



MASTER THESIS 2020

# *OF OTHER CONTEXTS:*

A Very Brazilian LGBTQ+ Urban Geography

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EMJMD GLOBAL PROGRAMME

# *Of Other Contexts: A Very 'Brazilian'* **LGBTQ+ Urban Geography**

**Master Thesis Global Markets, Local Creativities (GLOCAL)**

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**Academic Year 2018-2020**

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## **Monólogo I - Dos Espaços Cuir, Pessimismo & Mundo**

Local de memória, herança, história  
Local de representação, afirmação, reafirmação  
Local de construção, desconstrução, reconstrução  
Local de trocas, experiências, local de respostas  
Local de fala, de olhares, de riso e de choro

É político, É ativismo, É cultura!  
É social porque entretém, é entretenimento porque ajuda  
Não só ajuda como cura  
Ah se cura... mas não se iluda  
O nosso lema identitário é de ruptura  
Ruptura dura que amargura e destrói o nosso eu  
Eu que foi criado antes mesmo de eu ser eu  
Sem perguntas, escolhas ou dúvidas

É nesse limbo estilhaçado que cá estou eu  
Juntando peças por peças, criando o meu verdadeiro eu  
O eu que ri e que chora  
Que se alegre e se apavora  
E que encontra nesses espaços o seu mundo de opções  
Opções sim!  
Ah se você soubesse...  
Que dentro de nós tantos se adormecem  
E ficam calados, murchos e apagados  
Nesse mundo cruel e cada vez mais binário

*D. Lemos, 2020*



## Monologue I - Cuir Spaces, Pessimism & the World

Place of memory, heritage, history  
Place of representation, affirmation, reaffirmation  
Place of construction, deconstruction, reconstruction  
Place of exchanges, experiences, place of answers  
Place of speech, stares, laughter and crying

It's political, It's activism, It's culture!  
It's social because it entertains, it's entertainment because it helps  
Not only helps but heals  
Oh it does heal... but don't be fooled  
Our identity motto is rupture  
A long rupture that embitters and destroys our 'mes'  
Me who was created before I was me  
Without questions, choices or doubts

It is in this shattered limbo that I am here  
Put together piece by piece, creating my true self  
The self that laughs and cries  
Who rejoices and panics  
And who finds in these spaces his world of options  
Options, yes!  
Ah if only you knew ...  
That within us so many fall asleep  
And remain silent, withered and extinguished  
In this cruel and increasingly binary world

*D. Lemos, 2020*

Translated by *Davi Lemos & Adam Binnington*

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writing process frees, yet hurts. It is revolutionary, yet terrifying. As well as the life of a queer/cuir body in Brazil, recognising the intersectional character that inhabits each one of us and the asymmetric weights of discrimination. Throughout the research process, I awoke my internal monsters and, for several moments, crashed. I paused to touch wounds, I paused to see such cruel realities; it was difficult, but I did it. I couldn't do it for myself, but because I saw a much greater need to help build an LGBTQ+ memory in my own city, in my own country. I did it because many people entrusted their stories to me. Finally, I did it, because beside me I had brilliant people who helped me in this, step-by-step.

I would like to thank my supervisor, Sandra Manickam, immensely for accompanying me throughout this process. Your support, your feedback and your empathy were essential for me to be able to complete my research. I would also like to thank all the other professors who, over the past two years, have shared valuable knowledge for my academic journey, especially Helen Yaffe, Montserrat Pareja, Maarten van Dijck and Ben Hubs. Finally, I am extremely grateful for the opportunity entrusted to me by GLOCAL and Erasmus Mundus to live, learn and visit so many places, so many people and so many universities.

I thank my parents, Ronaldo and Nara, for their unconditional support along the way, worrying about my training as an individual and professional. I thank my sister, Raquel, for always being at my side, worrying and advising. I thank my partner, Adam, for all his companionship, affection and support over these four years that we have shared dreams, moments and struggles. Also, a very special thanks to all my friends from the old days who, even far away physically, were always close, like Carol, Rafa, Elisa, Lucas and the Aroucas. And the GLOCAL family, where we shared so many stories in so many places, it has been incredible, thank you so much Alice, Jelena, Joyce, Isa, Hlib, Adua, Riccardo, Ashley, Laura, Riyoko, Jing, Fraser ... to all of you!

Finally, I am grateful to be part of a community so rich, so strong, so plural: the LGBTQ+ community. If I write what I write, it is because, before me, many have given their lives fighting for the world to move forward. I am grateful for everyone who has shared their time and memories for this research; you inspire me! I hope I have honoured each one of you with the words of my text and that this is just the beginning of the collective construction of our queer/cuir memory. Thank you Rio, thank you Brazil! A city so paradoxical and so uneven, yet magical in details, landscapes and sounds. May one day all that potential finally flourish!

## ABSTRACT

The presence of the LGBTQ+ community in urban territories is undeniable and it has been researched and debated, mainly by Euro-American scholars, since the 1980s. Unlike many western cities, Rio de Janeiro and its LGBTQ+ urban geography have not yet been researched in depth with the aim of mapping the city's queer spaces, irrespective of whether it is a private/public venue, a nighttime or daytime space or a non-profit organisation. By focusing on this particular city, I ensure the expansion of such into mainstream academia on new perspectives and realities whilst also guaranteeing that our stories, our memories and our lives never be forgot. LGBTQ+ memory has, universally, always been taken for granted or erased from the mainstream, making it extremely important and necessary to collect all this data and preserve it for the heritage of our history. This research, therefore, is largely concerned with expanding current LGBTQ+ urban geography debates by illustrating - and attempting to define - the reality of a Global South city.

After a brief overview of the main themes that are discussed in this thesis, such as geographies of sexualities, queer spaces and queer (urban) imaginaries and futures, the second chapter is dedicated to the formation of Brazilian national identity, its construction process through dominant discourses and its deconstruction through gender and sexuality issues. In addition to a short discussion on the LGBTQ+ movement in Brazil in order to enhance concluding thoughts. The third and fourth chapters focus on queer spaces in Rio de Janeiro. The former maps the city's nocturnal scenario as well as collecting data from across the city over the past 20 years. In so doing, it positions Rio de Janeiro within current debates. The latter chapter seeks to expand the debate by bringing what I call 'other spaces'; that is, LGBTQ+ spaces that do have a very important role on queer life but are not necessarily embedded in the nighttime status. Thus, this research is a critical analysis of the queer urban scenario in Rio de Janeiro that aims to understand how gender and sexuality issues are intertwined with the processes of urban geography, producing paradoxical relationships in regard to LGBTQ+ groups and their spaces.

**Keywords:** LGBTQ+ Urban Geography; Queer Theory; Queer Spaces; Identity Politics; Night Economy; Intersectionality; Right to the City; Latin America; Brazil; Rio de Janeiro;

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.....	6
INTRODUCTION.....	7
Research Question & Sub-questions.....	10
Relevance of the study.....	11
Sources and Methods.....	12
Thesis Outline.....	16
CHAPTER 1. STATE-OF-THE-ART.....	19
1.0. Context: Queer Theory, (Cu)ir Theory & other definitions.....	20
1.1. Geographies of Sexuality.....	30
1.2. Queer Spaces.....	33
1.3. Queer (Urban) Imaginaries & Futures.....	34
CHAPTER 2. UNDERSTANDING BRAZILIAN INTERSECTIONAL IDENTITIES AND THEIR <i>TROUBLED</i> POWER RELATIONS.....	36
2.0. The social imagery of ‘being Brazilian’ as a <i>cordial man</i> .....	37
2.1. Deconstructing the ‘Brazilian cordial man’ imaginary through its relationship with queer bodies.....	42
2.2. The LGBTQ+ movement in Brazil and its three acts.....	49
CHAPTER 3. QUEERING RIO DE JANEIRO: How have <i>transviados</i> been making use of the urban space during the night?.....	53
3.0. Rio de Janeiro’s Urban Geography.....	55
3.1. Rio de Janeiro and its LGBTQ+ Context.....	59
3.2. General overview of Rio’s Nighttime Queer Urban Spaces.....	63
3.3. Final Remarks.....	74
CHAPTER 4. <i>OF OTHER LGBTQ+ SPACES: Different contexts, different settings?</i> .....	78
4.0. LGBTQ+ SPACES.....	79
4.1. <i>Of Other Spaces 1: The NGO Casinha</i> .....	82
4.2. <i>Of Other Spaces 2: Casa Nem</i> .....	86
4.3. <i>Of Other Spaces 3: Sereias da Guanabara</i> .....	88
4.4. <i>Of Other Spaces 4: Toco-Xona</i> .....	91
4.5. Final Remarks.....	95
CONCLUSIONS.....	98
REFERENCES.....	101
APPENDICES.....	108

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1. Artworks from the exhibition ‘Queermuseu’.....	7
Figure 2. Fernando Baril: Halterofilista, 1989.....	19
Figure 3. Flávio Cerqueira: Amnésia, 2015.....	36
Figure 4. Word cloud of survey answers of Rio de Janeiro’s characteristics.....	53
Figure 5. The Week during the Olympic Games 2016.....	65
Figure 6. Turma OK Festival.....	66
Figure 7. Espaço Fênix.....	67
Figure 8. Urbanito Bar & the LGBTQ+ Flag.....	69
Figure 9. Rio G Spa’s Facade.....	71
Figure 10. Isoporzinho das Sapatão & Velcro Party .....	72
Figure 11. Le Boy.....	73
Figure 12. Word cloud of survey answers of LGBTQ+ spaces’ characteristics.....	78
Figure 13. Casinha’s two-year anniversary.....	83
Figure 14. Casa Nem in Copacabana.....	87
Figure 15. Sereias do Guanabara Carnival 2019.....	89
Figure 16. Toco-Xona Carnival 2018.....	93
Figure 17. Intersecting Functionalities Model.....	97
Graphs 1 & 2. Survey answers on Gay saunas in Rio de Janeiro.....	70
Graph 3. <i>Do you think LGBTQ+ nightlife in the city is plural and accounts for all of the community’s members?</i> .....	75
Graph 4. <i>Which of the below options do you consider to be a queer/LGBTQ+ space?</i> .....	84
Graph 5. <i>What do you feel when you’re in an LGBTQ+ place? (Select the three options most relevant to you)</i> .....	95
Map 1. Rio de Janeiro’s position in South America and Brazil.....	54
Map 2. Rio de Janeiro’s Neighbourhoods and Zones.....	56
Map 3. Spatial distribution of income in Rio de Janeiro.....	57
Map 4. Spatial distribution of Rio’s black population.....	58
Map 5. Spatial distribution of Rio’s black population in the city’s richest area.....	59
Map 6. The LGBTQ+ nighttime spaces in Rio.....	63
Table 1. Research perspectives in qualitative research.....	14
Table 2. How would you define in a few words a queer/LGBTQ+ space?.....	80
Table 3. Casinha’s Main Initiatives.....	84

## INTRODUCTION

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**Figure 1. Artworks from the exhibition ‘Queermuseu’**



Source: Revista Híbrida

On October 4, 2017, Marcelo Crivella, Rio de Janeiro’s current Mayor and an evangelical bishop, banned an exhibition called ‘Queermuseu’ to be displayed at the Art Museum of Rio (MAR). Alleging that some art pieces had inappropriate content and constantly equating them to zoophilia and paedophilia, he declared that the people from Rio did not want this exhibition to take place in their city; therefore, in his opinion, it did not constitute censorship.

<sup>1</sup> Having more than 270 pieces by 90 Brazilian artists, Queermuseu’s organisers defended the exhibition and their freedom of speech. The museum’s director himself, Carlos Gradim, supported them as he believed a museum is a space of dialogue and the accusations towards them were untrue.<sup>2</sup> Fortunately, a year later, after over a million reais<sup>3</sup> donated by 1,659 people, the exhibition was finally reopened in the city of Rio at the Escola de Artes Visuais (EAV) in Parque Lage even in the midst of protests for the same previous reasons. According to EVA’s director, Fábio Szwarcwald, the first day had a record attendance with more than

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<sup>1</sup> G1, ‘Prefeitura do Rio veta exposição Queermuseu no MAR’. G1. Accessed in May 10, 2020, <http://g1.globo.com/jornal-nacional/noticia/2017/10/prefeitura-do-rio-veta-exposicao-queermuseu-no-mar.html>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Reais (Brazilian currency).

5,000 people.<sup>4</sup> The exhibition's curator, Gaudêncio Fidelis, in his emotional reopening speech said that: "This is a time for democracy, for people to face down obscurantism. [...] Rio de Janeiro, [has] always been at the forefront of movements, the vanguard of art and politics".<sup>5</sup>

The resistance faced by the queer context, and its queer makers, illustrates the - ongoing - battle of being a queer body in today's Brazil. As Anthony Furlong states, "the family, religion and public space, as well as notions of discrimination and morality, are all forwarded as relevant in arguments related to our right to express our sexuality [and gender] as and when we choose".<sup>6</sup> Likewise, the case reveals the limitations that the LGBTQ+ community faces when using a public space, be it for the promotion of its own culture or for just being. The episode also stresses the importance of having queer spaces in the city where the LGBTQ+ community feels free and safe, as well as creating their own culture, especially during the daytime. The potential for resistance to the current Brazilian context - marked by extreme violence, marginalisation and censorship of queer culture - that the LGBTQ+ spaces represent is infinite. This is because these places together allow for the production of knowledge, culture, art, politics, and activism that help to neutralise the gloom that the country is going through. In addition to queer venues being a space of support and safety where LGBTQ+ people can perform their subjectivities in a freer and more authentic way.

Brazil, while ranked as one of the five safest countries for the LGBT population by *Travelers Today*<sup>7</sup>, is also the one that kills these people the most, according to a report released by Grupo Gay da Bahia.<sup>8</sup> In this way, Brazil's LGBTQ+ population, as well as their worldwide counterparts, has historically had to create innovative and different pathways in order to resist prejudice and be able to express their true selves. Cities, in turn, seem to offer them a higher possibility of getting together in spaces - clubs, bars, cafes, shelters, for instance - where a

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<sup>4</sup> Justificando, 'Queermuseu reabre no RJ com recorde de público, apesar de protestos conservadores e proibições'. *Justificando*. Accessed in May 10, 2020, <http://www.justificando.com/2018/08/20/queermuseu-reabre-no-rj-com-recorde-de-publico-apesar-de-protestos-conservadores-proibicoes/>.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., own translation.

<sup>6</sup> Anthony Furlong, "Tolerance of Queer Male Performances of Gender and Sexuality in Rio de Janeiro," PhD diss., (University of Edinburgh, 2012).

<sup>7</sup> Vinay Grover, 'LGBT Safe Places Worldwide: Top 5 Countries For Queers & Queers At Heart'. *Travelers Today*. Accessed in January 08, 2020, <http://www.travelertoday.com/articles/21485/20160512/lgbt-same-sex-marriage-safe-lgbt-places.htm>.

<sup>8</sup> Grupo Gay da Bahia, Relatório 2016: Assassinatos de LGBT no Brasil. Accessed in January 08, 2020. <https://homofobiamata.files.wordpress.com/2017/01/relatc3b3rio-2016-ps.pdf>.

community/social network can be developed due to its likely higher tolerance, diversity and openness to new experiences.<sup>9</sup> Consequently, the idea of the so-called ‘queer space’ was born as a local initiative in both London and New York so people could actually make a living, as it was a time when the LGBTQ+ population struggled to find a job if they were ‘out of the closet’. Not only did these places let them explore their potentialities through art, music, dance and fashion, but they also created a sense of belonging.

This thesis discusses Brazil’s queer urban spaces and their dynamics, more specifically in the city of Rio de Janeiro. However, in a macro view, it also aims to analyse the issue of the contemporaneity of how to deal with differences in the face of a societal model and city built on the basis of heteronormativity and oppression. In Brazil, marginalised groups, such as LGBTQ+, black and indigenous people, still struggle with prejudices of their practices and ways of being by conservative and fundamentalist cis-men that state what is, and is not, allowed, correct or incorrect. However, for this idealised figure of the ‘correct Brazilian’ to be constituted, it is necessary that this ‘other’, understood as the ‘constitutive outside’, also exists in both the collective and individual identity.<sup>10</sup> The marking of difference, through symbols of representation and practices, helps to transform this ‘different’ into an ‘outsider’, contributing to their marginalisation and social exclusion, even within the domestic environment, exemplified at the beginning of this section.

Thus, identity-building processes like the Brazilian one help to produce and reproduce ways of being and acting in the world.<sup>11</sup> Even identities that claim to be hegemonic, such as heteronormative ones, need to be constantly renewed, since they are always subject to contestation.<sup>12</sup> The dominant narrative in academia believes that the post-Cold War is being characterised by identity conflicts.<sup>13</sup> The identities based on “race”, “gender”, “class” and “sexual orientation” have been gaining more and more space in the struggle for a more

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<sup>9</sup> Yvonne Doderer, “LGBTQs in the City, Queering Urban Space,” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 35 (2) (2011): 431–436.

