

1 City Production through Sexuality and Space Appropriation”s 2 Perspective: A Case Study at São Paulo”s Gay Street

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7 **Abstract**

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

18

19 **Index terms**— urban sociology; ethnographic research; sexualities; urban planning; São Paulo city.

20 **1 Introduction**

21 Which identities a space can acquire? What about a public space? For instance, a street, how can it be defined
22 and who is able to do so? A street can acquire a ”sexual identity 1 ”? This article concentrates on some aspects
23 observed in my master”s dissertation 2 . My research was ethnographic based and captures the appropriation
24 of public spaces in large cities 3 as a way of defining a socio-sexual identity, in Author : Social Sciences Phd
25 (Cand.) -State University of Campinas (Unicamp) E-mail : monobruno@hotmail.com 1 The conceptualization
26 of sexual Identity is apprehended here in a similarly way to McIntosh (1998) works, specifically speaking
27 about homosexual roles part of social dynamics.

28 2 ”Se essa rua fosse minha: sexualidade e apropriação do espaço “rua gay” de São Paulo”, translated as ”If
29 this street was mine: sexuality and space appropriation at ”Gay”s street” in São Paulo” (If this street was mine
30 is a reference to a Brazilian”s popular song). Research developed at the Graduate Program of Social Sciences of
31 Federal University of São Paulo (Guarulhos” campus) between September/2010 and February/2013. The master
32 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)
34 of this work to approximate the observation made at São Paulo with the data of Chueca (Madrid), Marais
35 (Paris) and most importantly, Castro (São Francisco) through their differences and similarities. I am particularly
36 interested with the case of Castro neighborhood, to which I had secondary source of information about the
37 increase and decline of real estate market”s prices been closely related to the presence -and absence -of gay men.
38 this case, FreiCaneca Street in São Paulo. In this article, I will address some of the data from my participant
39 observation, which tells how the identity”s definitions are constructed at street”s space and at the spaces on
40 the street. I also tackle how these settings interact with everyday local basis, make possible the separation into
41 groups and trigger political demonstrations. Moreover, I address how these definitions help to outline the city of
42 São Paulo and shift their centralities.

43 FreiCaneca Street is known (and recognized) for its alleged massive presence of gays, name commonly used
44 to refer to male homosexuals. This broadly shared representation has conformed sexual identities fixed in that

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45 space, allowing descriptions of this peculiar fact, as well as the conglomeration of businesses aiming gay audiences
46 and also the aggression and violence from homophobic slant at the surroundings. What is highlighted here is
47 the way by which individuals define themselves at the same time that they define others accordingly to sexuality
48 and the space they occupy (at city and street level). Moreover, the aim is to show what these identity process
49 are configured as a desired setting, positively valued or not, as well as inclusion and exclusion relations of certain
50 groups formed based on such identity process.

51 The emphasis on the identity question does not mean the understanding of identity signs thought a priori,
52 but the speech observed in the locus of study, namely, the definition of a established identity or an identity
53 established through others, which allocates individuals in specific spaces. After a brief contextualization of the
54 researched reality, I will proceed to a further assessment taking as unit of analysis the relationships built in
55 the surroundings of the Bar d'ALoca(Bar of The Loca 4), a corner bar seemingly without great attractions
56 to a specific audience, except for congregating a large contingent on weekends. 4 Places, neighborhoods and
57 natives term as kept throughout the text as they are written or spoken in Portuguese. Whenever possible, an
58 approximate translation will be provided at the first appearance of each word and but they may appear in other
59 sequences if it seems necessary.

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

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

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

70 São Paulo, the largest Brazilian metropolis, brings together about fifteen million people who identify and
71 separate via the most different reasons: tastes, purchasing power, place of residence, etc. The city is also known
72 for its social inequalities, combining a street full of international brands such as Oscar Freire Street and dirt
73 streets on its limits, on the border with other municipalities. On the last ten years, the city is also known for
74 having the largest LGBT Pride Parade in the world, at Paulista Avenue, a major route, symbol of financial
75 capital. More recently, some neighborhoods and regions closer to the old/historical town Centre 5 5 São Paulo's
76 Centre will be written with capital letters when I refer to the neighborhood, which includes Sé (old downtown
77 Center, known as Centro Velho in Portuguese) and Repúblíca (known as Centro Novo, New center, in Portuguese)
78 districts. When the term is employed by interlocutors, I will use quotation marks, since, on the majority of the
79 cases, there isn't an official understanding of where is town centre.

80 have received a number of incentives and increments estate to revitalize degraded areas by time, forgotten
81 by private investment and without attention from the public. This is not necessarily the reality of FreiCaneca
82 Street, located between Paulista Avenue and old town Centre, but it is possible to determine a number of changes
83 occurring there since the last decade.

84 Moreover, I believe that the self-definition and the alter, constructed by the interlocutors, also depends on their
85 city's definition. In this translated version, I opt for the use of "Centre" instead of "downtown" because I believe
86 that part of the meaning of the analysis on the spatially defined Center and the discourses and desirescenter of
87 the speaker would be lost.

88 Map 2 -FreiCaneca Street.

89 Opened at 2001, the FreiCaneca Mall & Convention Center, located in the homonymous street, is one
90 of the symbols of these changes. The Mall has been the scene of several discourses of belonging, flows
91 and identities, concerning the already well know attendance of homosexual audiences. Since at least 2003,
92 one can contextualize the greater disclosure of gay audience due to some events related to Mall FreiCaneca
93 administration's discontinuities with their peculiar audience 6 . In 2003, a couple of men were asked to leave the
94 mall by security for exchanging kisses in public. This act translated in the prosecution of the 6 I use the term
95 in its plural form to highlight the malleability of the so called sexual identities. However, in order to simplify
96 the reading, I will use only the term generally used to refer to gay men, gay, since much of the assignment
97 and discussion regarding identity of belonging to the locus of the research is related to this public. In addition,
98 ethnographic data attest to a greater presence of young men, although the allocation of socio-sexual identities
99 are subordinated to other issues such as gender performance, circulation spaces, etc. A deeper discussion on the
100 subject can be seen in Fry (1982), Carrara&Simões (2007), Butler (2003), Newton (1979), McIntosh (op. cit.),
101 Facchini (2009) and França (2006; 2012) Map 3 -Some spots at FreiCaneca Street shopping mall based on São
102 Paulo state's antidiscrimination law 7 and a public protest in a food court called beijoço 8 . Since then, the place
103 came to be known by the gay audience, mainly earning nicknames that made reference to this, as FreiBoneca
104 (doll 9 , in English) and Gay Caneca(CARVALHO, 06/22/2003).

