assign these people, the Centre ones, as well as the City Centre, as distant from the informants and congregate another definition to what they mean by this centrality: it is Arouche - Repúblicato conclude, these people are from there. They come to closer spots as Bofetada bar, for example, but are far from equal. Gupta & Ferguson (2000) point out the aspect of social construct on the understanding of spaces, which can be grasped through the relations they enclose and not as something in itself. Furthermore, once such space productioninfers hierarchy and differentiation, "understanding the sense provision as a pratice, how spatial meaning can be set? Who has the power to make places on recognized spaces? Who denies it? What is at stake? "(pp. 37).

I must stress the idea of Sao Paulo Centre has changed a lot, but it is generally defined by dirt, danger and violence. On one hand, images broadcasted by the major media summarize Sao Paulo Centre to Cracolândia[57], to drug traffic, to homeless and beggars folks, to pickpockets and punks, to popular businesses at 25 de Março and Direita streets, to buildings' occupancy by social movements, to prostitution of men and transvestites. On the other, there is also discussion about slight processes ora generalized process known ascity "rehabilitation" or city "revitalization". These processes[58] have as main vehicles of acknowledgement the cultural increase via institutions. Reform and new uses for historic buildings, renovation of squares aiming the expulsion of undesirable people as homeless ones, purchase of properties seen as degraded for very low prices - such as cinemas-palace used as porn cinemas - for the creation of new cultural centers, of events that bring "other crowds" to the Centre, people with alleged greater acquisition power and instruction, as street parties and the Virada Cultural[59] event. The latter, for example, carries in itself a occupancy mark of the city, though this use happens essentially on the streets that make up this historical and abandoned Centre.

What emerges from these statements is not a geographical Centre, defined by a territorial limit. One must understand the official marks that locate the Center. The SéCathedral, to which all the street numbering of the city refers to. Zero point and reference Center, this historical spot vanishes at the conducted field as reference. But even Sé can't be view as a center. The Center district is defined at south by its frontier with Bela Vista neighborhood, at west until Santa Cecilia surrondings, at the north to its boundaries with BomRetiroand Tietêriver, finally, at east, it is marked by

[57] Cracolândia (crackland) is located in the surroundings of Luz subway station, central-north side of the city. It is internationally known by the ostensive presence of crack consummers at the street. See FrúgoliJr. & Spaggiari (2011).

[58] These process are related to different international contexts of gentrification, as described by Zukin (2010).

[59] *Virada Cultural* is 24hlargeeventcreatedin 2005by SaoPaulo city hall. It features hundreds of concerts, theater performances, film showings and interventionsmainly in the Center streets. The event uses as a key discourse the occupancy of the Sao Paulo Centre, as if it was void with no residents.

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its border with Glicério and Parque Dom Pedro II neighborhood. In these limits, the eastern segment of the Centre is the smallest, while the west one, that compriseArouche and República, is greater[60].

Thus, FreiCanecagathers and set apart from the Centre. Itcongregates and distance different forms of sexuality expression. But these distances are not created without hierarchical mediations, marked by symbolic meanings of what it means to be gay and be in the town Centre. It is also marked by one being at interpretations core about the city and life and by one being able to assign the other to a "periphery", out of one own interests. There's the street: within the limits of Paulista Avenue and Caio Prado Street, parallel to Augusta, in Consolação neighborhood. But then, suddenly enough, the street is also not there: it moves to República surrondings, for the Centre. FreiCaneca Street centralizes and creates periphery is at the same time, within a few meters. More than a way of understanding sociability built at a space, or among different spaces and places, the analysis of two bars, apparently diametrically opposed regarding the social-sexual definitions of their goers, shows the city difference dynamic from another point of view, that is, from the perspective that sees sexuality definitions as producers of cities. Sexuality is, after all, good to think about space.

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[60]I was born and raised in Barra Funda district, which nowadays is commonly linked to a proximity to the city Centre, but it was not always like that. During my childhood, my parents said they would have to "go to town" to buy gifts on festive events when they wanted to refer to the big department store Mappin, located at Ramos de Azevedo square, now closed. For them, we did not live at the Centre or in its surroundings. For them, we needed to go to the "city", a purchase site with lower prices, but also of dangerous and dirty. At that time, there were already subway lines that connected my house to the Centre and even so it was seen as a great distance. Today this understanding has changed and Barra Funda does not appear in discourse as displaced from Centre of the town.

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