<sup>10</sup> Kathryn Woodward, “Identidade e diferença: uma introdução teórica e conceitual,” In: T. T. Silva (org.) *Identidade e diferença: a perspectiva dos estudos culturais*. Petrópolis: Editora Vozes (2000): 7-72; Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter* (London: Routledge, 2011).

<sup>11</sup> Jennifer Milliken “The Study of Discourse in International Relations: A Critique of Research and Methods,” *European Journal of International Relations* 5(2) (1999): 225-54.

<sup>12</sup> David Campbell, “Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity,” *Rev. Ed. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press* (1992).

<sup>13</sup> Woodward, “Identidade”.

egalitarian and fairer world. The queer experiences in Brazil, for instance, have faced severe restraints and violence in an attempt to normalise the LGBTQ+ body to an archaic and segregating model of civilisation and identity, brought by colonisation, that does not recognise other ways of being, their cultures and spaces. The latent homotransphobia that infringes on these bodies is being reinforced not only by individual practices, but also by public policies when, for example, homophobia is removed from the Brazilian Ministry of Education's list of prejudices that must be combated through education.<sup>14</sup>

However, even with so much oppression, the presence of the LGBTQ+ community in urban territories is undeniable and it has been researched and debated, mainly by Euro-American scholars, since the 1980s. Unlike many western cities, Rio de Janeiro and its LGBTQ+ urban geography have not yet been researched in depth. By focusing on this particular city, I ensure the expansion of such into mainstream academia on new perspectives and realities whilst also guaranteeing that our stories, our memories and our lives never be forgot.<sup>15</sup> LGBTQ+ memory has, universally, always been taken for granted or erased from the mainstream, making it extremely important and necessary to collect all this data and preserve it for the heritage of our history.

To this end, the following subsection presents the main research questions that make up this research.

## **Research Question & Sub-questions**

This thesis aims to answer the following central questions:

**Main question:** How can we define the Brazilian 'LGBTQ+ Urban Geography' and what has been its importance in the city of Rio de Janeiro between 2000 and 2020?

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<sup>14</sup> For further information:

<https://theintercept.com/2017/04/07/mec-corta-homofobia-da-lista-de-preconceitos-que-devem-ser-combatidos-na-educacao/>.

<sup>15</sup> As being a Latino gay man, from Brazil, and from Rio de Janeiro, I include myself in key points throughout the text.

### **General theoretical sub-questions:**

1. How are queer identities shaped in tandem with the ideal Brazilian, and how does this affect the possibilities of carving queer spaces in the city?
2. How have the city of Rio de Janeiro's queer nighttime spaces been shaped over the last 20 years?
3. What are the new layouts of non exclusive nighttime spaces for queers, what I call 'other spaces', in the Brazilian context? How are they organising themselves and what are their main practices, activities and functions? Do they differ from the nighttime 'queer spaces' in the city? Do LGBTQ+ queer spaces in Rio, in general, differ from those in mainstream cities of the world?

### **Relevance of the study**

This thesis has relevance not only for Brazilian studies on gender and sexuality, urban spaces and queer theory, but also for the field as a whole since as it seeks to contribute to new academic findings, practices, and conjectures by investigating different contexts other than the theoretical mainstream. Furthermore, unlike many western cities, Rio de Janeiro has not yet been fully researched with the aim of mapping the city's queer spaces, irrespective of whether it is a private/public venue, a nighttime or daytime space or non-profit organisations. In this way, I name four main reasons that validate this initiative as important. First, it allows a wider and more solid panorama of the LGBTQ+ spaces and their distribution within the city; secondly, it helps us to understand and to preserve Rio's queer history and their subjectivities as interviews were held as part of this thesis's empirical data; thirdly, it connects to Brazil's LGBTQ+ movement history by focusing on spaces that advocate the 'right to the city' and the use of the public space; and, lastly, due to the ongoing worldwide phenomenon of queer venues being shut down, it is important the city of Rio has these spaces mapped out and documented in order to act collectively as many other cities have in forms of grassroots network of organisations.

All of these facts underpin the importance that Shapiro<sup>16</sup> and Zalewski<sup>17</sup> attach to the study of micropolitics. When theorising the action, that is, analysing the facts without separating the agent from the structure, it is possible to reframe theory as being something that goes beyond the margins of the discipline. This thesis understands the structuring of the macro from the micropolitics that allow the discovery of new nuances that are capable of reframing history and its theories. It also brings to academia groups that have been constantly marginalised by social constructions. It is necessary to open a space for individual stories, as is the case of the Brazilian queer population, in order to have politics of recognition that reflect the importance of inclusion and help reduce the act of violence towards the excluded.

This research, therefore, is largely concerned with expanding current mainstream LGBTQ+ urban geography debates by illustrating - and attempting to define - the reality of a Global South city Rio de Janeiro. In the next subsection I further illustrate the methodological approach used in this investigation in order to achieve the aforementioned purpose.

## Sources and Methods

This thesis combines multi-layered qualitative and quantitative methodologies such as: in-depth interviews, surveys and mapping. This data collection has helped me to have a better understanding of Rio's current LGBTQ+ scenario, its dynamics, its spaces and to gain some main impressions of the LGBTQ+ population that lives in the city. I begin by introducing the methods employed in this project mainly within Flick's idea of qualitative research. Then, I explain the data collection process and how it was analysed. Finally, I point out ethical issues and a few remarks in relation to this study.

Qualitative research has been used as an umbrella term for different approaches within social sciences. By using texts as empirical sources, researchers aim to investigate "the notion of the social construction of the realities being studied, interested in the perspectives of

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<sup>16</sup> Michael Shapiro, "Hiroshima Temporalities," *Thesis Eleven: forthcoming* (2015).

<sup>17</sup> Marysia Zalewski., "All these theories yet the bodies keep piling up: theories, theorists, theorising," *In: S. Smith, K. Booth e M. Zalewski (Eds.). International Theory: Positivism and Beyond. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press* (1996): 340-353.

participants, in everyday practices and everyday knowledge referring to the issue being studied".<sup>18</sup> In other words, this method is composed of interpretive and naturalistic practices that can potentially transform the world through a series of representations – ranging from interviews to photographs. In this way, qualitative researchers act as participant observers and are seldom neutral in the field; embracing this method as a moral discourse. This is different to a more pragmatic approach that sees qualitative research as "an extension of the tools and potentials of social research for understanding the world and producing knowledge about it".

19

For this thesis, I shall consider the former approach as my own due to the explicit political act of being a queer body and, therefore, through my investigation, to compile experiences and practices that have enabled LGBTQ+ citizens to exist – and to resist – in urban spaces. There are several research perspectives in social research that can be either purely quantitatively oriented (for instance, surveys and mapping), exclusively qualitative (for instance, in-depth interviews) or a combination of both. At this moment in time, this thesis found itself in the latter group - a combination of both - as it attempted to map Rio de Janeiro's Queer urban spaces<sup>20</sup> as well as conducting a survey with the city's LGBTQ+ population. However, it mainly had a qualitative approach; this is the reason why I decided to discuss solely qualitative research perspectives (see Table 1.1).

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<sup>18</sup> Uwe Flick, *Designing Qualitative Research. Qualitative Research*. (Kit. London: SAGE Publications, Ltd, 2007): 2.

<sup>19</sup> Flick, *Designing*, 7.

<sup>20</sup> The mapping process was facilitated as LGBTQ+ nightlife venues in Rio are very well-known and active in their social medias. Being a gay man born and raised in Rio also helped as due to the current pandemic situation, it was not possible to do ethnography. I was also helped by many interviewees who checked if my list was complete or not and/or pointed out missing venues throughout the interviews. A few online gay tourism websites and guides, as well as a few academic articles, were also quite important in this whole process.

**Table 1. Research perspectives in qualitative research**

	<b>Approaches to subjective viewpoints</b>	<b>Description of the making of social situations</b>	<b>Hermeneutic analysis of underlying structures</b>
Theoretical positions	Symbolic interactionism Phenomenology	Ethnomethodology Constructionism	Psychoanalysis Genetic structuralism
Methods of data collection	Semi-structured interviews Narrative interviews	Focus groups Ethnography Participant observation Recording interactions Collecting documents	Recording interactions Photography Film
Methods of interpretation	Theoretical coding Content analysis Narrative analysis Hermeneutic methods	Conversation analysis Discourse analysis Analysis of documents	Objective hermeneutics Deep hermeneutics

Source: Flick (2007)

This thesis will have mixed research perspectives as it attempted to fill a gap in theoretical knowledge about queer society by collecting and analysing varying types of data. Furthermore, in order to analyse these urban dynamics, it also focused on personal experiences of queers who are/were involved in these specific urban spaces by interviewing LGBTQ+ people and giving them the space needed to recount their lives and experiences. I conducted 13 semi-structured online interviews in Rio between March and May 2020. These interviews, conducted in Portuguese, lasted between half an hour and an hour.<sup>21</sup> I chose this method as I wanted participants to reveal their opinions freely. This is because, as in most interviews they described their own initiatives and venues, I believe it is truly necessary that they are the ones who lead their own stories. The results were interpreted according to content and narrative analysis approaches. In relation to the recruitment of participants, I attempted to select a diverse group of people, prioritising those who do not conform to the hegemonic identity of a cisgender white gay man<sup>22</sup> within the LGBTQ+ community<sup>23</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> For the general semi-structure of questions of those in-depth interviews, see Appendix A.

<sup>22</sup> The reason behind this decision is because the majority of literature, even in Brazil, regarding gender and sexuality issues focuses on the aforementioned individual. However, I also had to choose initiatives that already have a solid impact in Rio, and, in a few cases, they were owned/organised by cis gay men.

<sup>23</sup> Please see Appendix D for the list of participants and their very brief bio.

I also conducted a survey with 192 respondents that are either from or currently live in Rio de Janeiro in order to find out more about their impressions on LGBTQ+ spaces in general and, more importantly, in the city. This survey was divided into five different sections: 1. demographic profile; 2. LGBTQ+ spaces in general; 3. Rio de Janeiro and its LGBTQ+ community; 4. LGBTQ+ nightlife in Rio; and, 5. Rio de Janeiro, LGBTQ+ community and public spaces (focusing on Carnival). The survey had 35 different questions<sup>24</sup> - multiple choices, short and full answers - in which the majority of the respondents could always express themselves in a more complete way if they wanted to do so. This anonymised data allowed me to have a better collective idea of what LGBTQ+ people in Rio have in mind when they think about an LGBTQ+ space (and how this space relates to the city), how they have been using these spaces, how they see the city itself and its relation to queer bodies; in sum, I was able to find common answers - together with interviews - in order to attempt to define collectively - and from our own Brazilian prism - the LGBTQ+ urban geography in Rio and its importance in the last 20 years. A quite extensive snowball sampling technique was employed as I contacted not only friends, but also the interviewees, a few LGBTQ+ organisations, local leaders and some LGBTQ+ venues in order to answer the survey as well as share them in their social circles.

Regarding the profile of the respondents<sup>25</sup>, the age range varied between 16 and 55, with 150 of 192 participants between 16 and 30 years old, 36 above 30 years old and 6 blank answers. In order to respect diversity, the questions related to race, gender and sexuality were completely open so respondents could answer them as they wished.<sup>26</sup> The predominant characteristics related to demographic information are: 1. majority of respondents are white Brazilians (115)<sup>27</sup>; 2. majority of respondents clearly stated they are cisgender (82)<sup>28</sup>; 3. majority of respondents are homosexual<sup>29</sup> (102) and bisexual (60); and, 4. the respondents live in over 45 different neighbourhoods in the city, predominantly in the North Zone. Other important findings from this survey are illustrated throughout the chapters 4 and 5, together with more information about the rationality employed in the analysis.

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<sup>24</sup> Please see Appendix C for survey questions.

<sup>25</sup> For further information, please see Appendix I.

<sup>26</sup> Please see Appendix I and J for survey answers.

<sup>27</sup> The other dominant answers related to race are: brown (36) and black (36).

<sup>28</sup> As it was an open question, it is hard to tell for sure how many cisgender people answered the survey as there were many responses such as: male, female, man and woman.

<sup>29</sup> By homosexual, it includes both gay men and women.

In an attempt to manage diversity and ensure the variation and variety, this study tried to capture the empirical material in the best way possible; for sampling, as an example, this thesis carefully selected people, situations and sites that best represent all identities within Rio's LGBTQ+ communities. However, I must confess that this goal may be extremely difficult to reach; and, therefore, I always clearly stated the specific group I was elaborating on so, at the end of this work, I was able to stress the actual range of this research. I recognise, for that reason, that this thesis might possibly not represent every subjectivity but hopefully it will serve as an inspiring material for further research and improvements in the field.

For the sake of a collective conscience, that is, that seeks empathy for others, this work uses the acronym LGBTQ+ to portray this community as a whole. By sharing an intersectional vision, I therefore seek to introduce a way in which it brings visibility and representativeness to each identity. It is also worth noting that I recognise that within the group itself there are racial, social, class and gender cuts that put some of its components in positions of greater or lesser fragility. In addition, there are moments in which I portray the LGBTQ+ community as Kuir and/or Transviado as it is further explained in the next chapter. Furthermore, there are passages and cases in which I address only a few specific identities, and not the entire group; these parts are always identified with the intention of not generalising the experiences of all pluralities of identity, as they are not the same.

Conducting research with the LGBTQ+ community can be a real challenge due to the ongoing discrimination that queer bodies face in their everyday lives. With this in mind, I always tried to think carefully in which ways I would conduct my research, interviews and the survey itself in order not to make anyone feel uncomfortable or put anyone at risk. I always ensured all interviewees were completely comfortable with all questions, with my research project, with being recorded, with their names/opinions being exposed and they explicitly agreed with everything. This is the main reason why I do not use pseudonyms, especially as many of them are either owners/managers/organisers of very open and proud LGBTQ+ spaces in the city of Rio de Janeiro. The survey responses, though, are completely anonymous.

Needless to say, the Covid-19 pandemic has had a tremendous impact on my research as I

first planned to focus solely on social organisations, such as LGBTQ+ shelters, in my investigation. It was also a challenge to conduct many online interviews, to go after respondents for my survey, to respect people's (and my own) boundaries in such a hard and unusual time. However, the pandemic reinforced many of the issues that are already faced by the community. The majority of LGBTQ+ individuals in Brazil are positioned in a place of vulnerability, especially transgender people and black queers. I am fully aware of my privileges, even being part of the LGBTQ+ community, that I do have in relation to most of them as I was able to continue my research while they had to find a way out of this situation. This is why I always tried to focus and give voices to those who are in more subaltern positions within the group. Furthermore, to see my work as an opportunity to put into practice the word so many times mentioned in this thesis: 'community'. As a researcher, I tried to come up with possibilities in order to help those whose stories and experiences I try to make justice throughout my words. In addition to asking for interviews with a few organisations, such as Casa Nem, I helped them in their search for funds, water and food. I outsourced my map to an LGBTQ+ freelancer whose finances had been affected by the lockdown. I will later share some of my results with the Casinha organisation in order to help their own strategies and impacts. In sum, this situation expanded my view on academia and queer research and I affirm that *this is a 'radical queer urban' research project that "works across empirical, theoretical and activist work"*.<sup>30</sup>

## Thesis Outline

This thesis has the following structure: right after this introduction chapter, the theoretical underpinnings necessary for the development of the central research argument will be presented. After a brief introduction of queer theory and its Latin American interpretations, as well as some key concepts that ground this thesis, the main themes will be discussed, such as geographies of sexualities, queer spaces and queer (urban) imaginaries and futures. Above all, the importance of an intersectional and a (Latino/Brazilian) queer approach will be

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<sup>30</sup> Ben Campkin, "Queer Urban Imaginaries," *The Routledge: London* (2018): 408; Natalie Oswin, "Planetary Urbanization: A view from outside," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 3 November, (2016).

demonstrated for a better understanding of the different urban realities that surround us. The second chapter is dedicated to the formation of Brazilian national identity, its construction process through dominant discourses such as cordiality and miscegenation and the deconstruction of these ideas when analysed through a racial lens. Then, similar to racial issues, the deconstruction of the cordial man is proposed through gender and sexuality issues. Next, an overview of a very particular ritual of the Brazilian culture and very important for the LGBTQ+ population is presented: Carnival. Finally, a short discussion on the LGBTQ+ movement in Brazil is explored in order to enhance concluding thoughts.

The third and fourth chapters focus on queer spaces in Rio de Janeiro. The former maps the city's nocturnal scenario as well as collecting data from across the city over the past 20 years. In so doing, it positions Rio de Janeiro within current debates. The latter chapter seeks to expand the debate by bringing what I call 'other spaces'; that is, LGBTQ+ spaces that do have a very important role on queer life but are not necessarily embedded in the nighttime status. To do so, I selected queer urban spaces that are fundamental to the right to exist - and resist - of the LGBTQ+ population in the city, especially for the trans population. Thus, this research is a critical analysis of the queer urban scenario in Rio de Janeiro that aims to understand how gender and sexuality issues are intertwined with the processes of urban geography, producing paradoxical relationships in regard to LGBTQ+ groups and their spaces.