105 Amid this context, a favorable economic situation combined with a significant increase on the real estate
106 market in the city of São Paulo, as well as with the growth of leisure businesses primarily intended for a
107 GLS or gay-friendly 10 audiences were responsible for the perception of FreiCaneca Street as a space with

108 predominant gay audiences. Within this 'gay circuit' 11 of 7 São Paulo state department. Law n. 10.948,
109 November, 5th, 2001: 'Dispõesobre as penalidades aplicadas à prática de discriminaçaoemrazão de orientação
110 sexual e dáoutrasprovidências' (in english: "Provides penalties to the practice of discrimination on grounds of
111 sexual orientation and other measures"). ?? Commonly used protest against discrimination of homosexuals. At
112 the event, many same-sex couples kisses in public. In this particular event, the mall management, aware of the
113 negative impact of the expulsion, took advantage of the event to make it a party, adorning your hallways with
114 rainbow flags and hiring a DJ. A similar situation can be observed during theLGBT Pride Parade realization on
115 weekends, since the mall is close to the streets of the march. For further information, see Frígoli Jr. (2008). 9
116 Bonecais a pejorative term that refers to male homosexuals and transvestites. 10 GLS stands for Gay, Lesbian
117 and Sympathizers and commonly refers to commercial premises who aims this audience. Gay-friendly is a term
118 widely used in the United States to designate businesses that do not discriminate against homosexuals (FRANÇA,
119 2006). 11 According to Magnani (1996, 45) a circuit "unites facilities, spaces, and equipments characterized by
120 the exercise of a particular practice FreiCaneca, one may also include significant flows in Augusta Street 12 , a
121 parallel street endowed with diverse audiences, whether we discriminate by purchasing power, gender, sexuality
122 and lifestyles (VEGA, 2008), the so-called social markers of difference. There are also cartographic changes
123 andrecent displacements of homosexualcircuits in this period. First locatedin the region of Jardins 13 , at
124 Consolação Street, next to Paulista Avenue, the displacement to FreiCaneca Street left many shops and leisure
125 businesses bound forgays and lesbians audiences closed today.

126 More recently, FreiCaneca Street has gained prominence due to the controversy created around the project
127 made by a GLS association that aims to "revitalize" the street and also make it anofficial thematic or offer a
128 particular service. However, they are not contiguous in the urban landscape, being recognized in its entirety
129 only by their users (...)" 12 Augusta Street, on parallel stretch to FreiCanecaStreet, is historically known for the
130 presence of female prostitutes on the streets and houses of prostitution. About five years ago, the investment in
131 distinguished bars and nightclubs is changing its attendance, as well as the purchasing power of the goer and their
132 new investments. It is currently under construction a luxury apartment building next to one of these brothels.
133 ??3 It is an upper middle classandupper class neighborhood, mainly residential, with spots for luxury commerce.
134 It is located at the opposite side of FreiCaneca Street, using Paulista Avenue as a reference.

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

140 In July 2008 the newly created AssociaçãoGLS CasarãoBrasil (CasarãoBrasil GLS Association) 15 president,
141 Douglas Drummond, presented the project to the press to make a FreiCaneca Street an official thematic street,
142 in this case, a gay street. Based on data from internet searches on what would be São Paulo gayest street 16 and
143 a visual investigation done by his assistant, Drumond definedFreiCaneca Street as a street "made by gays". In
144 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
145 the project, a visual examination was enough to define the prevalence of this public. According to the press
146 (PRONSATO, 08/13/2008), the project relied on the support of then town councilors Sonia Francine (PPS) and
147 Netinho (PSDB) 18 .

148 Shortly after this presentation, the Sociedade dos Amigos e Moradores de Cerqueira César -Samorcc (Society of
149 Friends and Residents of Cerqueira César), represented by its then president, Celia Marcondes 19 , stood against
150 the project: "I hope the FreiCaneca Street is a street for everyone. The streets are public for everyone. They can't
151 be a ghetto".Marcondes argued This association had its headquarters closed as a result of real estate investments
152 in the area. Douglas Drumond was the owner of the "largest gay sauna in Latin America," the 269, a shed
153 located at BelaCintraStreet. The sauna space was rented and was sold to a building company, who is completing
154 the construction of a residential building with back view to Augusta Street, at the stretch of some still existent
155 brothels. According to Drumond, on his personal page, the sauna income kept the Association CasarãoBrasil
156 site -a colonial style mansion -opened. Without these gains, it was not possible to keep the rented mansion. The
157 attendance activities were terminated in July 2011. About a year later (April 2012), Douglas Drumond opened
158 another project, also focusing on sexual entertainment (the "hotel for single men" Chilli Pepper) in Arouche
159 Square, at República district, a space that can be regarded as a counterpoint to FreiCaneca Street at the speech
160 lines highlighted in this article. 16 See the article "Gay Caneca", 07/21/2008. Avaiable at MixBrasil website.
161 17 Interview conducted in april/2009. 18 PPS is thePopular Socialist Party (Partido Popular Socialista), which,
162 despite its name, maintains a right ideological positioning, as well as the PSDB, Brazilian Social Democratic
163 Party (Partido Social DemocrataBrasileiro). 19 Marcondes is identified as one of the responsibles for the court
164 proceedings that forced most businesses targetting gays and homosexuals audiences to close during the last 15
165 years at Jardins district.

166 that not all street residents are gay and that they could not live with this stigma. She also pointed out the
167 existence of children and elderly and a centennial parish church atFreiCaneca Street data to be considered on
168 the issue.

169 Associação da Parada do Orgulho LGBT de São Paulo -APOLGBT (LGBT Parade Association 20 of São
170 Paulo) joined the discussion. Responsible for organizing the LGBT Pride Parade in São Paulo and one of the

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171 main articulators of homosexual militancy in the city, APOLGBT believed that the creation of a thematic gay
172 street would generate a space for homosexuals segregation, a "ghetto", when in fact the community needed to
173 fight the acceptance of "sexual minorities" in all public parks in the city.