**Figure 2. Fernando Baril: Halterofilista, 1989**



Source: BuzzFeed (F. Zago/Studio Z | Cortesia do artista)

## CHAPTER 1: State-of-the-Art

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The painting above portrays the cult of the body by bodybuilding in the 1980s while also denouncing the long period of stigmatisation of the gay male body as a place of disease due to the HIV/AIDS pandemic (nails nailed to the feet). In addition, this body and its accessories violate the limits and norms of masculinity.<sup>31</sup> Similarly to the image, this first chapter executes a literature review of the theoretical framework needed to discuss the central problem of this thesis through queer (cuir) lenses.

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<sup>31</sup> Tatiana Farah, “Veja 30 obras da exposição censurada no Santander Cultural (dentro do contexto) e tire suas próprias conclusões”. *Buzzfeed*. Accessed June 15, 2020, <https://www.buzzfeed.com/br/tatianafarah/veja-30-obras-da-exposicao-censurada-no-santander-cultural>.

## CHAPTER 1: State-of-the-Art

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This chapter presents the main theoretical framework that form this thesis and it is divided into four different parts: 2.1. Context: Queer Theory, (Cu)ir Theory & other definitions; 2.2. Geographies of Sexuality; 2.3. Queer Spaces; and, 2.4. Queer (Urban) Futures.

### 1.0. CONTEXT: Queer Theory, (Cu)ir Theory & other definitions

This first subsection will briefly demonstrate how Queer Theory has not only worked to understand the origins of social norms that regulate societies, but also to deconstruct these normativities. This discussion shows the importance of bringing this ‘queer approach’ to other fields of study, such as geography and its urban debates. First, the genesis of these studies and the proposal behind 'Queering' the world will be introduced. Next, some Latin American scholars, such as Pelucio and Berenice Bento, will be presented in order to discuss the potential of the term queer in Brazilian society, since the reality where the term was first coined differs immensely to Brazil. Furthermore, as precursors to certain approaches in queer theory, a brief overview of Foucault’s and Derrida’s main ideas are presented in the next paragraphs.

Michel Foucault, in the *History of Sexuality I*, enunciates the sexual act as both a space for interdictions and a space for the production and reproduction of discourses.<sup>32</sup> Further on, Foucault describes the ‘repressive hypothesis’ in order to point out its insufficiency to explain the insertion of sex in the private sphere. In the Modern Era, the heterosexual conjugal family would have brought sex into the domestic space and this led to several normative conditions regarding the sexual act, such as heteronormativity in favour of reproduction. Due to this, in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, talking about this topic seemed to have become a social taboo; however, when problematising it, he realises that sex is not only a space of interdictions, but also of production and reproduction of identities and speeches. This heteronormative discourse caused a highly exclusionary patriarchal society centered on the figure of the ‘straight [cis]

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<sup>32</sup> Michel Foucault, *History of Sexuality. Volume 1: An Introduction* (Nova York: Pantheon Books, 1978).

man'.<sup>33</sup>

Foucault understands sex as one of the pillars of modern politics. Public power, for instance, acts directly in the intimacy of the human sphere through state policies such as birth policies and their control, awareness, containment of epidemics, among others. These several power relations pervaded by sex, such as in the professional world, to some extent, act as propellers of the capitalist model.<sup>34</sup> In this way, the existence of a 'sex policy' that permeates our society works not only as an apparatus of repression but also as a management one.

In parallel with Foucault's ideas, the contribution of Jacques Derrida, another major exponent of gender and sexuality issues, to queer theory, was his concept of supplementarity and his methodological perspective of deconstruction.<sup>35</sup> Supplementarity was able to show that: "meanings are organised through differences in a dynamics of presence and absence, that is, what seems to be outside a system is already inside it and what seems natural is historical".<sup>36</sup> Derrida's perspective on heterosexuality is that it needs homosexuality to be able to define itself; in other words, the two concepts are co-constituted.<sup>37</sup> Due to this, Miskolci affirms that "this analytical procedure that shows the implicit within a binary opposition is often called *deconstruction*".<sup>38</sup>

### **Queer Theory in a nutshell...**

Queer Theory aims to establish a critical opposition to sociological studies on sexual minorities and gender.<sup>39</sup> It was this critical tension with the social sciences that helped the queer theme to settle in academic dialogue and become a contemporary social theory. Teresa de Lauretis briefly introduced the topic in her seminars during the 1980s, even though she only published the theory in 1990 in *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies*. De

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<sup>33</sup> Foucault, *History of Sexuality*.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Richard Miskolci, "A Teoria Queer e a Sociologia: o desafio de uma analítica da normalização," *Sociologias* ano 11, n°21 (2009): 150-182.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 153.

<sup>37</sup> Jacques Derrida, 'Gramatologia'. *São Paulo: Perspectiva* (2004).

<sup>38</sup> Miskolci, "A Teoria Queer", 153, own translation.

<sup>39</sup> Miskolci, "A Teoria Queer".

Lauretis was focusing on “Gender Technologies”; that is, “the techniques of being male or female”.<sup>40</sup> Moreover, other main scholars who addressed this thematic were: Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick (1985), Judith Butler (1990), Adrienne Rich (1986) and Michael Warner (1993). Relying on Foucault's theory of sexuality for a large part of her academic work, Judith Butler, for instance, was able to fully integrate the theory into academia due to one of her most famous - and criticised - works: “*Gender Trouble*”.<sup>41</sup>

It is difficult to find an all-encompassing definition of what queer theory is because of its complexity and the way it deals with various social strata. In general, it is understood as a theory that aims not only to deconstruct social norms - such as heteronormativity - but also to examine why they exist.<sup>42</sup> By investigating the correlation between the distribution of powers and identities with repression and privilege, queer theory seeks to undermine the existence, or at least reduce the potency, of binary classifications such as *heterosexual* and *homosexual* and even *male* and *female*. Thus, while the classical approaches see only heterosexuality as socially accepted, queer theory disputes the claim by saying that all sexual identities are anomalous, that is, outside the norm.<sup>43</sup>

These scholars demonstrate that the structure of the contemporary social order is precisely embedded in hetero/homo dualism, but prioritises and naturalises heterosexuality, making it practically compulsory.<sup>44</sup> Rich emphasises that the social processes of regulation and control are guided by devices about heteronormativity, such as language and codes, coined by Warner in 1991, affecting even those who do not relate to people of the opposite sex.<sup>45</sup> Butler, in turn, prioritises in her works the issue of gender and sexuality as performative, fluid, flexible and individual identities; that is, according to the desires and needs of each subject.<sup>46</sup> However, all these debates initially took place in the Global North, leading many scholars in other areas of

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<sup>40</sup> Helena Vieira, ‘Teoria Queer, o que é isso?’. *Revista Fórum*. Accessed in January 15, 2020, <<http://www.revistaforum.com.br/osentendidos/2015/06/07/teoria-queer-o-que-e-isso-tensoes-entre-vencias-e-universidade/>>.

<sup>41</sup> Vieira, “Teoria Queer”.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Miskolci, “A Teoria Queer”; Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men. English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985).

<sup>45</sup> Adrienne Rich, ‘Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Experience’. In: Snitow, Ann; Stansel, Christine and Thompson, Sharon. *Powers of Desire – The Politics of Sexuality*. New York: *Monthly Review Press*, (1983), 177-205; Michael Warner (editor), ‘Fear of a Queer Planet: queer politics and social theory’. Minneapolis/London: *University of Minnesota Press* (1993).

<sup>46</sup> Judith Butler, *Problemas de Gênero* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2003).

the world to locate and reframe this theory to their own realities. The next subsection will discuss how Latin American theorists decolonised the term 'queer' in order to produce their own understanding of it.

### **Aqui embaixo? It's (Cu)ir, It's Transviado!<sup>47</sup>**

The production of knowledge in Brazil is always considered a "thought" and never a "theory" as Brazilian elite considers itself inferior to its European and North American counterparts, creating a feeling in the country that they live in a backwards society. Hence, Lynch argues that there is a process of internalising the feeling of inferiority by local elites, leading to a devaluing of what is produced nationally in favour of what is produced elsewhere.<sup>48</sup> Against this idea (and this feeling) of passivity, contemporary Brazilian scholars, especially those related to decolonial and critical studies, started to produce their own knowledge and understanding of theories that were coming from the Global North. This was no different for queer theory.

The transits, translations and challenges of queer theory in Latin American contexts could be understood as an attempt to expand Eurocentrism and reflects the absence of the racial issue in these spaces considered to be sexual diverse.<sup>49</sup> Unlike the Latin American feminist field, which was constituted in a less hegemonic way, precisely because of the contact with Black Feminism that 'broke' this colonial logic of the discourse coming from the North, queer theory arrived in the continent and in Brazil through more restricted and hegemonic groups when it comes to race and class.<sup>50</sup> This led many Latin American contemporary scholars and activists, such as the Chilean Felipe Rivas San Martín, to debate the inappropriate character of the term 'queer' to hispanic and lusophone contexts. Felipe employs the translated term

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<sup>47</sup> Aqui embaixo, translated as 'down here?', refer to the Global South.

<sup>48</sup> Christian Lynch, "Por Que Pensamento e Não Teoria? A Imaginação Político-Social Brasileira e o Fantasma da Condição Periférica (1880-1970)," *DADOS - Revista de Ciências Sociais*, v.56, n.4, (2013): 727-767.

<sup>49</sup> Yuderks Espinosa Miñoso, "El futuro ya fue: una crítica a la idea del progreso en las narrativas de liberación sexo-genérica y queer identitarias en Abya Yala," In *Andar Erótico Decolonial*, ed. Ferrera-Baanquet, Raúl Moarquech (Buenos Aires, Ediciones del Signo, 2015): 21-35.

<sup>50</sup> Miñoso, "El futuro ya fue"; Caterina Alessandra Rea; Izzie Madalena Santos Amancio, "Descolonizar a sexualidade: Teoria queer of Colour e trânsitos para o Sul," *Cadernos Pagu*, n. 53 (2018).

‘cuir’ as he believes that sometimes the misunderstanding of the theory may be related to the use of the English expression itself in different scenarios.<sup>51</sup>

Larissa Pelúcio discusses in her work the potentiality of the word ‘queer’ in the tropics; that is, an attempt to shift the logic of the ‘centre’ to peripheral areas of the world. Furthermore, to produce knowledge and vocabularies that seek other ways of describing their realities.<sup>52</sup> The term ‘queer’, formerly offensive in the Anglo-American context, travels the world due to the still American hegemony in the production of knowledge; although it does not have the same impact everywhere.<sup>53</sup> In Portuguese, especially if spoken outside of academia, queer does not cause any discomfort; thus, the political weight appropriated by the North American movement disappeared in Brazil.<sup>54</sup> Pelúcio, therefore, suggests Brazilian queer scholars to assume themselves as ‘teóricos cu’.<sup>55</sup> As she argues:

Talking about an ‘anus theory’ is, above all, an anthropophagic exercise, to nurture these impressive contributions by scholars of the so-called North, to think with them; but also, to locate our place in this “tradition”, because I believe that we are contributing to generate this rich set of knowledge about bodies, sexualities, desires, biopolitics and geopolitics as well.<sup>56</sup>

Similarly, Berenice Bento, in a deconstructive sense of queer studies, transliterates the term queer studies as “*transviado* studies” in an attempt to connect more deeply with the aforementioned Brazilian reality that is so different to that of North America where it was first originated, as she rhetorically asks in her work “*What is the strength of being a ‘queer’ in the Brazilian society? None!*”.<sup>57</sup> However, once the concept is brought to a different scenario and translated into an intelligible discourse<sup>58</sup> - by using common expressions such as

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<sup>51</sup> Rea and Amancio, “Descolonizar”; Larissa Pelucio, “Traduções e torções ou o que se quer dizer quando dizemos queer no Brasil?,” *Revista Periódicus*, Vol. 1, N.1, (2014): 68-91.

<sup>52</sup> Pelúcio, “Traduções e torções”.

<sup>53</sup> Marcia Ochoa, “Ciudadanía perversa: divas, marginación y participación en la ‘localización,’” En Daniel Mato (coord.), *Políticas de ciudadanía y sociedad civil en tiempos de globalización. Caracas: FACES, Universidad Central de Venezuela (2004): 239-256.*

<sup>54</sup> Pelúcio, “Traduções e torções”.

<sup>55</sup> ‘Teóricos cu’ can be understood as ‘anus theorists’ (Pelúcio, ‘Traduções e torções’).

<sup>56</sup> Pelúcio, “Traduções e torções”, 71.

<sup>57</sup> Berenice Bento, *Transviad@s: gênero, sexualidade e direitos humanos* (Salvador: EDUFBA, 2017).

<sup>58</sup> This can be confirmed in the survey results where 46.4% of respondents said they do not identify with the term ‘Queer’ and 9.8% of them did not even know what it means (Appendix I).

‘*transviado, viado, sapatão, traveco, bicha, boiola*’<sup>59</sup> - it is powerful, it is heard. All in all, to embrace queer theory as it is, without adding a local perspective, is “accepting a colonised way of thinking that does not suit me at all”.<sup>60</sup> As Pelúcio affirms, there is a clear ‘geopolitics of knowledge’ that presupposes well-defined roles between the global North (producer of ideas) and the global South (recipient of ideas).<sup>61</sup> This emphasises the importance of understanding this thesis as a ‘subaltern knowledge’.

The ‘subaltern knowledge’ is, therefore, mobilised as those who share an epistemic place that questions [hegemonic] Eurocentric theories that, under alleged universalism, privilege a way of knowing who takes the West, the whiteness, the masculine and the heterosexuality as a human measure.<sup>62</sup>

In line with this purpose, this thesis will only make use of the terms ‘cuir’ and ‘transviado’ from now on when I refer to queer/cuir bodies in a Latin American (mainly Brazilian) context.

## **Other Definitions...**

### **Neoliberalism**

One of the first steps to interpreting neoliberalism and its practices is to acknowledge that it has a history and a geography, that is, a specific spatial and temporal context.<sup>63</sup> In this thesis, neoliberalism is understood as the "political and economic theories undergirding the

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<sup>59</sup> Brazilians portuguese slangs for LGBTQIA+ population, mostly offensive ones. However, as the word ‘queer’, many of them have been adopted by brazilian kuir community in a prideful way.

<sup>60</sup> Bento, *Transviad@s*, 131.

<sup>61</sup> Pelúcio, “Traduções e torções”.

<sup>62</sup> Richard Miskolci and Larissa Pelúcio, ‘Discursos fora da ordem. Sexualidades, saberes e direitos’. São Paulo, *Annablume* (2012). (in: Caterina Alessandra Rea & Izzie Madalena Santos Amancio, ‘Descolonizar a sexualidade: Teoria Queer of Colour e trânsitos para o Sul’. *Cadernos Pagu*, (53), e185315. Epub October 04 (2018).

<sup>63</sup> David Harvey, *A brief history of neoliberalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Jon Binnie, “Neoliberalism, Class, Gender and Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer Politics in Poland,” *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 27 (2) (2014): 241–257.

movement and accumulation of capital in late modernity".<sup>64</sup> Some of the main characteristics are: 1. the market's efficiency – if compared to the state - in distributing public resources (laissez faire economic theories) and 2. a more competitive form of individualism (especially the right to property).<sup>65</sup> In other words, Harvey states that neoliberalism is the maximisation of human well-being by liberating 'individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills' to a neoliberal institutional framework - free markets and free trades, for instance - that should be created and preserved by the state.<sup>66</sup>

In order to expand the discussion, the 'neoliberal rationality' induces human beings to a self-management way of life centred in market principles, producing *technologies of subjectivity* so individuals can be more efficient and competitive.<sup>67</sup> According to Peterson, many scholars<sup>68</sup> have started to investigate how these technologies of subjectivity might threaten the LGBTQ+ community goal of a more egalitarian life as they do not fit the norm. The author emphasises how important these broad works on social practices are; however, a more immediate level of analysis is needed in order to understand neoliberal forms of homo[trans]phobia. These forms are shaped according to neoliberalism's techniques of "disarticulation and rearticulation of citizenship"; in other words, some categories of subjects are being protected by this new economic logic that has been rearticulating components – such as rights – formerly tied to citizenship whereas others are being excluded and oppressed. In this way, capitalism has subverted the material basis of the nuclear family by displacing their economic functions in order to create a different meaning for it: the source of love, security and stability. This neoliberal brand-new image of family has helped place LGBTQ+ and heterosexual feminists as "scapegoats for social instability" as they threaten this model.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> David Peterson, "Neoliberal homophobic discourse: Heteronormative human capital and the exclusion of queer citizens," *Journal of Homosexuality*, 58, (2011): 744. doi: 10.1080/00918369.2011.581918.

<sup>65</sup> Aihwa Ong, *Neoliberalism as exception: Mutations in citizenship and sovereignty* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006); Peterson, "Neoliberal homophobic".

<sup>66</sup> Harvey, *A brief history*.

<sup>67</sup> Ong, *Neoliberalism as an exception*.

<sup>68</sup> See, for instance, authors like: Duggan, 2003; Field, 1995; Harris, 2007; Hoggart, 2005 (in: Peterson, "Neoliberal homophobic").

<sup>69</sup> John D'Emilio, "Capitalism and Gay Identity," in *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader*, eds. Henry Abelove et al. *New York, London: Routledge* (1993): 473.

## Intersectionality

The system we are in relies on the basis of difference, that is, it creates many different types of discrimination that spread across multiple identities. Within each societal group, there is a plethora of subjectivities that, most of the time, are not equally represented in the bigger picture. Consequently, even groups that are marginalised by the hegemonic part of society create segregation among themselves, reinforcing the invisibility of certain individuals.<sup>70</sup> In the LGBTQ+ community, for example, a black trans woman occupies an inferior position if compared to a cisgender white lesbian, emphasising that this hierarchy worsens when categories such as race and class are thrown into the discussion. Intersectionality, therefore, is the intersection point of different types of discrimination at the same time.<sup>71</sup>

Similarly, the perspective of intersectionality that addresses multiple variables - such as nationality, class, sexuality, gender, race, religion, and so on - is fundamental to a better and more complete understanding of contemporary social issues of a globalised world.<sup>72</sup> Bilge suggests that countries in the Western world believe in the idea that they have overcome social issues like racism, sexism and homotransphobia.<sup>73</sup> However, as Crenshaw states, racial and ethnic issues are not the same in the whole world.<sup>74</sup> In this way, intersectional categories must be understood as fluid and dynamic processes. A contextual analysis is necessary as these categories have their own historical context and are intertwined with their social, cultural and political context.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Kimberle Crenshaw, "A interseccionalidade na discriminação de raça e gênero," In *Cruzamento: raça e gênero*, edited by UNIFEM (Brasília: UNIFEM, 2004).

<sup>71</sup> Crenshaw, "Interseccionalidade".

<sup>72</sup> Chandra Mohanty, "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses," In: C. T. Mohanty, A. Russo and L. Torres, eds., *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991).

<sup>73</sup> Sirma Bilge, *Intersectionality Undone: Saving Intersectionality from Feminist Intersectionality Studies* (Du Bois Review, 2013).

<sup>74</sup> Crenshaw, "Interseccionalidade".

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*; María José Magliano, "Interseccionalidad y migraciones: potencialidades y desafíos," *Revista Estudos Feministas*, v.23, n.3 (2015): 691-712.

## Right to the City

Lefebvre coined this concept in 1968 in order to illustrate that all urban citizens have rights to every possibility a city might offer, that is, the full and democratic use of all of its resources.<sup>76</sup> In practice, however, the urban landscape, though historically welcoming to LGBTQ+, is still unequally open to its inhabitants. In addition, he points out that every time an urban reform takes place, not only does it reveal the real structures of this urban space, but also its society's dynamics, as well as its individual and daily relationships.<sup>77</sup> In parallel, David Harvey perceives the right to the city as the right that all citizens located in these urban spaces have to create (*shape*) spaces that fully meet their needs and expectations. Harvey believes that this concept is an alternative to neoliberalism that articulates capital in the process of urban reform.<sup>78</sup> It is pivotal to understanding the importance of social movements - as well as that of local actors - as agents of resistance to this model of city that excludes and takes from the population, mostly from the marginalised, the right to engage in the processes of change and development in their own cities.<sup>79</sup>

This thesis, at its core, focuses on Brazilian LGBTQ+ spaces and movements that claim the right to the city in Rio de Janeiro and the use of the urban (public) areas by this community.

## Heterotopias

Michel Foucault, in *Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias*, presents the concept of a heterotopia as spaces in contemporary society that have been overlooked by Western culture by showing deviations from the norm. According to the author, Western rationality, in search of the universal and the same, suppressed multiplicity, that is, the different, creating a common idea of life commanded by what he calls 'sacred spaces'.<sup>80</sup> As he states:

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<sup>76</sup> Henri Lefebvre, *O direito à cidade* (São Paulo: Moraes, 1991).

<sup>77</sup> Lefebvre, *O direito à cidade*.

<sup>78</sup> David Harvey, *The Right to the City* (New Left Review, 2008).

<sup>79</sup> David Harvey, *Rebel cities: from the right to the city to the urban revolution* (Londres/Nova York: Verso, 2012).

<sup>80</sup> Michel Foucault, "Of other spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias," *Diacritics* 16: (1986): 22-27.

These are oppositions that we regard as simple givens: for example between private space and public space, between family space and social space, between cultural space and useful space, between the space of leisure and that of work. All these are still nurtured by the hidden presence of the sacred.<sup>81</sup>

Heterotopia<sup>82</sup> translates into the space of the other, where different power relations are exercised and geared towards the normalisation of this 'other', like sexuality, prisons, schools, and so on. By differentiating utopia from heterotopy, the former being unreal places without a fixed location and the latter being real places, that is, that exist but are not accepted as they are different (from the same), Foucault illustrates that there are in every culture and civilisation real places that work as "counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites [...] are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted". Society itself produces heterotopias and to analyse these spaces is to understand conflicts and tensions behind their existing power relations.<sup>83</sup>

Among all principles related to heterotopias, I will solely focus on the sixth one as it supports later discussions on this thesis: that these spaces "have a function in relation to all the space that remains".<sup>84</sup> In other words, heterotopias may either have a role of creating a space of illusion or the opposite, creating "a space that is other, another real space, as perfect, as meticulous, as well arranged as ours is messy, ill constructed, and jumbled". The latter would be what he calls the 'heterotopia of compensation'. As an example, Foucault explains that some colonies in the 17<sup>th</sup> century were founded as perfect other places; such as the Puritan societies established in the U.S. by the English or the Jesuit colonies in South America, which were strictly regulated in every aspect of their daily lives. In this way, "Christianity marked the space and geography of the American world with its fundamental sign".<sup>85</sup> As further explained in chapter three, this colonial legacy in Brazil helped to create a society averse to the LGBTQ+ community.

After this brief overview of queer theory that strongly influences debates in the fields of geography and urban studies, as well as the discussion of 'cuir theory' in Latin

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<sup>81</sup> Ibid., 23.

<sup>82</sup> According to Foucault, a word of Greek origin (heteros: the different and linked to the word alter (the other) and topos meaning place, space).

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., 24.

<sup>84</sup> Foucault, "Of other spaces", 27.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

America/Brazil and heterotopias, the next subsection will discuss the main themes that permeate this research investigation: 1. Geographies of sexuality; 2. Queer Spaces; and 3. Queer (Urban) Futures.

## 1.1. GEOGRAPHIES OF SEXUALITY

The debate on LGBTQ+ urban geographies - mainly gay and lesbian geographies - first appeared in academia through North American scholars that attempted to map 'gay landscapes' in the U.S., such as Loyd and Rowntree (1978), Weightman (1981) and Castells (1983). Weightman affirmed that the gay community had a considerable impact "upon the landscape through a variety of spatial expressions" and, she presented possible avenues of geographic research within this topic.<sup>86</sup> Castells investigated gay and lesbian spaces in San Francisco and argued that each group's geography reflects its gender roles and behaviour in society.<sup>87</sup> That is to say, gay men act more territorially whereas lesbians rely on informal networks. These works, though problematic when it comes to their main findings and assumptions about gays and lesbians, illustrated that there was already a spatial basis to sexual identities, especially gay men, and inspired many scholars to explore the role of the LGBTQ+ community in urban areas.<sup>88</sup>

In accordance with Binnie and Valentine<sup>89</sup>, the last two decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century witnessed a rapid growth of works on geographies of sexuality in the cities of the Global North. In North America and Europe, many scholars such as Ettore (1978), Knopp (1987; 1990a, 1992, 1995), Adler and Brenner (1992), Peake (1993), Corton (1993), Hindle (1994), Valentine (1995), Forest (1995), Rothenberg (1995), Mort (1995), Binnie (1995a), Duncan (1996) have delved into LGBTQ+ geographies, explored gay and lesbian communities, spaces, neighbourhoods, villages and their relation to capitalism, urban areas and cities; creating a rich and relatively new field of study. These urban researchers examined "the formation and

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<sup>86</sup> Barbara Weightman, "Commentary: towards a geography of the gay community," *Journal of Cultural Geography* 1 (1981): 106.

<sup>87</sup> Manuel Castells, *The city and the grassroots* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1983).

<sup>88</sup> Jon Binnie and Gill Valentine, "Geographies of Sexuality - a Review of Progress," *Progress in Human Geography* 23 (2) (1999): 175-187.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*

transformation of inner-city places associated with sexual and gender minorities”.<sup>90</sup> However, as Binne and Valentine<sup>91</sup> also state, there is much more to be developed and analysed than simply mapping these spaces; vital to this “queer reading of the discipline of geography itself”. The lack of academic work about contexts other than the Global North within queer urban geographies is undeniable.

However, in the ‘80s, Edward MacRae introduced the investigation and analysis of gay spaces in the city of São Paulo and Rio by calling them ‘ghettos’. He affirmed that gay nightclubs and bars aimed for the middle class homosexual already existed since the ‘60s; however, the numbers of these venues - including saunas - rapidly increased after Brazil’s political opening in the early ‘80s.<sup>92</sup> MacRae saw the ‘ghetto’ as a place where oppressive feelings towards homosexuality are momentarily removed, allowing gays to come out and set up a new social identity. Due to this, one gets encouraged to come out in other (or in all) environments.<sup>93</sup> Another aspect that he points out is the difference between gay men and lesbians. He argues that gay men and their ‘ghettos’ are much more visible than the lesbian and their spaces; being the reason why gay men have more venues for themselves. He states that lesbians, and heterosexual women, suffer more repression, leading them to avoid going out alone or to have a more open manifestation of their sexuality. They earn lower incomes compared to men; thus, constituted a less attractive consumer market. All in all, MacRae, while criticising some aspects of these venues, such as the reproduction of segregation by economic factors, defends their existence for being a focus of resistance and generating new attitudes.<sup>94</sup> These ideas are further pointed out and contextualised in chapters four and five both in the mapping of Rio’s LGBTQ+ nighttime spaces and in the case studies.

More recently, scholars have begun to analyse social and economic changes within these geographies, especially gay villages in Euro-American cities over the last two decades. These changes are commonly associated to neoliberal imperatives and social and political acceptance of the LGBTQ+ community. Furthermore, ‘queerfriendly’ neighbourhoods, as

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<sup>90</sup> Andrew Gorman-Murray and Catherine Nash, “Transformations in LGBT consumer landscapes and leisure spaces in the neoliberal city,” *Urban Studies* 54(3) (2017): 786–805.

<sup>91</sup> Binne and Valentine, “Geographies”, 183.

<sup>92</sup> Edward MacRae, “Em defesa do gueto” In: Green, James & Trindade, Ronaldo. (orgs.) *Homossexualismo em São Paulo e outros escritos*. São Paulo, *Editora da Unesp* (2005): 291-308.

<sup>93</sup> MacRae, “Em defesa do gueto”.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*

well as bars, cafes and restaurants, have been emerging at the same time that a process of ‘de-gaying’ of gay villages has been taking place.<sup>95</sup> As Gorman-Murray and Nash suggest:

The reasons are complex and still unclear, but arguably include generational change, local politics, social acceptance, digital technology, cheaper residential and commercial rents, alongside distrust of colonisation of gay villages and concerns of growing homophobic harassment therein [...] However, much of this literature continues to suggest that increasing LGBT visibility outside gay villages is linked to homonormativity and the acceptability of certain sexual and gender minorities – based on class and ethnicity – in identifiable, alternative neighbourhoods.<sup>96</sup>

While Gorman-Murray and Nash agree that homonormative privilege plays an important role in the complex processes at work, it should not be considered a hegemonic rhetoric. That is because “the persistent reconstitution of urban spaces, identities, lifestyles and consumption patterns is ‘mediated by complex interactions of political, economic, social and cultural practices and processes’”.<sup>97</sup> Globalisation and neoliberalism turned the inner-city, including gay villages and areas, into an entrepreneurial city; in other words, a landscape of consumption, (tolerant) cosmopolitanism, touristification<sup>98</sup> and marketing.<sup>99</sup> The consequences for the LGBTQ+ individuals are as follows: the exclusion of queers “less amenable to mainstream assimilation”; the promotion of ‘good [neoliberal] gays and lesbians’; and, the diminishment of gay villages (and their spaces).<sup>100</sup>

In this way, the main takeaway is that the literature review confirmed the lack of non Euro-American academic material on geographies of sexuality. Furthermore, these aforementioned consequences are very aligned to Rio’s cuir scenario as will be discussed in the following chapters.

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<sup>95</sup> Gorman-Murray & Nash, “Transformations in LGBT consumer landscapes”.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., 789.

<sup>97</sup> Mark Jayne (2006): 18 in: Gorman-Murray & Nash, “Transformations in LGBT consumer landscapes”, 788.

<sup>98</sup> Gorman-Murray and Nash highlight that the touristification process transformed gay villages into commodities for the ‘straight’ mainstream consumption as well as a tool for the city marketing to promote itself as diverse, inclusive.

<sup>99</sup> Gorman-Murray & Nash, “Transformations in LGBT consumer landscapes”; Richard Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class and How It’s Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life* (New York: Basic Books, 2002); David Bell and Jon Binnie, “Authenticating queer space: Citizenship, urbanism and governance,” *Urban Studies* 41(9) (2004): 1807–1820.

<sup>100</sup> Gorman-Murray & Nash, “Transformations in LGBT consumer landscapes”, 789; Bell & Binnie, “Authenticating queer space”.

## 1.2. QUEER SPACES

Most LGBTQ+ urban researchers believe it is a challenge to find a common definition for a ‘queer space’; if it actually makes sense to have one as different groups would have different views about it. However, there are dominant notions supported by early ‘80s/‘90s scholars that characterise it as being a heroic and liberating space that goes beyond normativity.<sup>101</sup> On the other hand, contemporary critical scholars, like Oswin, interpret it differently as they understand gay and lesbian spaces “as unfixed, contested and disciplinary. [...in other words] gay and lesbian spaces do not necessarily transgress the normative”.<sup>102</sup> While the definitions of what queer spaces are remains open, others have argued that the LGBTQ+ citizens’ needs - like safety, equality, culture, and so on - remain quite constant. For a very long time, queer venues were the only space where most queers could actually get together and socialise. As visibility increases, as well as acceptance to some extent, there are new queer landscapes appearing in urban areas, creating a fruitful field for investigation.<sup>103</sup>

A group of scholars such as Oswin<sup>104</sup> and Campkin<sup>105</sup> have recently been denouncing the exclusion of queer scholarship and identity politics in many urban debates, revoking the “*right to the city*” concept coined by Lefebvre to legitimise its importance. That is, LGBTQ+ community plays a big role in the urban scenario as they have the right to make use of this area; thus, they have to be included in the mains debates as well. The biggest problem is that urban studies still focus solely on:

“...capitalist logics at the expense of - rather than in parallel with - consideration of the inequalities wrought by heteronormative and patriarchal structures; those

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<sup>101</sup> David Bell and Gill Valentine, *Mapping desire: geographies of sexuality* (London: Routledge, 1995); Jon Binnie. “Coming out of geography: towards a queer epistemology? Environment and Planning, D: Society and Space 15, (1997a.): 223–37; Phil Hubbard, “Desire/disgust: mapping the moral contours of heterosexuality,” *Progress in Human Geography* 24, (2000): 191–217.

<sup>102</sup> Natalie Oswin, “Critical Geographies and the Use of Sexuality: Deconstructing Queer Space,” *Progress in Human Geography* 32, no. 1 (February 2008): 91-92; Catherine Jean Nash, “Toronto’s gay village (1969–1982): plotting the politics of gay identity,” *The Canadian Geographer* 50, (2006): 1–16.; Kath Browne, “Challenging queer geographies,” *Antipode* 38, (2006a): 885–93.

<sup>103</sup> Ben Walters, “What are queer spaces for anyway?,” In LGBTQ+ Night-time spaces: Past, Present and Future, edited by Ben Campkin et al (London: Urban Pamphleteer, 2018): 15.

<sup>104</sup> Oswin, “Planetary Urbanization”, 540-6.

<sup>105</sup> Campkin, “Queer Urban Imaginaries”.

structures, that is, which have been illuminated by feminist, queer, and race critical scholars, and those who work through lens of intersectionality in their analyses”.<sup>106</sup>

Similarly, this thesis not only adds queer scholarship in the the urban debates but also brings a Latin American perspective on that by contesting the dominant notions behind queer spaces.