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

187 Even the notion of gay circuit in the region of FreiCaneca should be qualified. Although there is a concentration
188 of establishments identified with a sticker, 20 LGBTis the acronym used by gay rights movement and brings
189 together lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (transvestites and transexuals). 21 On different approaches of
190 this expression see MacRae (1983),Simões&França(2005), França (op. cit.) ePerlongher (2008). One might
191 even infer a similarity between the notions of gay ghetto and circuit, as understood by Magnani, concerning the
192 prevalence of commercial sites that targets in a given locality. 22 It is inevitable -Park argues -that individuals who
193 seek the same forms of entertainment should, from time to time, meet at the same place."These areas population
194 -not necessarily its residents, but the ones who wander about this spot -'tends to segregate not only according to
195 interests, but according to tastes and temperaments" (Perlongherapud PARK, 1973, p.64). and even though I
196 was able to assess the constant changes in addresses of these locations, it was not possible to observe a contiguous
197 or minimally localizable space with businesses that aimed preferentially gay audiences. Furthermore, most of
198 these businesseslies on the sidewalk next to the mall and there are many proper establishments for this audience
199 in various other parts of the city and many others at FreiCaneca Street and Augusta Street's neighborhood.

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

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

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

228 Research on shopping malls, willing to analyze consumption, rarely are interested on sociability constitution
229 among its audience, far fewer interested on the audience's symbolic ties. Except for the pioneering work of Frígoli
230 Jr. (1990), there is little research in this direction 25 . We must stress the importance of Douglas & Isherwood
231 (2004) critics on consumer relations in the western context.Usually seen as satisfaction of basic survival needs
232 orhedonistic and superficial practice ofassetsacquisition; the two authors indicate this ideology, commonly linked
233 to the 'rational individual' and economicistic theories,do not consider the possibility of social construction through

234 symbolic valuation and acquisition of certain assets. Thus, Douglas & Isherwood (2004) attempt to demonstrate
235 that the world of goods is endowed with cultural data and, therefore, "saying an object is fit for consumption
236 is the same as saying that the object is likely to travel as a marker of particular sets of social roles "(p. 41).
237 Similarly, it is possible to say that a place, such as a mall, is able to bring together certain" sets of social roles"
238 not always predicted, as shown by Frígoli Jr. (1990) through the analysis of the use of its spaces by diverse
239 young groups. Moreover, it also can be seen in FreiCaneca Mall, in my attempt to understand how some markers
240 brought together or set apart individuals from diverse groups.

241 either skin heads, punks or skaters, triggering various group identities present in that spot. For further
242 information, see Redação -Folha de São Paulo (06/15/2009). 25 The excellent work by Isadora LinsFrança,
243 "Consumindolugares, consumindonoslugares:

244 homossexualidade, consome e subjetividadenacidade de São Paulo" (2012) is one of the rare examples that
245 attempts to fill the gap in the subject.

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

251 A way to define some groups and attempt to create a more precise classification, though not definitive, was
252 watching body and dress codes. Wearing brand X or Y of clothing not only helped me to locate myself, but
253 served to situate common groups. For example: showing off sporting muscles in a tight T-shirt creates a space
254 interdiction of access to men if they are not using code similar. Another way is to observe the intensity of flows
255 in some venues of the mall, the existence of meetings spaces and also interaction among individuals. Thus, to
256 behave like common audience of FreiCaneca Mall, sitting on benches and in the food court, going to cafes and
257 stores, allowed me a broader picture of the local dynamics. But it did not solve my insertion or interaction
258 problems. Some findings are noteworthy. The discovery that certain clothing stores were identified more closely
259 with a certain group, as well as the observations of interactions and conversations between groups of friends
260 and the confluence of male couples holding hands and even kissing occurred inside the mall, which is difficult
261 to observe on the street. These data are crucial in the formation of a average homosexual identity of the mall
262 audience. At an initial ethnographic process, knowledge of specific pieces of certain brands of clothing helped in
263 the previous construction of some groups in affluence to the mall and its corridors; it also helped me to better
264 determine local indices of masculinity, such as voice intonation, muscles on display, famous brands boasts, and
265 attendance to certain spots.

266 Thus, one can recognize a very intense presence of young men commonly identified as gays (for themselves and
267 to others) especially with three clothing stores. One has broad exposure in magazines and websites targeting gay
268 audiences. This particular shop also publishes a calendar with pictures of men in underwear, one of the main
269 items sought and highlighted at the shop" s display window 27 . The other store exists only in FreiCaneca Mall
270 also sells male 26 It is known that GLS happy-hours occurs on Mondays at MetrôTatuapéMallmall, located at
271 the east side of São Paulo city and attended by low-income crowds (FRÚGOLI JR., 2008, 237-238). In Suzano,
272 one of the cities that make up the metropolitan area of São Paulo, there are gay encounters on Saturdays in the
273 town hall square for socializing and for discussion. 27 It's Foch Store.

274 clothing, but used to have an area of women's clothing. The last shop also has a significant attendance of
275 gays, but in smaller numbers compared to the previous ones, and has a smaller foot print 28 . The first two
276 stores mentioned are opposite each other and form an intense circulation space.

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

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

294 It is important to stress that the ethnographic findings show, in the context of discourses and everyday
295 relationships observed, a simultaneous acceptance and rejection of the idea that the FreiCaneca Mall's space
296 and also FreiCaneca Street are especially frequented by gays. Many of the informants who recognized themselves

297 as gays claimed there was a great contingent of this group at the sites, tracking it by certain aspects such
 298 as specific type of clothing, a particular hairstyles, mannerisms and voice intonation. Many of them didn't
 299 include themselves in the groups they classified, stating to makerestricted and sporadic use of the mall and bars
 300 in the surroundings. It became common to hear statements that addressed adversely to the presence of gays,
 301 combined with a classification of the regular crowd by other terms, insulting and connected to an effeminate
 302 gender performance. The curious thing was to observe the transition of the informant from a discourse of self-
 303 definition as gay to claim that the FreiCaneca Street is full of gays and, shortly thereafter, to state a dislike of
 304 this ostensible presence of queer people. Since most of the time I had contact with young men, this is my base
 305 analysis, which I intend to expand to other age groups as far as possible.

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

311 Another exemplary speech about the mall importance came from a boy living in the neighborhood of Itaquera
 312 30 claiming the reason to move about from his neighborhood to go to the movies, even with good offer this type
 313 of service in his district, to the FreiCaneca was "obvious". At the time of the interview, he was showing the place
 314 to a colleague of Santos, south coast of São Paulo, who had heard of the mall. The presence of people from other
 315 cities and states is common, due to their prior knowledge of a constant presence of homosexuals. Another young
 316 man from Rio de Janeiro said he was passing through town and used the opportunity to know the São Paulo
 317 "gay mall". He said he was disappointed because he thought the attendance was less intense than he imagined.