### **1.3. QUEER (Urban) IMAGINARIES & FUTURES**

Inspired by the London Lesbian and Gay Centre, conceived in 1982, and the idea that “LGBTQ+ communities have shaped cities and will shape urban futures”, Campkin coined the concept of ‘queer urban imaginary/future’ for LGBTQ+ spaces that try to embrace all subjectivities in a multifunctional environment.<sup>107</sup> That is to say:

“That is to say, imaginaries that protect the rights and space of minorities communities, and support forms of queer kinship that are locally embedded but which also extend beyond city and national borders. Working in utopian ways against the dominant heteronormative and patriarchal structures of capitalist urbanisation, there is bound to be difficulty and disappointment, but that makes a grounded politics of hope ever more important”.<sup>108</sup>

The London Lesbian and Gay Centre was the result of a radical social agenda at the time of Ken Livingstone’s mayorship that aimed to produce “an array of ground-breaking “equal opportunities” policies and community funding strategies”.<sup>109</sup> The Centre was awarded a grant by the Greater London Council (GLC) in order to establish a place that would have a multi-use function and offer a gay rights service. This initiative was an idea of the Gay Working Party that proposed the creation of a community-based centre that was more relaxed and inclusive than the commercial scene. Their main critique was that London’s commercial

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<sup>106</sup> Ibid., 408.

<sup>107</sup> Campkin, “Queer Urban Imaginaries”, 408.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., 421.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., 413.

gay scene was for affluent middle-class gay men and it excluded other identities such as lesbians, disabled and poor people, for instance.<sup>110</sup>

The project itself was very ambitious and, perhaps, the first British attempt to create what we would call a ‘queer urban imaginary’ nowadays. As Campkin states, it was “an important historical precedent of proactive support for the lesbian and gay community”<sup>111</sup> as it accommodated a range of autonomous organisations that dealt with many issues of queer life such as HIV/Aids in the ‘80s and ‘90s. All in all, the Centre had to adapt itself many times in order to accommodate their wide range of uses throughout the years as described below:

“The building included a disco, bars, cafe, bookshop, a women-only floor and a coffee bar (The Orchid), creche, meeting rooms and workshop spaces, a shop (Centre Pieces), printing and typesetting workshop, and a photographic darkroom. The ground and lower floor were the more public areas, including a large reception, with more specialist spaces on higher storeys”.

According to Campkin, some aspects and practices of the queer urban imaginary embodied within the aforementioned Centre in London are good lessons of how to start building such spaces. Firstly, the pioneering attempt to include a plethora of different groups and agendas within the same place, even if their interests and needs differ from each other at the first instance. Moreover, the minorities within Gay and Lesbian communities were given a higher level of attention in order to fully understand their experiences and struggles. Recognising the different relations of power, even within the LGBTQ+ community, has become vital in such spaces, especially after the intersectionality approach was brought into academia as well as organisations and institutions. Secondly, there was a vivid feeling of cooperation and a sense of support that combined its researches and services attempt to tackle the misinformation and booming homophobia of the ‘80s. Lastly, to have good connections in borough-level local government as well as constantly seeking resources and fundings with other districts.<sup>112</sup>

The understanding of this multifunctional environment is crucial for this investigation as the last chapter will discuss Brazilian LGBTQ+ spaces that share the same idea.

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<sup>110</sup> Campkin, “Queer Urban Imaginaries”.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., 416.

<sup>112</sup> Campkin, “Queer Urban Imaginaries”.

**Figure 3. Flávio Cerqueira: Amnésia, 2015**



Source: Tempo da delicadeza / MASP

## CHAPTER 2: Understanding Brazilian intersectional identities and their *troubled* power relations

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The sculpture above depicts a black boy spilling a can of white paint over his body, but it is not enough to cover him entirely. Flávio Cerqueira, artist who created this piece called 'Amnesia', reports that he sought to narrate new versions for the official history of Brazil by portraying the whitening of the black population.<sup>113</sup> As well as the intention of this work, this chapter promotes the deconstruction of some common ideas about the official narrative of the Brazilian identity construction through a critical look at the 'ideal Brazilian' and its relationship with dissident bodies, such as the LGBTQ+ population.

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<sup>113</sup> Flávio Cerqueira, 'Conheça o escultor de uma das peças em destaque na exposição "Histórias afro-atlânticas", no Masp'. *SP-Arte* 365. Accessed in June 15, 2020, <https://www.sp-arte.com/editorial/conheca-o-escultor-de-uma-das-pecas-em-destaque-na-exposicao-historias-afro-atlanticas-no-masp/>.

## CHAPTER 2: Understanding Brazilian intersectional identities and their *troubled* power relations

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In order to answer the first sub-question: “*How are queer identities shaped in tandem with the ideal Brazilian, and how does this affect the possibilities of carving queer spaces in the city?*”, this chapter aims to explore the construction of Brazil's national identity and its relationship with the role of gender and sexualities. In order to understand the current reality of kuir people in the country, their dynamics and spaces, it is essential to understand and deconstruct certain concepts about Brazilian identity, such as the idea of a ‘*cordial man*’ and the ‘*myth of racial democracy*’.

Supporting an international perspective, this chapter focuses on trying to draw the construction of the dominant Brazilian national identity. As well as emphasising gender and sexuality issues, it will also bring the issue of race into the argument. In accordance with Roberto DaMatta<sup>114</sup> understanding of the meaning of the Brazilian nation, the first part will also briefly explore the main authors of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century who gave their opinion on the formation of Brazil's national identity, introducing concepts such as ‘*miscegenation of the three races*’ and ‘*cordiality*’ itself. Once the discourse of ‘the cordial man’ has been deconstructed under a racial lense, it will be deconstructed once again, but this time from the perspective of gender and sexuality. In this part, colonisation will be shown to be one of the precursors to the oppression faced by ‘*transviados*’ in Brazil. From this patriarchal model, centred on the straight white cis man and influenced by a strong Christian religious presence, Brazilian society has been coaxed into being against LGBTQ+ practices, as they subvert from the compulsory heteronormativity prevalent in Brazilian society.

### 2.0. The social imagery of ‘being Brazilian’ as a *cordial man*

In DaMatta’s book, “*O que faz o Brasil, Brasil?*”<sup>115</sup>, he tries to unravel, by way of a sociological analysis, the meaning of nationhood for the whole of Brazil, unveiling what the state of being Brazilian actually means. In order to do so, it is necessary to go back in time

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<sup>114</sup> Roberto DaMatta, *O que faz o Brasil, Brasil?* (Rio de Janeiro: Rocco, 1986).

<sup>115</sup> What Does Brazil, Brazil? (DaMatta, 1986, Own translation).

and analyse certain theoretical constructions that have gone into the making of Brazil the “land of the mixture of races”, which was fundamental for the future construction of the 'cordial man' discourse, introduced by Brazilian academia in the 1930s.

Some 19<sup>th</sup> century social theorists believed Brazil was a “lost piece of Portugal and Europe - a diseased and condemned group of races that, intermingling with one another at the mercy of exuberant nature and a tropical climate, would be doomed to degeneracy and a biological, psychological and social death”.<sup>116</sup> This vision of the country as a set of races, which would be subsequently transformed into something positive and a source of national pride, was the beginning of a very dangerous discourse - that of the Brazilian as a cordial man - to emerge and made it possible for the country to be seen and studied as a coin, that is, something that has two sides, thus building an illusionary reality.<sup>117</sup>

Before explaining the cordial man, it is important to have clear that the racist theories that spread throughout the northern hemisphere during the 18<sup>th</sup> century were not necessarily against black people - even if considered inferior when compared to white people - but against any miscegenation of "races".<sup>118</sup> This is because, for these scholars, a natural order in which the “human races” should be hierarchised was undoubtedly clear, where the white western European was at the top of this stratification and had the power of leadership over the others.

As an example, specifically addressing Brazil, DaMatta brings writings of the French Minister to Brazil between 1869 and 1870, Arthur de Gobineau. In his racist work, “The moral and intellectual diversity of the races”, Gobineau<sup>119</sup> says that, through the anthropological study of human differentiations, it is possible to divide the “races” based on three criteria: 1. Intellect; 2. Animalistic propensities; 3. Moral manifestations. From the view of white superiority, Gobineau predicted that Brazilian society would not last more than 200 years due to the insane mixture of races.<sup>120</sup> Thus, although he does not necessarily oppose the multiplicity of “races”, despite hierarchising them, he is fundamentally against any intimate social contact between them.

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<sup>116</sup> DaMatta, *O que faz Brasil, Brasil?*, 11, own translation.

<sup>117</sup> DaMatta, *O que faz Brasil, Brasil?*.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid.

<sup>119</sup> Joseph Gobineau, 1856 in: DaMatta, *O que faz Brasil, Brasil?*.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

According to DaMatta<sup>121</sup>, there were also other theorists who were influential in the implementation of this racist discourse of anti-miscegenation in Brazil, such as Buckle, Couty and Agassiz. When treating Brazilian population as a degenerate potential of hybrids that would not be able to create or generate anything positive, Agassiz, for example, even said that if one doubts his analysis, one should come to Brazil and see it with one's own eyes. In this way, one will not be able to deny the deterioration of races as miscegenation rapidly erases the best qualities of each race, creating an “undefined, hybrid human being poor in mental and physical energy”.<sup>122</sup>

Therefore, it is possible to say that in Brazil, unlike other countries, we do not have a formalised racial classification based on ‘blackness’ and/or ‘whiteness’. Unlike the USA, for example, which introduced in its legislation a law called “one-drop rule” (that is, anyone who has as little as ‘one drop’ of sub-Saharan African blood, even if they have a ‘white’ phenotype, is considered ‘black’), and for that reason presented a direct and formal prejudice; in Brazil, this prejudice took place in a more contextualised and ‘sophisticated’ way, not because of “origins” or “races”, but because of “physical traces”.<sup>123</sup>

In addition, we have the issue of the “racial triangle” that hinders a truer historical and social vision of the formation of Brazilian society. By believing in this aforementioned idea of a spontaneous encounter of the indigenous peoples, Portuguese colonisers and African slaves in an almost “social and biological carnival”, instead of the arrival of aristocratic white Portuguese colonisers who formed a hierarchical society with a rigid framework of discriminatory values, we are contributing to what came to be known as the “myth of racial democracy”.<sup>124</sup> Portuguese colonisers already had, as the author says, discriminatory legislation against Jews, Moors and blacks long before their colonisation of Brazil. They, therefore, only extended this legislation to Brazilian soil through practices and discourses of mixing the races as a way to hide such social injustice against those who were not white and/or Europeans. “Thus, “Brazilian racism”, paradoxically, makes injustice tolerable, and difference, a matter of time and love”.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> DaMatta, *O que faz Brasil, Brasil?*

<sup>122</sup> Agassiz in: DaMatta, *O que faz Brasil, Brasil?*, 40, own translation.

<sup>123</sup> DaMatta, *O que faz Brasil, Brasil?*.

<sup>124</sup> DaMatta, *O que faz Brasil, Brasil?*, 46-47, own translation.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid.

Oliveira Vianna<sup>126</sup>, during the Estado Novo<sup>127</sup>, analyses the relationship between State, nation and people and argues categorically that, in Brazil, there is neither the idea of unity nor the prospect of national belonging. The author also states that, in Brazil, there is no social solidarity except in the large estates and in the private sphere (the family clan). Thus, Vianna believes the State plays the main role in the organisation and production of nationalism, which, in his view, was necessary for the existence of a solid nation.<sup>128</sup> That is why it is very important for the State to retell our history through ideas that alleviate our segregating colonial past and find a common point so that there is a feeling of unity, of a nation: miscegenation, “myth of racial democracy”, the cordial man.

Of this school of authors who took it upon themselves to study and understand Brazil, Gilberto Freyre is one of the first to address the racial issue in its historical context, even though he is part of the Brazilian aristocracy. For Gilberto Freyre<sup>129</sup>, the Brazilian landowning system and the lack of female presence created a new type of interaction between the races, which would allow a physical approximation between male colonisers and slave women, especially black women, but also indigenous women. It is worth noting that this miscegenation process never took place spontaneously, but on the basis of sexual violence, that is, the sexualisation of the "inferior races".

For Freyre<sup>130</sup>, this Brazilian miscegenation process generated a possibility of social mobility for the "inferior races", creating a more flexible society. With the beginning of urbanisation, individualist and capitalist values spread. Whilst on the one hand, social differences increased, on the other, it saw the birth of an insubordination; that is, the intensification of resistance. The fall of patriarchy and the false valorisation of the mulatto figure caused, according to Freyre<sup>131</sup>, the expansion of miscegenation to happen simultaneously with social ascension. Also, it is in this period in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century that moments arise, or as DaMatta prefers to call them: “rituals”, which would become known as markers of Brazilian national identity: carnival and football.<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> Oliveira Vianna, *A Nação e o Estado* (Insight Inteligência, out-nov-dez 2013 [1932]).

<sup>127</sup> A Brazilian political regime from 1937 to 1946.

<sup>128</sup> Vianna, *A Nação e o Estado*.

<sup>129</sup> Gilberto Freyre, *Casa Grande & Senzala* (51.ed rev. São Paulo: Global, 2006).

<sup>130</sup> Freyre, *Casa Grande & Senzala*.

<sup>131</sup> Gilberto Freyre, *Sobrados e Mucambos* (7.ed. Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1985).

<sup>132</sup> DaMatta, *O que faz Brasil, Brasil?*.

Dialoguing with other great Brazilian interpreters such as Freyre and Vianna, Sérgio Buarque de Hollanda's "*Raízes do Brasil*", despite various re-editions, presents an organicist notion of Brazilian people.<sup>133</sup> For the author, the most important fact when carrying out an analysis of the origin of Brazilian society is to see that there was a clear attempt to implant European culture in a totally different environment. In this way, that particular European personality would be responsible for producing a unique meaning for its existence.<sup>134</sup> As previously mentioned, there was an intellectual and political movement in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century to dedicate itself to subjectivism and to produce a sense of what the Brazilian people would be.

Based on this particularism, Hollanda introduces the idea of cordiality to describe the Brazilian identity as friendly, emotional and empathetic. This unique Brazilian contribution, however, does not mean that there was a break with its colonial past, on the contrary, there is still a lot of colonial influence, but it is something unique produced in Brazil. In the final edition of his book, the author deepens his studies on cordiality, emphasising that it is part of a ruralist and patriarchal character and that Brazil was experiencing a transactional moment that would culminate in the death of this cordial man.<sup>135</sup> Cordiality is seen as the opposite of civility, being a manifestation of an emotional background, while civility would have a coercive background.<sup>136</sup> For him, this coercion can be understood by the way civility standardises conduct and has a ritualistic character, distant from our reality. This Brazilian social imaginary strongly internalised the idea of the cordial man, even today. That is why, as mentioned earlier, it is so hard for many Brazilians to realise we live in a very hierarchical, violent and unequal society. The cordial man embraces and accepts everyone; therefore, Brazilians as well.

Once the main theoretical set of what Brazilian society and its identity should be, its uniqueness, through the myth of a spontaneous mixture of races, giving rise to cordial people, has been exposed, this work will deconstruct this vision, in the next part of this chapter, through gender and sexuality lenses. Thus, Brazilian particularism as a society allows, as

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<sup>133</sup> Sérgio Buarque de Hollanda, *Raízes do Brasil* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1995).

<sup>134</sup> Ibid.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid.

<sup>136</sup> Luiz Feldman, "Um Clássico por Amadurecimento: Raízes do Brasil," *Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais*, v.28, n.82 (2013): 119-140.

DaMatta says, for people to follow certain values and judge certain human actions, practices and subjectivities within a standard established by themselves.<sup>137</sup> This is very evident in its relations with marginalised populations, such as LGBTQ+, as we will see below.

## **2.1. Deconstructing the ‘Brazilian cordial man’ imaginary through its relationship with queer bodies**

The above section has made a passage through the dominant discourses that loomed over Brazil in the 1930s, and, through the analysis of DaMatta, showed how these concepts of cordiality and miscegenation can be deconstructed through the lens of race, exposing the “myth of racial democracy” in the country. This second part will try to project the same logic of deconstruction, but using gender and sexuality issues present in the social environment, thus forming what Berenice Bento calls the “myth of LGBTT democracy”.<sup>138</sup>

The Brazilian historian Margareth Rago<sup>139</sup> highlighted the fact that Brazilian academia consecrated and highlighted works that discuss the formation of Brazilian identity, like Paulo Prado, only from the political-economic point of view at the expense of social, sexual and gender issues. Analysing it through these aforementioned lenses would allow for a better understanding of Brazilian society, its expectations and its inequalities. Furthermore, sexuality plays a fundamental role in the historical development of national identity, which, according to Rago, was established in the first relationships - the beginning of colonisation - in Brazil when racial miscegenation began.<sup>140</sup> Following the same line, Vainfas states that these studies on the construction of Brazilian identity made use of the miscegenation concept precisely to “hide” the theme of sexuality in the process of national formation as it was a taboo at that time.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> DaMatta, *O que faz Brasil, Brasil?*.

<sup>138</sup> Bento, *Transviad@s*.

<sup>139</sup> Margareth Rago, “Sexualidade e identidade na historiografia brasileira,” *Revista Aulas*. n.2, out/nov (2006).

<sup>140</sup> Rago, “Sexualidade e identidade”.

<sup>141</sup> Ronaldo Vainfas, “Colonização, miscigenação e questão racial: notas sobre equívocos e tabus da historiografia brasileira,” *Revista Tempo*, n°8 (1999): 7-18.

Homosexual identity, like so many other identities, is in a continuous process of formation.<sup>142</sup> Due to it also being considered a discourse, it is constituted dialogically, that is, formed from dialogues and their interactions.<sup>143</sup> Trevisan portrays, in his work, the issue of homosexuality in Brazil from the colonial period to the present day.<sup>144</sup> To initiate this theme, the author works from the research of Sérgio Domingues in the 1980s with the Kraô indigenous tribe in the state of Goiás. Not only are there reports of acceptance amongst the Kraô of LGBTQ+ subjects within their tribe, it is also abundantly apparent in their practices that they do not disdain them, even 500 years after colonisation. These discoveries allow us to infer that the emergence of homophobic practices stems from the Iberian colonisation processes in the Americas with the support of their institutions - government, church and a hierarchical patriarchal society.<sup>145</sup>

In addition to that, literature also plays a crucial role in the constitution of nationality and its standard figure, that is, the ideal Brazilian. Not any different to this, in Brazil, the authors who sought to unveil this “being Brazilian” included excerpts referring to practices between people of the same sex as a daily act from a long time.<sup>146</sup> For example, Gilberto Freyre illustrates in one of his novels in the early ‘30s a passage in relation to indigenous initiation rituals in Brazil where young indigenous men have sexual intercourse with each other in a free and natural way.<sup>147</sup> The indigenous LGBT movements in North America, for instance, show the Queer reality that their ancestors lived and that had been severely repressed by European colonisation.<sup>148</sup> According to the Cabette, these groups adopted between three and five well-defined genders - women; masculine women; masculine men; feminine men and two spirits - and it was very disrespectful not to accept the individuality of each person with

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<sup>142</sup> Michel Bozon, *Sociologia da sexualidade* (Rio de Janeiro: FGV, 2004).

<sup>143</sup> Mikhail Bakhtin, “L'oeuvre de François Rabelais et la culture populaire au Moyen Âge et sous la Renaissance,” *Paris: Gallimard* (1970).

<sup>144</sup> João Silvério Trevisan, *Pervers in Paradise* (London, GMP Publishers Ltd., 1986).

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>146</sup> Aguinaldo Gomes; Sandra Novais, “Práticas sexuais e homossexualidade entre os indígenas brasileiros,” *Caderno Espaço Feminino*, Uberlândia, MG. v.26, n.2, (2013). 44-57.

<sup>147</sup> Freyre, *Casa Grande & Senzala*.

<sup>148</sup> André Cabette, ‘Os gêneros tradicionais dos indígenas norte americanos vão além do masculino e feminino’. *Nexo Jornal*. Accessed in May, 20, 2020, [https://www.nexojornal.com.br/expresso/2016/06/24/Os-g%C3%AAneros-tradicionais-dos-ind%C3%AADgenas-norte-americanos-v%C3%A3o-al%C3%A9m-do-masculino-e-feminino?source=post\\_page-----](https://www.nexojornal.com.br/expresso/2016/06/24/Os-g%C3%AAneros-tradicionais-dos-ind%C3%AADgenas-norte-americanos-v%C3%A3o-al%C3%A9m-do-masculino-e-feminino?source=post_page-----)

regard to the proper recognition of their gender. Very different to European culture, these non-binary people were revered and their families were said to be fortunate.<sup>149</sup>

During the colonial period, the Portuguese colonisers brought the patriarchal family model with them, in which, according to Parker<sup>150</sup>, it would be “dualistic” and would consist of:

“[...] of a nucleus composed of the patriarch and his wife as well as their legitimate children, all living together under the single roof of the plantation’s casa-grande. On the periphery of this core, however, there existed a much more extensive and less well-delineated set of individuals, constituted as a group principally through their various links to the patriarch himself: his concubines or mistresses, his illegitimate children, his slaves and tenant farmers”.<sup>151</sup>

The structure of this colonial family was hierarchical, centred on the figure of the patriarch, mostly white, straight cis men.<sup>152</sup> Thus, the author argues that the woman's role is one of total submission to her husband, who had almost total sexual freedom. Much of this logic of superiority is reflected in the relationship of this white man with other "races" considered inferior. Thus, as pointed out in his book, cases of sodomy between masters and slaves or indigenous peoples, especially younger ones, were not uncommon in the colonial period.<sup>153</sup>

Parker goes further and shows that these acts of sodomy in the colony could be translated as 'situational homosexuality' and does not mean that these actors would in fact be gay.<sup>154</sup> This is because it is worth emphasising, as he himself points out, that the virginity of the white woman was very guarded and even used as a bargaining chip within this patriarchal system.

DaMatta shows how the construction of social identity and society itself is done in very similar ways, that is, through positive and negative affirmatives regarding certain social issues and taboos.<sup>155</sup> Nowadays, these key elements such as - laws, family, marriage,

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<sup>149</sup> Ibid.

<sup>150</sup> Richard Parker, *Beneath the Equator: Cultures of Desire, Male Homosexuality, and Emerging Gay Communities in Brazil* (London: Routledge, 1999).

<sup>151</sup> Parker, *Beneath the Equator*, 35.

<sup>152</sup> Parker, *Beneath the Equator*.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid.

<sup>154</sup> Parker, *Beneath the Equator*.

<sup>155</sup> DaMatta, *O que faz Brasil, Brasil?*.

sexuality, gender, politics, religion, morals, among others - are mobilised at all times in order to constantly perpetuate who is this normative Brazilian, or how they call themselves “good citizens”<sup>156</sup>, not only from the demonisation of subjects who do not fit this established pattern, but also reaffirming roles such as - conservative, religious and traditional.

DaMatta says that women, according to Brazilian society, become a source of virtue when they provide their household chores, sexuality and reproductive capacity to the group, largely understood as the family to which they belong. This pastoral and sanctified vision about women puts her in a position of fragility in relation to men, that is, they become easy prey in the face of fierce male sexuality.<sup>157</sup>

With this in mind, we can see that food can be constantly associated with sexuality, causing the sexual act to be translated as “eating”, “encompassing”, “ingesting”.<sup>158</sup> Brazilians, according to DaMatta, do not see sexuality as a “meeting of opposites and equals (the man and the woman who would be self-possessing individuals), but as a way of resolving this equality through absorption”<sup>159</sup>. In this way, sexual acts are hierarchised between the eaten (the virgin wife and mother) and the eater (the fiercely sexual husband).

This Brazilian conduct in relation to the sexual act can be understood as a construction of power markers between individuals that is established basing itself on gender binarism, man and woman, that is, dominant and dominated. Thus, homotransaffective and sexual performances challenge the heteronormative logic in force of the hierarchy of gender while threatening the central position of power around the male figure.<sup>160</sup> This was seen in the introduction of this thesis with the ‘Queermuseu’ episode where protests and censorship of an LGBTQ+ exhibition took place as it threatened the heterosexuality and its hegemonic position within our society.

In addressing the relationship between home, street and work, DaMatta shows how these “family traditions” were being perpetrated in Brazilian society and the family nucleus’

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<sup>156</sup> *Cidadão do Bem* can be literally translated as a ‘good citizen’. This expression has been constantly used by conservative/far-right politicians in Brazil in their Christian-white-heteronormative pro-family campaigns against, especially, feminist and LGBTQ+ groups.

<sup>157</sup> DaMatta, *O que faz Brasil, Brasil?*.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, 60.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>160</sup> Bozon, *Sociologia*.

established values, wherein all members must protect and preserve them; values that can also be called “honour” or “shame”.<sup>161</sup> This is because well-defined families, as the author says, are collectives that act with a well-defined collective personality. It is important to point out that when referring to the Brazilian case, we know what type of family is considered well-defined or not from the dominant discourses - heteronormative, patriarchal, white and elite - that still today exercise power and influence.

The group that occupies a house has a high sense of defense of its immovable and movable property and the protection of its most fragile members, “like children, women and their servants”.<sup>162</sup> This patriarchal vision brought about by coloniality is always instigated when it comes to speech acts in favour of the “traditional Brazilian family” by politicians, for example, which, while making the role of the agency of women childish, reinforces the hierarchical view of gender positions in our society.

This same discourse, if taken further, is also what helps to allow and legitimise the expulsion of LGBTQ+ people as they subvert their roles within the family nucleus and point out a “flaw” in this gentrified logic of domination. Therefore, as already said, for the well-defined family not to be classified as a “shame” before society, it is preferable to annihilating any existence of “imperfections” that damage this current model. It is not only a built environment, but a moral space where individuals have a physical body as well as a ‘social and moral dimension’.<sup>163</sup>

While the house is this moral space, the street, according to DaMatta, is the outside world that is governed by struggle, extreme competition and “by the cruel anonymity of individualities and individualisms”.<sup>164</sup> Thus, the author himself concludes in the excerpt below that:

“ [...] at home and in the code of the Brazilian family, there is a tendency to always produce a conservative discourse, where moral and traditional values are defended by elders and men. And that is why, in the house, we can have everything, as if the space over there was marked by supreme personal

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<sup>161</sup> DaMatta, *O que faz Brasil, Brasil?*.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, 25, own translation.

<sup>164</sup> DaMatta, *O que faz Brasil, Brasil?*, 28, own translation.

recognition: a kind of super-citizenship that contrasts terribly with the total absence of recognition that exists on the street".<sup>165</sup>

Furthermore, in the Brazilian case, all solemnities or social events facilitate the connection between home, the street and the other world. Carnival, as DaMatta states, proposes a link between these three factors so that all doors and walls are opened in order to match and integrate. However, civic and religious rites, which are festivals of order, perpetuate social relations as they occur in everyday life, in the real world, that is, maintaining differences and hierarchies. Due to this, carnivals are called "inversion rites" by DaMatta, whereas festivals of order are dubbed "reinforcement rites", since they emphasise and celebrate the current social order.<sup>166</sup>

Carnival, through the analysis of Gontijo<sup>167</sup> and DaMatta<sup>168</sup>, is the ritual of maximum expression of Brazilian culture and its 'unusual' positive behaviour in relation to cuir bodies. All societies alternate their lives between routines and rites, work and celebration; thus, there are moments, also known as "extraordinary occasions", where all rules, perspectives, habits can be turned upside down and seen through a new prism. As DaMatta says: "In our society, we are very aware of this alternation [...] between routines and parties, work and holidays, light-heartedness and "annoyances" [...] of joy and fantasy of this "other side of life" consisting of the party, the holiday and the absence of work for the other".<sup>169</sup>

The party periods in Brazil are marked by the utopia of the absence of hierarchy, power, money and physical effort and by a musicality that seeks to aggregate and equalise all of the subjects. Therefore, these unusual events, which are planned and with limited time, serve as a mirror through which society sees itself and is also seen by those who are not part of it, but are interested in knowing it.<sup>170</sup> Thus, like any and all parties, "Carnival creates a situation in which certain things are possible and others must be avoided".<sup>171</sup> It is defined as a moment of

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<sup>165</sup> Ibid.

<sup>166</sup> DaMatta, *O que faz Brasil, Brasil?*.

<sup>167</sup> Fabiano Gontijo, *O Rei Momo e o arco-íris: homossexualidade e carnaval no Rio de Janeiro* (Rio de Janeiro, Garamond, 2009).

<sup>168</sup> DaMatta, *O que faz Brasil, Brasil?*.

<sup>169</sup> DaMatta, *O que faz Brasil, Brasil?*, 68-69, own translation.

<sup>170</sup> DaMatta, *O que faz Brasil, Brasil?*.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid., 71, own translation.

‘freedom’ that one can experience his/her life in a fanciful and utopian way, that is, an opportunity to do everything in reverse.<sup>172</sup>

DaMatta highlights the phenomenon that in Brazil the carnival goes beyond fancy dress costumes and not just masks, characteristic of other countries’ carnivals. This broader term allows two senses to be explored: first, the costume has a larger meaning than a mask as it disguises more than just the face; second, the word ‘fantasia’<sup>173</sup> itself presents a double meaning. That is to say, it means the costume, something that you wear during carnival and also ‘fantasy’. In other words, something that you can put your imagination into and “be exactly who you wanted to be but life did not allow”.<sup>174</sup> While the uniform “flattens, orders and hierarchises”, the costume “liberates, de-constructs, paves the way and promotes the passage to other places and social spaces”.<sup>175</sup> Thus, for DaMatta, fantasy allows people to move freely within a social space that in their daily lives is highly hierarchical and composed of various prejudices.

Based on the explicit idea of antagonisation between fantasy and uniform, we can infer that, once this carnival week ends, the LGBTQ+ population, in their daily lives, remains characterised by fantasy in a scenario of complete uniformity of bodies. What was “accepted” and “used” as a way to enjoy the revelry no longer fits into the hierarchical, heteronormative and patriarchal day-to-day, as the world is no longer inverted. Therefore, carnival “as a set of ritual situations of great importance for the elaboration and reinforcement of such “Brazilian national identity”, also serves, as shown previously, for the elaboration of these relative homosexual and homosocial identities.<sup>176</sup> Thus, to admit that Carnival is tolerant of this minority, is to admit that these bodies are subverted, that is, they are a “catastrophe”, as DaMatta defines these moments of exceptionality in everyday life. This is because they are only represented, and consequently associated, with a period when the world is upside down. Even if, at the end, carnival also allows the elaboration of homosexual identities, this moment of permissiveness is limited.<sup>177</sup>

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<sup>172</sup> Ibid., 73.

<sup>173</sup> This specific interpretation can only be understood with the portuguese word ‘fantasia’ as, in portuguese, it means ‘fantasy’ and/or ‘costume’ at the same time.

<sup>174</sup> DaMatta, *O que faz Brasil, Brasil?*, 74-75, own translation.

<sup>175</sup> DaMatta, *O que faz Brasil, Brasil?*, 75, own translation.

<sup>176</sup> Gontijo, *O Rei Momo*, 20, own translation.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid.

Therefore, this part aimed to discuss the formation of the Brazilian national identity in light of authors considered dominant in the interpretation of the country. By introducing concepts that have been internalised by our society, such as the ‘myth of the miscegenation of the three races’ and ‘cordiality’, used, even, systematically as a discourse of Brazilian politics, one can also deconstruct these views through issues of race, gender and sexuality. Due to the aforementioned scenario of building a society totally averse to the LGBTQ+ population, this next subsection will cover the LGBTQ+ movement in Brazil and the main configuration of each period in order to better understand how Brazilian queer bodies have been resisting in the country. Moreover, the overview of this particular history will be crucial for the understanding of the dynamics behind the LGBTQ+ urban geography in Rio de Janeiro.

## **2.2. The LGBTQ+ movement in Brazil and its three acts**

The LGBTQ+ movement in Brazil can be seen as an occupation by activists of a place that the family is expected to play. In other words, much more than representing diverse agendas, identities and demands, it has also been a space that takes care, welcomes and allows the construction of hope for a diverse set of subjects who suffer every day from the discrimination and violence of society.<sup>178</sup> For Regina Facchini, using the metaphor of a tangle of webs constituted by a heterogeneous set of actors for the analysis of the Brazilian LGBTQ+ movement and its transformations over time since the 1970s is quite appropriate.<sup>179</sup> Facchini points out that:

These are not moments clearly delineated in time, not even debates or questions that are overcome at the end of each moment, which I called here an act, trying to emphasise that they are analytical excerpts that I produced for this text and its purpose, subject to other frameworks, based on other emphases.<sup>180</sup>

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<sup>178</sup> Regina Facchini, “Múltiplas identidades, diferentes enquadramentos e visibilidades: um olhar para os 40 anos do movimento LGBT,” in *História do Movimento LGBT no Brasil*, ed. James Green, Renan Quinalha, Marcio Caetano and Marisa Fernandes (Sao Paulo: Alameda, 2018): 311-330.

<sup>179</sup> Facchini, “Múltiplas identidades”.

<sup>180</sup> Facchini, “Múltiplas identidades”, 316.