318 Allow me to quote two observations fairly recent and draw attention to the question: in one, I met a gay
 319 activist friend to walk around the region of FreiCaneca Street. He promptly asked to go to the Republic Square
 320 because he could not stand anymore that lot of bichaqua-qua (quack-quack fag, referring to a voice intonation).
 321 Surprised, I asked the reasons of his statement. He haven't elaborate on the topic, but associated the pejorative
 322 use of an expression frequentlyrelated to effeminacy to his view of the FreiCaneca audience as snobs. On another
 323 day, during the search field, as walked by FreiCaneca Street, a guy was talking on the phone and stated that he
 324 was leaving that street because it was "full of viados 31 ". These two Bicha qua-quais a pejorative term used
 325 by gays. It refers to an individual with effeminate mannerisms and low income, poorer. Viado (queer) is a very
 326 derogatory term widespread in the general population and it refers to homosexuals men and also generally used
 327 when someone wants to offend a supposedly heterosexual.This examples show the series of conflicts that exist
 328 and persist at sites recognized as intensely occupied by gays and other public homosexual.

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

334 2 II.

335 Discussing Issues: Flows to the Restrooms and Shifting Boundaries

336 In addition to walking through the mall and other leisure activities, followed by flirt and paths by the mall
 337 corridors that provided the possibility of eyeing others up, there is a specific use of mall popular between the
 338 called gay domains:making out in public restrooms or banheirão 32 . This dynamic is not without conflict. There
 339 is a sign, visible at the entrance of the male toilets, warning about the penalties of practicing obscene acts in a
 340 public place ??3 and a dynamic into and out movement of guards and janitors to suppress such acts. On one
 341 occasion an exalted janitor thundered against the "filth that viados (queers)"performed in bathrooms, claiming
 342 to be able to physically assault those who were caught there. However, this practice does not cease to exist and
 343 is typified by a series of unique signs: exchange of glances, gestures and signs shared in the silence.

344 Rather than indicating a feature common to gay ghetto's culture (POLLAK, 1983), the existence of banheirão
 345 has particular meaning to allow our understanding of some belonging and exclusion identity classifications.
 346 Although it was filled with negative values on the speeches, many informants directed themselves to restrooms
 347 to conduct such interactions. A native term that defines the regulars at restrooms looking for sex is age
 348 and gender performance marker: mariconalouca (crazy maricona). Other scholarly works have addressed
 349 dynamicresemblesthe Newton (op. cit.) observations on the drag queensand difference production based
 350 on genderperformances of the investigated individuals.In this sense, fairies can be viewas an approximationto what
 351 pejorative term intend to purport. ??2 The practice of banheirão (tearoom practices, in Anglo-Saxon studies),
 352 briefly consists in furtive sex between two or more partners within the urinal space. Such sexual exchanges are
 353 usually quick and silent and do not exceed the limits of touches and fellatio. It did not take long for me to perceive
 354 these practices in the ethnographic field.See Humphreys (2002 [1970]). ??3 The sign says: ""The practice of lewd
 355 act in a public or open place, is punishable by imprisonment for three months to a year" (Article 233 of the
 356 Brazilian criminal Code). To respect the laws of your country is to ensure your right of citizenship".

357 the types of deprecatingcategorization of homosexual men seen as very effeminate, sometimes defined as "bichas
 358 quack-quack" or "poc-poc", not always situated as gays, but as viados (queers), bichas (fagots), mariconas. As

359 previously mentioned, such terms were destined to the other, and never meant a selfidentification with these
360 categories. The site observation allowed the questioning of this arrangement at the mall, since some of the
361 regulars who place themselves on a positively valued category were also users of sexual practices at the mall
362 bathrooms. Rubin (1998), in his assessment about healthy sexuality, builds a framework that enlightens the
363 reality presented here. The author presents a framework in which not monogamous, non-heterosexual and
364 nonvaginal sexuality just only can be allocated as wickedness. In the case of sexual exchanges between some of
365 the individuals mentioned here, taken either as gay or as mariconas, puts in perspective the effeminacy as the
366 nerve centre of identity definition that can downgrade: those evaluated negatively are precisely the effeminate,
367 from whom it is expected a sexual passivity. Despite this assessment of the speeches, I must point out the field
368 aspect of the observations in the sense of deconstructing behavior and acquiring more polite and politically correct
369 conduct about what is said. Nonetheless, it is significant the permanence of effeminate individual at perverse,
370 negative and wrong spectrum. This portrait might not exist in fact, is not known to the speaker, but built by
371 speech.

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

377 Below, I address how this observed relationship t the mall is very similar to the differentiation process at the
378 space of the street, especially corner with intense flows between FreiCaneca Street and PeixotoGomide Street, site
379 of overcrowding at night and on week ends.

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

381 From where can one start to tackle the study of a street or a corner? Would this definition be anmethodological
382 exaggeration to fit a ethnography, as this would not account for an entire street, even in the slightest? And in this
383 case, FreiCaneca Street has a mile long, dozens of residential, commercial, hotels buildings, a mall, and premises
384 being built, in short, a plethora of possibilities to be explored. My choice for this street study was set on two
385 fronts: (1) to treat it as a discursive agent, taken in its whole regarding a broader city context and (2) address
386 the street, in a specific context, most located, aiming mostly its nightlife. Thus, it was possible to enlighten the
387 street, its places and its agents moving, embodying what I call a procedural ethnographic approach ??5 . My
388 approach to the field at the corner follows Lopes (2013), referring to his research, conducted in two urban centers
389 located in different national realities, Sao Paulo (Brazil) and Porto (Portugal):

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

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

404 I tracked some paths that arrive at or depart from the Bar d"ALoca.Gathering place, it is also as differences
405 marker not per se, but through a context that elected it as part of the transitional so-called gay fauna at Sao
406 Paulo city. The bar is nothing more than another one of the pubs style "pé-sujo" 36 that thrived through the
407 weekend"s nights. As is very close to the A Loca nightclub, it became known as the Bar d"ALoca, but has no
408 direct relationship with the owners of the nightclub.

409 It"s used as a sort of "first stop" before the club, a meeting place, and one of the indispensable tour destinations
410 for those who want to present night clubs from a less glamorous point of view.

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

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

421 She is part of the street attractions, besides the very men and women that circulate in the bar all the time.

422 Because the public on the street is located outside the service area, one must go into the bar and pay for ??7
423 That seller uses a widely known lexicon for most regulars in the region, as gay slang. This lexicon made her
424 famous. In the highlighted line, "blowjob" is fellatio, "cunete" is the act of licking the anus and "padê" is cocaine.
425 the beer, bringing the beverages to the street afterwards. This creates an intense and constant movement until
426 closing time at 01h in the morning, in accordance with city law that prevents bars without external acoustics
427 insulation from remaining open all night.

428 At one Sunday late afternoon, circling on FreiCaneca Street, I met Silas 38 (25 years old, Jabaquara) and
429 Cássio (22 years old, Jardim Miriam) ??9 leaving the mall after giving information about the region (both wanted
430 to know where was the sauna 269). I told them I was conducting a research regarding the street and asked if
431 I could talk with them a little. Initially reticent, they accepted that I talked to them whilst accompanying
432 them until the sauna proximities. Both defined themselves as gay when referring to their own sexuality. As a
433 methodological mean to comprehend how they understood the street and being at the street I asked them to
434 indicate the places they knew or liked: ??8 All names are fictional. 39 Jabaquara and Jardim Miriam are two
435 neighborhoods located in the south of the city. Close together, they are both known by its lower class population
436 and to their proximity to cities of the metropolitan area, defined as outskirts of São Paulo. 20 Huge amount of
437 people who attends it in Silas: "Ah, ALôca, the corner bar, sometimes, the Bar Verde (Green bar) 40 , since
438 it is cheaper. But things here are expensive. The good thing is that it has beautiful boys! Even at the street,
439 drinking, there's no need to get into the club."

440 Cássio: "I've been at the mall from time to time. At Saturday, I meet Silas, we come here to have some drinks,
441 meet up with some friends, and, there's also the possibility of meeting people we know at the bar, do you want
442 to see?" Indeed, on Bard'ALoca sidewalk there was two Silas and Cássio's friends, Jorge and Mateus. They
443 both lived near by: Jorge (27 years old): "At FreiCaneca, down the street, we share" Silas: "Frei Caneca my ass,
444 viado (fagot). The madam here lives at Paim Street 41 ! Tell him already that you are a transvestite! " Jorge
445 (embarrassed, he assumes living at Paim Street): "But it is in a very good place, okay!" Mateus, 23 years old,
446 Jorge's flatmate, laughs, does not comment on anything, but Silas insists:

447 Silas: "Come on, Matt, tell him that you live in a slum tenement!" Mateus: "It is a kitchenette, with Nove de
448 Julho Avenue 42 landscape, it is beautiful! [Laughs] Before, I got a bit frightened, we would go out and became a
449 bit suspicious, I had the chills from the idea of getting robbed. But it has been a while that there are some coxin
450 has (cops) by the 14Bis ??3 . Although I have a friend that lives there, I know another who lives here lower down,
451 at FreiCaneca Street, no kidding. He was a salesman at Anjo da Guarda Store, you know?" (I say no, despite
452 having done research at the mall.) "He was a doable boy, but not a handsome guy. He was a salesman and he
453 fancied himself! But we used to go to talk in the store, tried to get some VIPs tickets, get good deals, you know?
454 It was cool, now the store has 40 The Bar Verde is located at Peixoto Gomide Street, on the opposite corner of
455 Bard'ALoca. Nowadays, it has parties that go on through the night, like a nightclub, but before it was just
456 a bar. 41 Paim Street crosses FreiCaneca Street in its central portion, and differs from the latter for its higher
457 concentration of slum dwellers and Brazilian northeast migrants, discriminated by their origins. Currently, Paim
458 Street undergoes through a very strong process of residential change, with the destruction of several of these
459 tenements for the construction of apartment buildings targeted at people with higher purchasing power, similarly
460 to FreiCaneca Street concerning housing and housing population profile. 42 Nove de Julho Avenue, in its central
461 portion, is characterized by buildings with kitchenettes and residents of lower middle class.

462 3 43

463 One of the best known buildings at Paim Street, with many kitchenettes units and a shopping arcade on the
464 ground floor. The 14 Bis building is known for its alleged massive presence of transvestites residents and drug
465 traffic. Some people defined the building as a occupancy invasion, because of its worn appearance, but this does
466 not correspond to reality. changed a little, but we stop by there from time to time to talk to other friends".

467 Me: "Women friends?" Matthew: "No, viada (queer) friends! We hardly know sapatão (butches). If you want
468 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
469 attendance".

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

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

483 Cássio: "If we booze up there is still A Loca next door. But I don't like so much there, I never know what

484 kind of music they will play. Sometimes it is the best, but sometimes it sucks. What saves it is the audience,
485 there are some cute guys some hunks, but I think we're going to Bubu 45 ."

486 Me: "And how do you know what will play at Bubu today?" Cássio: "Some people hands over flyers in here,
487 but it doesn't change that much. Maybe we head to Blue 46 " Me: "Any others? No clubs here?" Cássio: "Well,
488 there is always the Bofetada 47 next door, but it is little odd ..." 44 Pejorative slang for women which refers
489 to the vagina as a "crack", a defect in the woman. ??5 Bubu Lounge is a self-defined gay nightclub located in
490 Pinheiros, in the west area of São Paulo city, and high-priced locality. 46Blue Space, self-defined gay nightclub e
491 located at Barra Funda neighborhood, at west area of São Paulo. ??7 Opened in 2011, o Bofetada Club is at the
492 opposite corner of Bar d'ALoca and is characterized by low light, older couples presence on the ground floor (bar
493 area), and the presence of younger men and women (from 18 to 25 years on average) on upstairs dance floor. The
494 nightclub is quite muffled and attracts a large and loyal public, despite Silas: "It's dreadful there! Only poor,
495 ugly bichas (fags), it seems like you are to República district! And no air conditioning, it's all in cooling fan
496 base! I'm not going there! " Me: "But nowhere else around here? Augusta? " Silas: "But Augusta [Street] has
497 viado (queers) 48 ? I see only skaters, bros, those sort of people. No, viado (queers) clubs aren't at Augusta."

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

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

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

510 Adriano: "People of lower income are more ignorant, have more prejudice, and are very misfortunate, "poor
511 ones". Still, I think there are people with less purchasing power with more open-minded at FreiCaneca Mall. In
512 my opinion, someone with more money, a family-type, is more prone to feel good about being gay, and about
513 their own situation as a gay person. Actually the mall has become a 'gay den', but this is good because people
514 can greet with kisses, exchanging affection without major problems. At first I thought it was a normal mall after
515 I realized two flirting practices. One was in the mall bathroom. I was at the urinal and the guy at my side began
516 to show his hard cock, trying to pick on me. I got out of there quickly and realized that it was a common activity
517 there.