In the first act<sup>181</sup>, labelled as 'centering' by the author, when making an analogy with Latin American feminist studies and analyses<sup>182</sup>, there is the formation of the Brazilian homosexual movement (MHB) and the main debate is about the tensions between (legitimately) being or (performatively) being homosexual up until the appropriation of the sexual orientation category in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The main affirmation groups were densely concentrated on the Rio de Janeiro-São Paulo axis and had the practice of *coming out* as a political tool. However, tensions were already observed with regard to gender and race issues in political practice and social transformation projects. In the mid-1980s, there was a reduction in the number of groups, as well as greater difficulties arising due to the HIV/AIDS epidemic, leading to significant changes, such as a more pragmatic action in the conquest for the rights of homosexuals and the geographical displacement from the Southeast to the Northeast of Brazil as well. This period was marked by the production of a stable political subjects, the removal of 'homosexuality' from the disease code in Brazil, although still leaving intersectionality in the background.<sup>183</sup>

The second act<sup>184</sup>, compared to Alvarez's 'mainstreaming', refers to the moment that the movement emerged as LGBT by decentralising itself from the figure of the gay man. There was also an increase in media visibility due to the association between AIDS and homosexuality, as well as an approximation between sectors of the State and the movement in favour of public policies and the institutionalisation of the movement itself. Finally, this period is marked by the market segmentation process when a GLS (gays, lesbians and supporters) market emerged in the first moment, which generates positive visibility beyond the movement, with actions also carried out by the market and the media. However, there is a greater intensification of the dispute for visibility within the movement itself since its political subject has become more complex. This becomes clearer due to the greater demand

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<sup>181</sup> Act I. Centering: the dispute between (legitimately) being or (performatively) being homosexual to the sexual orientation. (Original version: Ato I. Centramento: da disputa entre ser ou estar homossexual a orientação sexual).

<sup>182</sup> Facchini analyses the LGBTQ+ movement based on an analogy with the study carried out by scholar Sonia Alvarez on the trajectories of Latin American feminisms. Alvarez divides her analysis into three moments: a. 'Centering', configuring a singular feminism; B. 'Mainstreaming', configuring vertical flows, decentralisation and pluralisation; c. 'Side streaming', configuring horizontal flows of plural feminisms and multiplication of feminist fields and their actions.

<sup>183</sup> Facchini, "Múltiplas identidades".

<sup>184</sup> Act II. Citizenship and decentralisation: from fighting homophobia to fighting LGBTphobia. (Original version: Ato II. Cidadanização e descentramento: do combate a homofobia ao combate a LGBTfobia).

for transvestites and transsexuals for public policies and participation, as well as the demand for the visibility of lesbians and bisexuals.<sup>185</sup>

In this second moment, too, due to this more plural face of the community, there was a massive visibility led by the Pride Parades. The Parades emphasised a more transgressive character in their composition at the expense of a more victimistic view of the previous period of the movement. Thus, crowds began to occupy the streets annually, in order to celebrate the LGBTQ+ movement in hundreds of municipalities across the country. Brazil has come to be recognised internationally due to the large number of Parades, in addition to the immense public, culminating in São Paulo hosting the world's largest Parade for many years. At the same time as this LGBTQ+ effervescence in the daily life of the country grew, the actions to combat discrimination and violence against the community also increased, having its peak in the governments of the Workers' Party (PT) with President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva.<sup>186</sup>

Although many achievements were made in this period between 1990 and the early 2000s, such as same-sex union and the right to use social names, there was growing concern within the movement regarding the participation of the subjects, the visibility and the effectiveness of the policies achieved for the LGBTQ+ population. At the same time, on the other hand, a reactive politicisation of the religious field was growing, which was associated with other conservative sectors of the political sphere to combat the advancement of the LGBTQ+ agenda in Brazil. Thus, the third and final act<sup>187</sup>, which can be understood as Alvarez "side streaming", started in the early 2000s, but becoming more visible from 2010 onwards, with the increase of the conservative offensive against social and sexual and social rights as well as fascist expressions in society.<sup>188</sup>

At that moment, which is still developing today, the alliance between conservative sectors in the Legislative has intensified, causing the destruction of government structures that combat racism, inequality and LGBTphobia, especially in Bolsonaro's current extreme right wing

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<sup>185</sup> Facchini, "Múltiplas identidades".

<sup>186</sup> Facchini, "Múltiplas identidades".

<sup>187</sup> Act III. Multiplication of fields: the fight against LGBTphobia and the emphasis on experience. (Original version: Ato III. Multiplicação de campos: o combate a LGBTfobia e a ênfase na experiência).

<sup>188</sup> Facchini, "Múltiplas identidades".

government. The disrepute in obtaining rights through dialogue with the State and the de-financing of organisations by the current government caused the LGBTQ+ movement to react on the streets and on social networks, where horizontality, autonomy, spontaneity and activism were valued.<sup>189</sup> The popularisation of the internet, access to higher education, all fruits of the PT government, as well as the greater circulation of queer studies, intersectional and decolonial theories, black feminism and trans studies have made younger activists more critical and active, whether on social media, or in collectives, or in organisations, universities or other LGBTQ+ spaces.<sup>190</sup>

In addition, this current period is marked by new categories of identities that shift from the previous scenario and seek greater participation and representativeness, emphasising *experience* as political legitimacy. The mobilisation of the notion of the ‘place of speech’ allows a change in the relationships between identities, respecting the respective social, racial, sexual and gender cuts of each subject. The guidelines for trans identities, intersex, bi and pansexuals, LGBTQ+ peripherals and blacks are in greater evidence. The movement itself has changed its form of political action since the intensification of social media, with independent cyber activists and/or digital influencers. Finally, there is a greater proliferation of new groups, new spaces, parties, occupation of streets and public spaces.<sup>191</sup>

Therefore, understanding the Brazilian history of the LGBTQ+ movement and the main characteristics and events of each period is fundamental for the main discussion of this research since all these articulations happen, mainly, in the urban space. Each moment reflected and reflects directly on the use of the LGBTQ+ population of the city and public spaces of the city of Rio de Janeiro and this will be more evident in the following chapters.

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<sup>189</sup> Facchini, “Múltiplas identidades”.; Regina Facchini & Julian Rodrigues, “Que onda é essa?: “guerras culturais” e movimento LGBT no cenário brasileiro contemporâneo,” In: Machado, F.V.; Barnart, F.; Mattos, R. *A diversidade e a livre expressão sexual entre as ruas, as redes e as políticas públicas* (Porto Alegre: Rede Unida/Nuances, 2017): 35-60.

<sup>190</sup> Facchini, “Múltiplas identidades”.

<sup>191</sup> Facchini, “Múltiplas identidades”.

Figure 4. Word cloud of survey answers of Rio de Janeiro's characteristics



Source: own elaboration based on survey answers, April-June 2020.

### CHAPTER 3: Queering Rio de Janeiro: How have *transviados* been making use of the urban space during the night?

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The word cloud above is based on survey answers on respondents general view of Rio de Janeiro. There is a mixed feeling towards the city, but with a greater critical and negative weight. All in all, this chapter aims to map and illustrate Rio's LGBTQ+ nightlife by decentralising itself from the figure of the white gay male of the upper and upper middle classes and show other realities whenever it is possible.

## CHAPTER 3: Queering Rio de Janeiro: How have *transviados* been making use of the urban space during the night?

The city of Rio de Janeiro is the most visited tourist destination in South America<sup>192</sup> as well as it also being known as the best LGBTQ+ beach destination on the continent<sup>193</sup> (see map 1 below). Therefore, analysing and understanding the city's urban conjecture is fundamental when investigating the city's LGBTQ+ urban geography as well. For instance, the main reasons for its current - and historically - spatial distribution in the central areas, as we will see in the following pages, are in line with the city's neoliberal urban development projects.

**Map 1. Rio de Janeiro's position in South America and Brazil**



Source: Guia Geográfico (edited by the author)

<sup>192</sup> Felipe Lucena, 'Rio leva título de cidade mais visitada da América do Sul'. *Diário do Rio*. Accessed in June 15, 2020,

<https://diariodorio.com/rio-leva-titulo-de-cidade-mais-visitada-da-america-do-sul/#:~:text=Rio%20leva%20t%C3%ADtulo%20de%20cidade,Di%C3%A1rio%20do%20Rio%20de%20Janeiro>.

<sup>193</sup> Flávia Villela, 'Cidade do Rio é eleita melhor destino de praia LGBT da América Latina'. *Agência Brasil*. Accessed in June 15, 2020,

<https://agenciabrasil.ebc.com.br/geral/noticia/2016-09/cidade-do-rio-e-eleita-melhor-destino-de-praia-LGBT-da-america-latina>.

Attempting to answer the second sub-question of this research project, this chapter will analyse how the city of Rio de Janeiro's cuir nighttime spaces have been shaped over the last 20 years, emphasising, though, the very present scenario. In order to do so, the first subsection will have a brief overview of Rio's urban geography and its main zones and neighbourhoods, followed by a section on the LGBTQ+ community within the city's urban dynamics from the late '90s onwards. Thereafter, through data analysis and a literature review, I will map, update, expand, analyse and discuss the current setting of Rio's LGBTQ+ nocturnal life. The very few literature on Rio focuses exclusively on white gay male spaces of the upper and upper middle classes. In other words, I will exemplify realities other than that of the hegemonic reality of the LGBTQ+ group. In addition, I will include results from the survey and interviews conducted as described in the methodology section. Then, I will conclude this section with minor remarks that contribute to this thesis' final chapter.

### **3.0. Rio de Janeiro's Urban Geography**

The city of Rio de Janeiro has 160 neighborhoods, as can be seen on map 2, divided into four zones: central zone, north zone, west zone and south zone. According to the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) data from 2010, the west zone has the most populous neighbourhoods in the municipality, such as Campo Grande, Bangu and Santa Cruz, with great population growth in recent years due to it being the only space still "empty" in the city, where it can still grow.<sup>194</sup> Even within the city limits, this region was, until the 1970s, considered the rural part of the city, when the project of expanding the southern area through the creation of the emerging wealthy neighbourhood of 'Barra da Tijuca' began. However, like the northern part of the city, this region is intended for the lower income population, where urban development does not keep up with disorderly growth, that is, neighbourhoods with large agglomerations, slums and irregularities.<sup>195</sup>

Due to the colonial past, the central and southern areas are the most concentrated and developed, being home to most of the city's upper and upper middle class inhabitants. The

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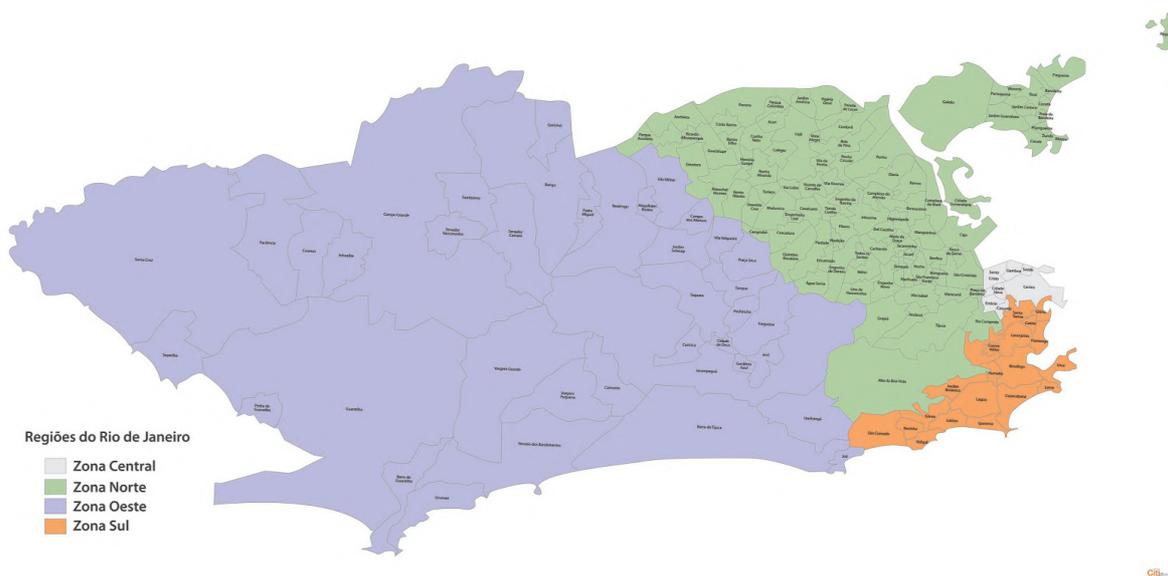
<sup>194</sup> Terra, 'Zona oeste tem os bairros mais populosos do Rio, diz IBGE'. *Terra*. Accessed in June 15, 2020, <https://www.terra.com.br/noticias/brasil/cidades/zona-oeste-tem-os-bairros-mais-populosos-do-ri-o-diz-ibge,edfa0970847ea310VgnCLD200000bbcceb0aRCRD.html>.

<sup>195</sup> Camila Lima and Silva de Carvalho, "Escalas da desigualdade urbana-a cidade do Rio de Janeiro e as favelas. *Cadernos do Desenvolvimento Fluminense*," n. 11, (2016): 11-23.

central zone, specifically, is the financial centre of the city, not having much residential purpose, especially after the major revitalisation projects that transformed the old port area and, consequently, eliminated the small slums of the surrounding areas. The South Zone is the richest region of the city, where practically all the tourist spots are located, the famous beaches, with a greater concentration of income, security and offer of goods and services.<sup>196</sup> It is worth mentioning that, even in these regions, there are favelas<sup>197</sup>, in the hills of some neighbourhoods, since the inequality in Rio de Janeiro is historical and very visible. However, even the slums located in these regions are smaller, with much less violence and, comparatively, slightly better infrastructure than those in other areas of the city, especially with regard to urban mobility, since they are inserted in the centre.

### Map 2. Rio de Janeiro's Neighbourhoods and Zones

BAIRROS DO RIO DE JANEIRO - RJ



Source: Citimaps 2019

Rio de Janeiro, according to the last IBGE census in 2010, has a population of 6,320,446 people, with an estimated 6,718,903 for the year 2019.<sup>198</sup> With a total area of more than 1,255 km<sup>2</sup>, it has always played a role of centrality in the country's history, since colonial times,

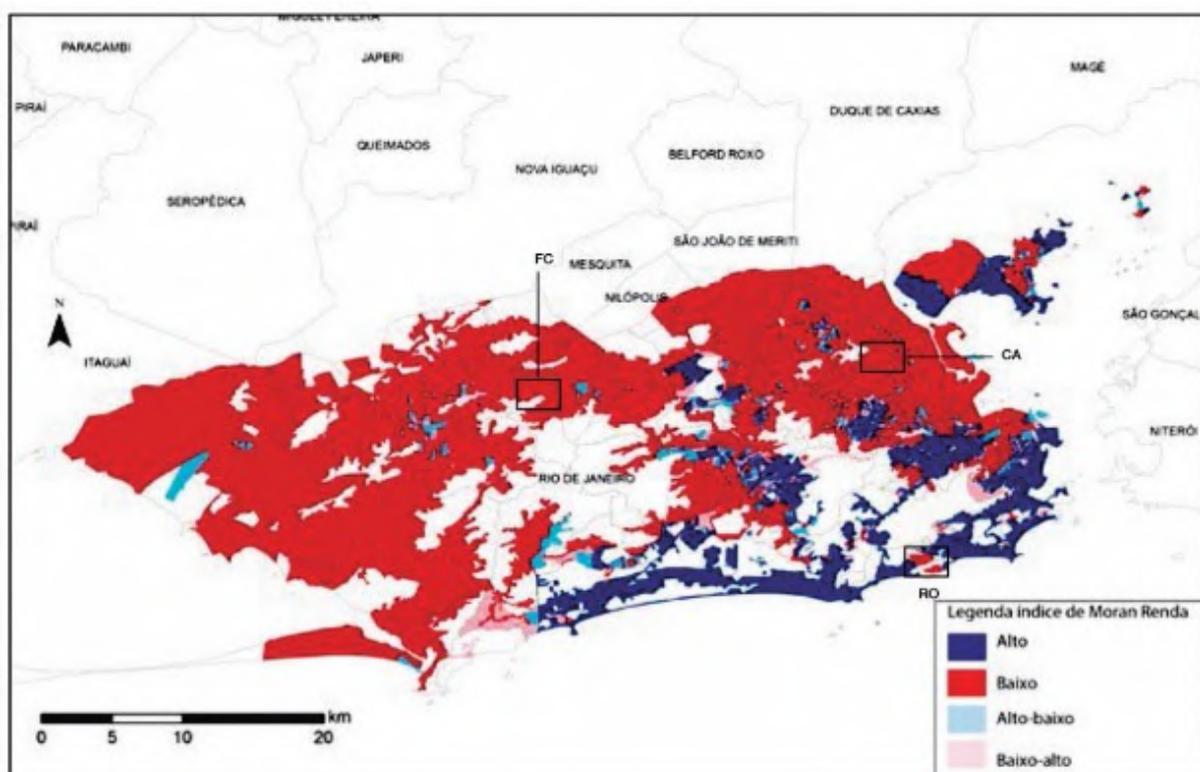
<sup>196</sup> Lima & Carvalho, "Escalas da Desigualdade".