518 [Laughs] I do not come here for sightseeing. Because, well, everything is related to money, to of several
519 informants lines that characterize it as undesirable place. After Bofetada's inauguration, three other bars started
520 their businesses right next to it. These bars are mostly frequented by gays and lesbians, having a larger number
521 of the latter regarding other bars in the area.

522 4 48

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

526 purchasing power. The lower the social class, the more bichapco, bichapoc-poc 49 , and the less education
527 and culture. It happens because there are effeminate gays and gay men, but these have difficulties on recognizing
528 that they are gay. "

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

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

543 A similar idea was introduced to me by Fernando, who was even more definitive in his Centre definition,
544 as well as his definition about the location of FreiCaneca and its unwanted people. I met Fernando through
545 acquaintances. He was introduced to me because of his frequent visits to FreiCaneca Street, especially to the Bar

546 d"ALoca and ALocanightclub. At 22 years old, self-identified as gay, Japanese descendent, Fernando resided at
 547 Penhadistrict, at Sao Paulo city east zone, and worked at Paulista Avenue. At his suggestion, we went to the
 548 Mall Center 3 50 . In his view, this mall is part of the same space that was going to be our topic of conversation,
 549 the FreiCaneca surroundings. I asked him what was the FreiCaneca Street: 49 Both "ploc-ploc" and "poc-poc"
 550 are adjectives that accentuate the effeminacy of a bicha (fag), as a reference to the sound of high heels. "PCO"
 551 is an abbreviation for "bread with egg", a term that refers to poverty. That kind of food is seen as the only food
 552 option to the poor crowd.

553 "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
 554 prefer the Barão deItararébar. It is quiete, you can go there with your boyfriend, ithas a different audience. At
 555 the bar d"ALôca, there's too much plocploc, I think all this faggot way is unnecessary" Fernando says the mall
 556 has a gay history and even people from country side know that reputation, even though they haven't been to
 557 the site: "There are a lot ofgazinho (little gays) down there, but it is a more open place. I'm always meeting
 558 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
 559 crowd at the urinal. " He said he have gone only twice to ALoca (nightclub):

560 "A Loca is full of cockatiels 51 , people with colored hair. But I what I really enjoy is going to The Week
 561 52 , when there's theGambiarra party. There is a difference between publics on one place and another. The
 562 Week covers people of a higher economic class. You can tell it by the goers" conversation, and also by people's
 563 training. Actually, gay clubs at FreiCaneca [Street] I only know A Loca. There's the Bofetada, but it is a bar,
 564 the climate there is cool, relaxed, and the audience is very different from ALoca, less over the top. Gay bar, to
 565 me, there's only Bar d"ALoca." And FreiCaneca street differs much from Augusta street?

566 "A gret deal! FreiCaneca Street is gay, has more club options and prettier things. The street itself is prettier.
 567 Augusta Street is more underground, more dark, with old buildings. Its crowd is ... more indie rock, over the
 568 top. But there are crowds from both streets that moves between them. But it is impossible not to know that the
 569 FreiCaneca is a gay street, it is even in tourist guides. Here is the gay area of Sao Paulo. Here, at Paulista, it's
 570 the southern area of Sao Paulo. But FreiCaneca Street is as the center. I live at Penhadiscrit. It has much more
 571 elite features here than there, and I could perfectly live here, specially because in my neighborhood, I live alone.
 572 I do not do anything there, I go out much more here. Besides this area, there are also gays at Centre-República
 573 site. This region has a concentration of dirty gays, if you talk for too long with them you can even catch a
 574 disease, AIDS, for example. At Centre-República surroundings, people dress in a more flamboyant, more colorful
 575 way and are less educated. There is also very thin people, who resemble to be sick. República district is also
 576 packed with transvestites 51 Fernando refers to a white bird with yellow fluff at the top of the head, comparing
 577 it to people with decolored or bright colors dyed hair, regulars of A Loca nightclub.

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

581 and male prostitutes, something you do not see here in Paulista Avenue. " *** Márciocan be spotted at the
 582 front of the Bar d"ALoca, smoking and drinking a beer at the end of a Saturday afternoon. He is alone, but
 583 waits for the arrival of two more friends with similar age to his, 26 years. He lives with his parents and a younger
 584 brother at Vila Matilde 53 neighborhood and everyone knows that Márcio: "I come down here. Working all week
 585 in a bank, I make my aqué (a slang for money), they did not even bother me. But they have bothered me a lot,
 586 including because I'm gay."

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

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

591 Me: "But we are at FreiCaneca Street ..." Márcio: "Ah, but it is the Bard"ALoca, it is the mall, that's it,
 592 here is the spot that congregates everything. I mean, there is some punks there on the street, nearby..." Me:
 593 "InPeixotoGomide?" Márcio: "Yes, right there, a people hanging loose. Now it is ok, it is quiet, but soon enough
 594 they will arrive."

595 At the corner, a man is walking a cat and stops to have a beer. The cat, siamese, is loose, approaches with
 596 curiosity some people. Some people approach the black, medium height, dressed casually man. Come near the
 597 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
 598 path, but it goes away. It climbs the table, gets into a woman's lap, dandling itself, and, afterwards, it gets
 599 back to its owner. I stand up and ask, "Do you live around here?" He replies without paying much attention:
 600 "Yes, one block away." I realize that I'm disturbing and I return to the table.

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

608 5 III.

609 The Street that Does not Stand Still: Some Final Thoughts

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

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

623 Part of this FreiCaneca Street's dynamics has changed its intensity during the time of the LGBT Parade,
624 since this space is in the middle of the protest route ??4 . The town gets quite hectic, but, certainly, not the
625 whole city. Yet most of the participants of the event who are not from Sao Paulo city and also visiting the city.

626 The event program is prior to the march. The prior wednesday before Corpus Christi holiday 55temporal point
627 of reference to the realization of the Parade -there is a large movement of people, parties and side events that
628 intends to attract the flow public at Sao Paulo. Part of these events, for many visitors, is being on the street,
629 like strolling at FreiCaneca Street. There are several guides for foreigners that indicate a walk in this street as a
630 way to meet gay life that vibrates at Sao Paulo. This guide can include the mall, ??4 Gay Parade path starts at
631 AvenidaPaulista avenue and goes through Consolation street in direction to República neighborhood. FreiCaneca
632 Street is right in the middle of this path. ??5 Catholic Holiday with different dates every year, most frequently
633 occurring in May or June. This date was chosen a while ago by APOLGBT as a strategy to gather a greater
634 amount of public.

635 sometimes defined as a mall that targets the gay audience, and even bars and nightclubs in the vicinity ??6 .

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

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

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

662 Take the example of relationships built on a spatiality as a corner, the intersection of two quite narrow streets
663 that earn the definitions presented here by its use, occupancy and seizure, definitions whose vector are meetings
664 mediated by leisure, consumption and affective-sexualinterests. In a few meters site, one can finda gay spot
665 but also a bicha spot, a viado spot, a "pco" spot, a "ploc-ploc" spot. Who speaks at Bard'ALoca and looks to
666 the opposite corner, just ahead, defines himself as gay, but do not see gays or observes them. But not all do:
667 Adriano, in FreyCafé &Coisinhas, is categorical in saying that he doesn't go to Bard'ALoca, Fernando describes
668 displeasure when sitting at the spot and the nightclub that gives its name. Both Adriano and Fernando, show
669 that they are gay, and not something else, because there are not in those spaces for which they assign another
670 illegitimatesexuality understanding. The space they occupy and demonstrate interest, as well as their own

671 social identity definitions related to their sexuality undergo a process of self legitimacy and their choices while
672 delegitimizing others that do not seem to have made similar choices. These speeches are marked by a sense of
673 space and sexuality fixity that can't find support on observance of local dynamics.

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

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

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

702 What emerges from these statements is not a geographical Centre, defined by a territorial limit. One must
703 understand the official marks that locate the Center. The SéCathedral, to which all the street numbering
704 of the city refers to. Zero point and reference Center, this historical spot vanishes at the conducted field as
705 reference. But even Sé can't be view as a center. The Center district is defined at south by its frontier with Bela
706 Vista neighborhood, at west until Santa Cecilia surroundings, at the north to its boundaries with BomRetiroand
707 Tietêriver, finally, at east, it is marked by 57 Cracolândia (crackland) is located in the surroundings of Luz subway
708 station, central-north side of the city. It is internationally known by the ostensive presence of crack consumers
709 at the street. See FrígoliJr. & Spaggiari (2011). ??8 These process are related to different international contexts
710 of gentrification, as described by Zukin (2010). its border with Glicério and Parque Dom Pedro II neighborhood.
711 In these limits, the eastern segment of the Centre is the smallest, while the west one, that compriseArouche and
712 Repúblca, is greater 60 . Thus, FreiCanecagathers and set apart from the Centre. Itcongregates and distance
713 different forms of sexuality expression. But these distances are not created without hierarchical mediations,
714 marked by symbolic meanings of what it means to be gay and be in the town Centre. It is also marked by one
715 being at interpretations core about the city and life and by one being able to assign the other to a "periphery",
716 out of one own interests. There's the street: within the limits of Paulista Avenue and Caio Prado Street, parallel
717 to Augusta, in Consolação neighborhood. But then, suddenly enough, the street is also not there: it moves to
718 Repúblca surroundings, for the Centre. FreiCaneca Street centralizes and creates periphery is at the same time,
719 within a few meters. More than a way of understanding sociability built at a space, or among different spaces
720 and places, the analysis of two bars, apparently diametrically opposed regarding the socialsexual definitions of
721 their goers, shows the city difference dynamic from another point of view, that is, from the perspective that sees
722 sexuality definitions as producers of cities. Sexuality is, after all, good to think about space.

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724 7 60

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

731 Today this understanding has changed and Barra Funda does not appear in discourse as displaced from Centre of the town. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11



Figure 1: C

732

¹Sao Paulo city has at least 52 thematic streets (Bride street, Brand street, etc). Only few of those are officially recognized as a thematic street.

²According 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 acquaintances and other people at the scene said the attackers were

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⁵It'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.© 2013 Global Journals Inc. (US)

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⁷Itaquera is a district at the east zone of the city, know as a poor locality.

⁸2 78 () C City Production through Sexuality and Space Appropriation's Perspective: A Case Study at Sao Paulo's Gay Street

⁹Freely inspired by Foote-White's famous work, "Street Corner Society" (Portuguese edition: Sociedade de Esquina, 2005).

¹⁰This 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.

¹¹2 85 () C City Production through Sexuality and Space Appropriation's Perspective: A Case Study at Sao Paulo's Gay Street

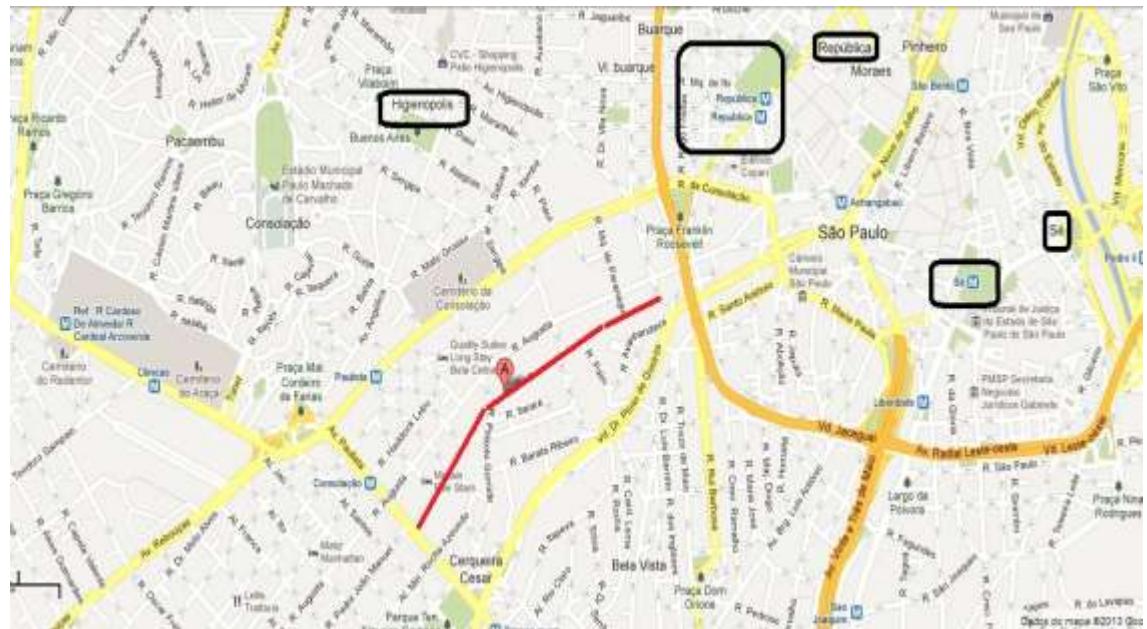


Figure 2: 59



Figure 3:

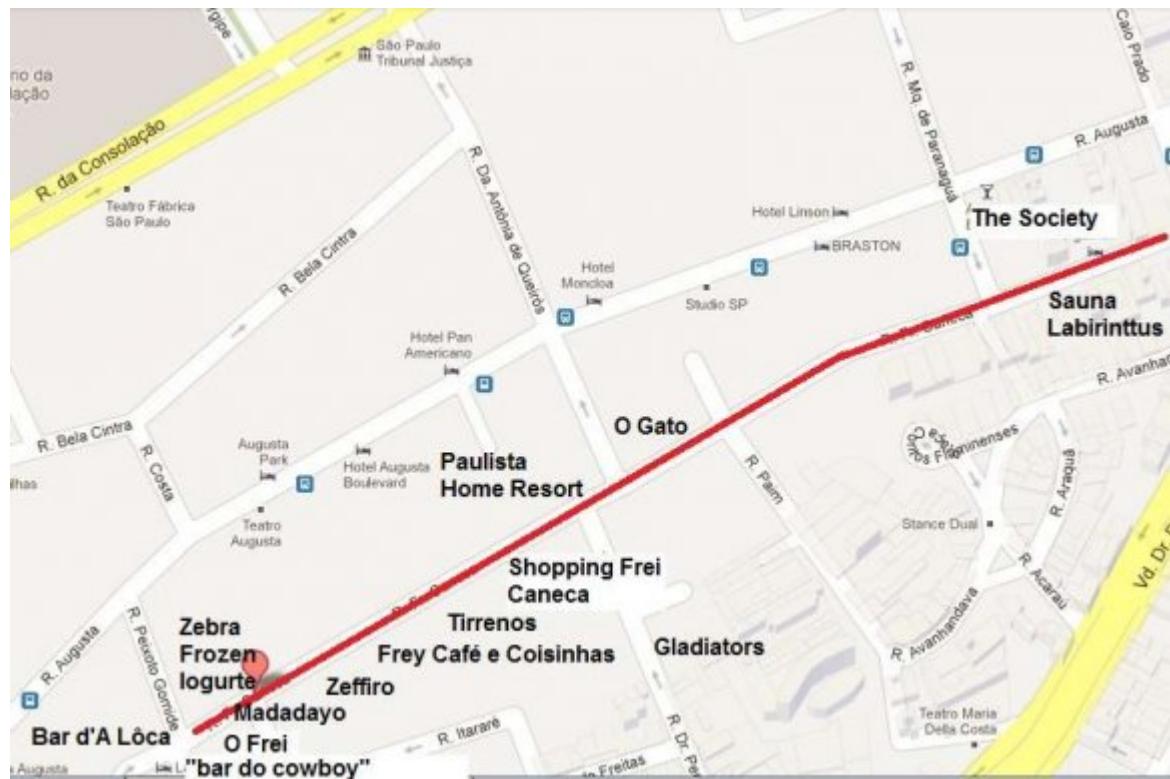


Figure 4:

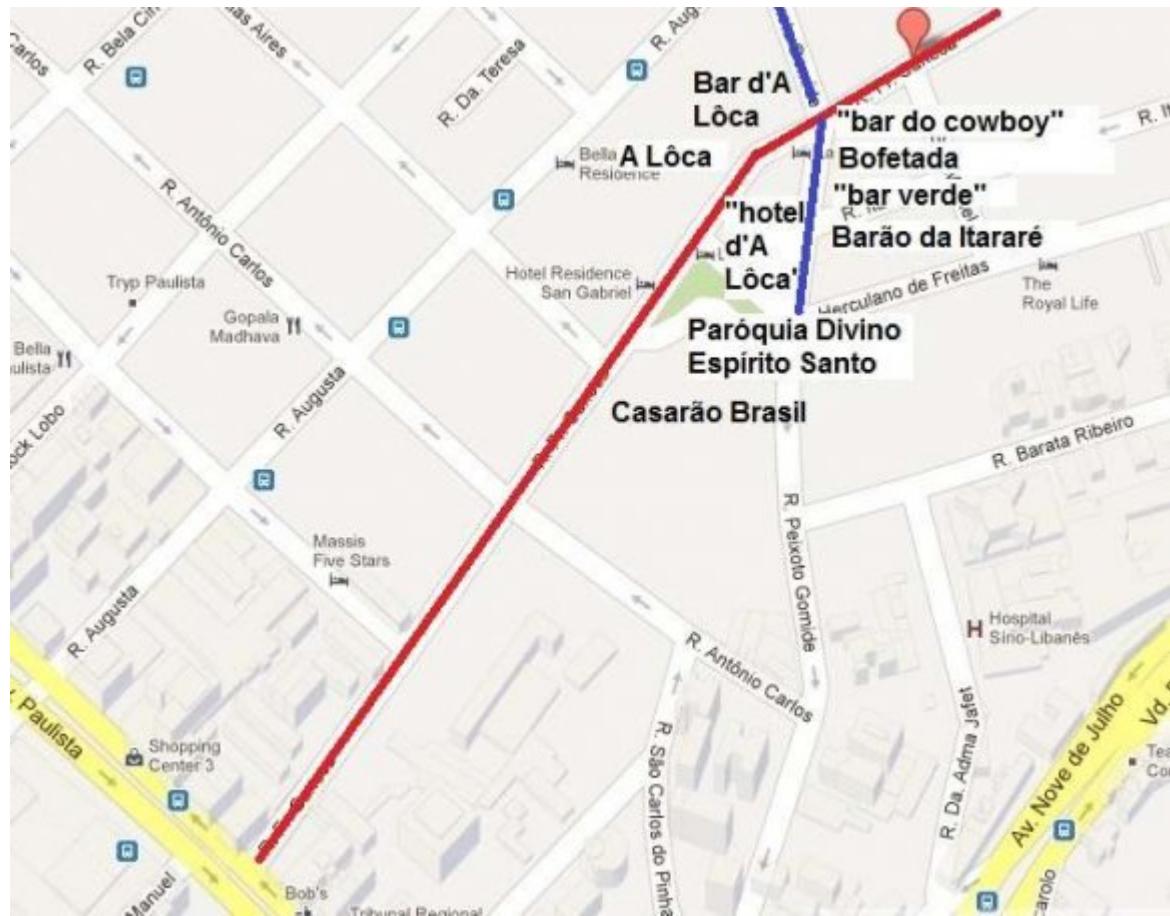


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