<sup>197</sup> Favelas (portuguese word for 'slums').

<sup>198</sup> IBGE, 2020.

being the country's capital for more than two centuries until 1960. Subsequently, it continued to be one of the main economic, cultural, political, financial and tourist centres of Brazil. With a demographic density of 5,597.9<sup>199</sup> inhab./km<sup>2</sup>, where 53.17% of the population is female and 46.83% male, the city of Rio also presents a very evident north/south and high/low income polarisation in its geography.<sup>200</sup> Analysing map 3 below with data from IBGE 2010, after applying the Moran Index to the income variable, Lima and De Carvalho<sup>201</sup> found that the highest income group (represented by the dark blue colour) is located in the south and central parts of the city, while the lowest income (represented by the colour red) is located in the north and west. The highest-income group, in that year, receives a monthly income (R\$5,041) five times higher than the low-income group (R\$1,021).

**Map 3. Spatial distribution of income in Rio de Janeiro**



Source: Lima & De Carvalho (2011)

<sup>199</sup> For comparative purposes, Rio's demographic density is similar to London: 5,590 inhab./km<sup>2</sup> (source: London Data Store 2018).

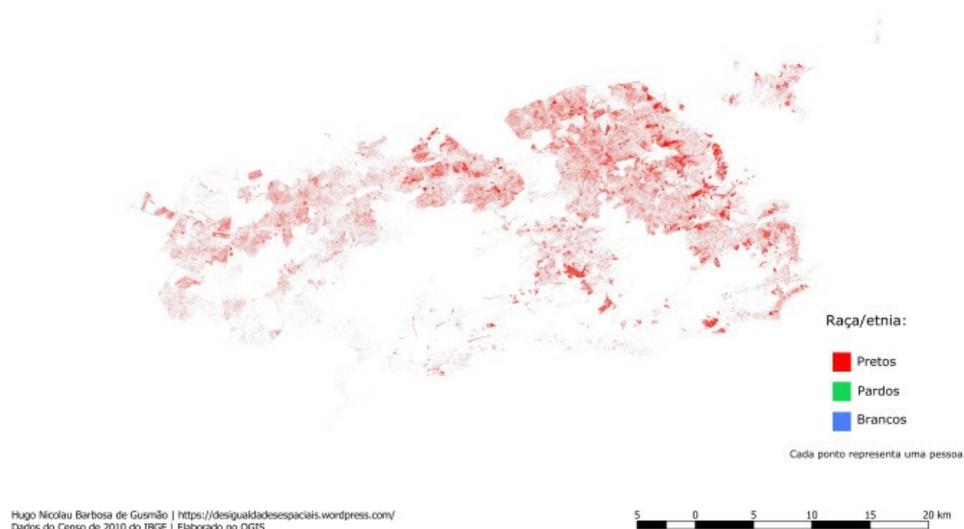
<sup>200</sup> NESP, "Perfil do município do Rio de Janeiro/RJ Análise do acesso e da qualidade da Atenção Integral à Saúde da população LGBT no Sistema Único de Saúde," NESP (2016).

<sup>201</sup> Lima & Carvalho, "Escalas da Desigualdade".

Even though the city's average per capita monthly income has grown over the last decades - R\$1,187.08 (2000), R\$1,492.63 (2010) and R\$1,881.87 (2019) - there are still great inequalities if we add the racial issue to the analysis. For example, in 2010, the city's per capita monthly income for the black population was R\$897.56, R\$595.07 less than the general average and R\$1,226.31 less than their white counterparts' average, which was R\$2,084.27 in the same year.<sup>202</sup> This reflects directly on the location of individuals around the city while denouncing the immense social inequality in force. Map 4 shows that the black population is mostly located in the north and west parts of the city, while map 5 shows that in the wealthiest neighbourhoods in the south zone specifically, the only few points in the map where black and brown<sup>203</sup> can be found are in the region's slums.

#### Map 4. Spatial distribution of Rio's black population

Mapa Racial de Pontos: Cidade do Rio de Janeiro – Brasil



Source: Hugo de Gusmão (2015)

<sup>202</sup> Atlas Brasil, 'Rio de Janeiro'. Atlas Brasil. Accessed in June 15, 2020, [http://www.atlasbrasil.org.br/2013/pt/perfil\\_m/rio-de-janeiro\\_rj](http://www.atlasbrasil.org.br/2013/pt/perfil_m/rio-de-janeiro_rj).

<sup>203</sup> In Brazil, individuals are commonly identified as white, brown or black. Due to our high level of miscegenation, it is really difficult for one not to have a mixed background. So, for statistics, for instance, people usually identify themselves accordingly to their skin colour, and not necessarily their race.

## Map 5. Spatial distribution of Rio's black population in the city's richest area<sup>204</sup>



Source: Hugo de Gusmão (2015)

### 3.1. Rio de Janeiro and its LGBTQ+ Context

After going through Rio's main demographic information, needed for a better understanding of the following sections and remarks, the next part will also provide a short context of the city in relation to its LGBTQ+ population. As will be discussed, the LGBTQ+ community - or, in fact, gay men - has become an important driving force for Rio's nightlife economy. In 2009 a survey conducted by the University of São Paulo (USP)<sup>205</sup> in 10 different state capitals in Brazil found that in Rio de Janeiro 19.3% of cis men were gay or bisexual and 9.3% of cis women were lesbian or bisexual.<sup>206</sup> Even keeping in mind that other members of the community were not represented in this research, such as transgenders, the percentage alone shows that it is a large population in the city, about 1,000,000 people out of almost 7,000,000, which makes these individuals visible and extremely important for the municipality's economy.

<sup>204</sup> This map shows the spatial distribution of Rio's black population in the richest neighbourhoods in the city. It is noticeable the lack of black people in these areas compared to those in other zones.

<sup>205</sup> The University of Sao Paulo.

<sup>206</sup> USP, 2009.

In the Brazilian context, even when analysing queer subjectivities, an intersectional approach is indispensable. This is because hierarchies related to racial and social issues are also internalised by this minority group in many different times and occasions. It creates, thus, another unequal system within an already unequal system. Most LGBTQ+ individuals that have a higher income and a similar point of intersections - that is, gay, white, cisgender, upper classes - seek richer and central areas of the city to live in as well as for attending spaces of mutual identification.<sup>207</sup> These neighbourhoods are known for their better infrastructure<sup>208</sup>, security and ‘supposed’ hospitality towards LGBTQ+ population. As De Jesus states, in many poorer areas, the lack of security coupled with a more conservative education contributes to a hostile environment for queer bodies. However, as he says, even in safe zones, a performance coined by Miskolci as ‘closet regime’ is constantly reproduced by homosexual men in richer areas. That is, the reinforcement of heteronormativity through attitudes and behaviours in a way to become “invisible” to violence and intolerance.<sup>209</sup>

Even in the face of a situation of violence that directly affects homosexuals, there is a homopatriarchy patent in the role of gay, white, cisgender and upper middle class men, when analysing access to the consumption of goods and services available in the [LGBTQ+] night economy, which relegated lesbians, bisexuals, transgenders and gay men of other races and social classes to the background, for example.<sup>210</sup>

In Rio de Janeiro, the LGBTQ+ population creates, as most of the time they are carriers of a “social stigma resulting from a degenerative process of cultural labeling”<sup>211</sup>, spaces of sociability and a unique culture. Moreover, in these ‘transviado’ spaces, they also organise themselves for political acts and claiming purposes.<sup>212</sup> The city of Rio, due to its diversity and national importance, places itself in a different position in relation to other Brazilian cities. Rio was able to consolidate a locus for the most varied social identifications - even if they are stigmatised most of the time - being, therefore, considered a liberal environment.<sup>213</sup>

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<sup>207</sup> Diego Santos Vieira De Jesus, “Só para o moço do corpo dourado do sol de Ipanema: distribuição espacial da economia noturna LGBT na cidade do Rio de Janeiro,” *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Urbanos e Regionais* (RBEUR), v. 19, n. 2, (2017): 288-309.

<sup>208</sup> By infrastructure, I mean public transportation, basic sanitation, better offer of services and goods.

<sup>209</sup> De Jesus, “Corpo dourado”.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*, 301.

<sup>211</sup> Gontijo, *O Rei Momo*, 13, own translation.

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>213</sup> Gontijo, *O Rei Momo*.

Furthermore, it is through carnival that these “marginalised” groups seem to be able to achieve “paroxysm and apogee” in the public space.<sup>214</sup> However, from the 1980s onwards, with the HIV epidemic - which especially stigmatised cis gay men - what was being constructed through sexual (homo) liberation movements, was repressed by oppressive values. Thus, despite living under an image of a “libertarian city”, the city of Rio also has a very deep-rooted repression movement that is averse to these new “freedoms”.<sup>215</sup>

The city council, businesspeople and users in these spaces played key roles in the reconstruction and structuring of LGBTQ+ nightlife in the city. De Jesus<sup>216</sup> argues that the city government relied on the exclusionary parameters of “pink capitalism” to promote the revitalisation of certain areas in the fight against LGBTphobia. By inspecting public spaces as well as initiatives taken by entrepreneurs, governors focused on already revitalised or richer areas in the city centre and in the south zone. Parallel to this, businesspeople supported cultural projects in these same areas and concentrated their investments on high income gay men. In this way, these posh and central areas of the city turned into symbolic spaces for this specific group to express their own selves and their identity in detriment of other regions that have been constantly associated with prejudice, oppression and rejection.<sup>217</sup>

First, the city council performed the function of revitalising the areas chosen by them as central to this activity, in addition to inspecting and ordering public spaces and the actions of the entrepreneurs who were involved in the industry. Additionally, public management, with the aim of transforming the city of Rio into a global LGBTQ+ (or, in my view, gay) destination, also acted in a social way in combating LGBTphobia, through decrees, laws and campaigns. As an example, in 2008, the city was the first in the country to create a law that ensured that no commercial establishment could discriminate against someone because of their sexual orientation or gender identity. In 2011, the city created the Special Coordination of Sexual Diversity (CEDS) in order to promote public policies that favour the visibility and social recognition of the LGBTQ+ community in the city of Rio. Through multiple campaigns launched over the years, such as Rio: Carnival Without Prejudice<sup>218</sup> or Rio

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<sup>214</sup> Ibid., 16.

<sup>215</sup> Gontijo, *O Rei Momo*.

<sup>216</sup> De Jesus, “Corpo dourado”.

<sup>217</sup> Ibid.

<sup>218</sup> Rio: Carnival Sem Preconceito.

Without Prejudice<sup>219</sup>, the coordinating body has always worked to not only protect, but to also guide and educate the population about laws, civil rights and the LGBTQ + community.<sup>220</sup>

Other aspects that may also justify the absence of investments in LGBTQ+ night spaces in the peripheral regions of the city, in addition to the neglect of the city council, are the lack of police supervision and monitoring, especially at night, which are added to the stigmas that the police themselves, prosecutors, and judges reproduce about cuir bodies. This generates, therefore, a feeling of impunity, allowing LGBT-phobic individuals to produce acts of violence against the LGBTQ+ population with a certain “composure” that nothing and no one will punish them.<sup>221</sup> Therefore, with a focus on promoting the city of Rio internationally as a gay destination, CEDS and Riotur<sup>222</sup> carried out different initiatives from 2010 onwards, such as the Come to Live the Rio Sensation campaign, which was also part of the international fair<sup>223</sup> promoted by IGLTA.<sup>224</sup> The campaign, as De Jesus reports, has niched its focus on the figure of the upper-middle-class gay man, with few mentions of lesbians and none of other members of the LGBTQ+ community.<sup>225</sup> The Rio de Janeiro portrayed in videos, photos and campaign documents was the Rio of the wealthier regions, especially in the Ipanema neighbourhood, with male, standardised men and performances similar to those of dominant heterosexuality.

Entrepreneurs, as previously mentioned, reformulated and opened establishments, as well as produced cultural projects in partnership with the Government, generating jobs in the creative and services sectors. However, like the city council, most of the investments made were also concentrated in the central and wealthiest regions of the city and in the figure of gay men of the middle and upper classes, mainly because these individuals are able to pay for these new services, which are more expensive.<sup>226</sup> In order to check how all these aspects influenced Rio’s LGBTQ+ nocturnal geography as well as how these individuals consume the nighttime economy, the next subsection will map, describe and analyse these venues.

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<sup>219</sup> Rio Sem Preconceito.

<sup>220</sup> De Jesus, “Corpo dourado”.

<sup>221</sup> De Jesus, “Corpo dourado”.

<sup>222</sup> International Gay and Lesbian Travel Association.

<sup>223</sup> The biggest fair for LGBT tourism worldwide.

<sup>224</sup> International Gay & Lesbian Association.

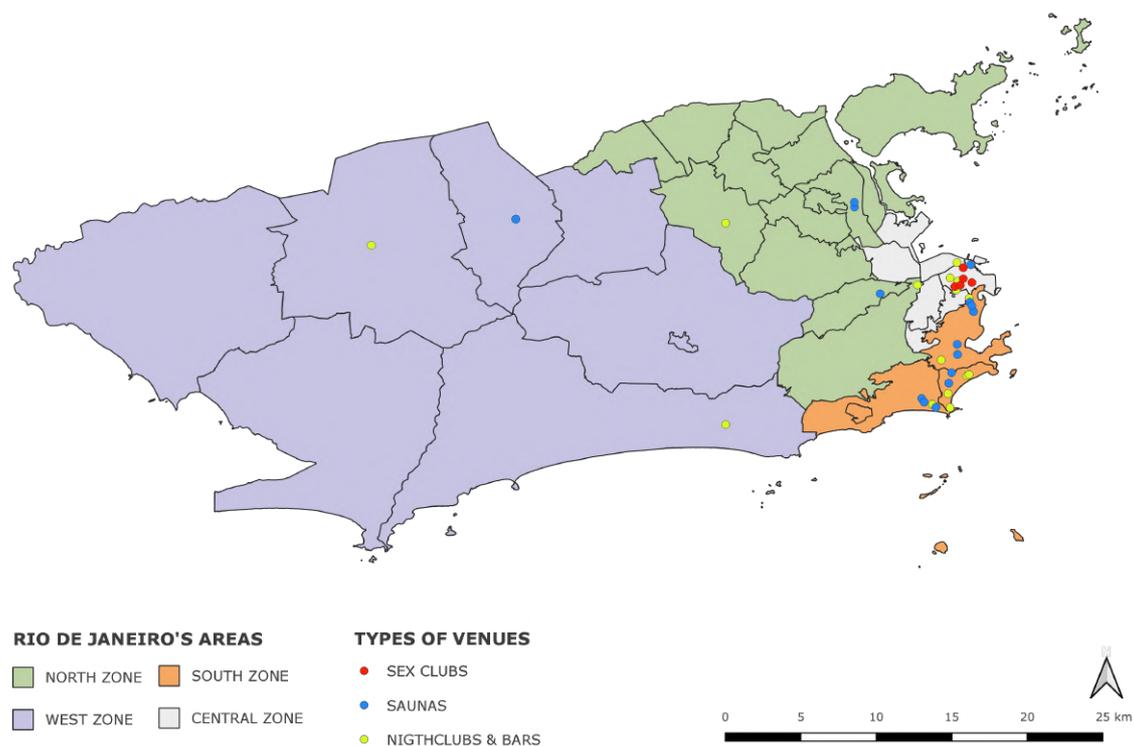
<sup>225</sup> De Jesus, “Corpo dourado”.

<sup>226</sup> Ibid.

### 3.2. General overview of Rio's Nighttime Queer Urban Spaces

The LGBTQ+ nightlife economy in Rio de Janeiro has a very visible characteristic as is emphasised in the map 6 below: an unequal spatial distribution between the central and southern regions and the rest of the city. According to Welton Trindade<sup>227</sup>, journalist and responsible for the *Guia Gay*<sup>228</sup>, even though Rio's main gay hotspots are in the middle/upper class neighbourhoods, like other cities in Brazil and the world, there are also a few traditional LGBTQ+ places in the poorest areas of the city. For the purpose of this investigation, nightclubs, bars, restaurants, saunas, pubs, parties, and festivals will be defined as nighttime spaces, even if some of them also operate during the daytime.

**Map 6. The LGBTQ+ nighttime spaces in Rio**



Source: Amanda Ferrarese & Davi Lemos (2020)

As previously mentioned, the map 6 emphasises that the vast majority of LGBTQ+ nighttime spaces are located in the central and south zones, 30.8% (12) and 46.1% (18) respectively. At

<sup>227</sup> Welton Trindade. Interview with Davi Lemos. Personal interview. Rio de Janeiro, May 30, 2020.

<sup>228</sup> *Guia Gay* is a magazine that indicates gay venues in Brazilian cities.

the same time, only 12.8% (5) of these venues can be found in the north zone and the other 10.3% (4) in the west zone. Furthermore, the research found 39 exclusively LGBTQ+ nocturnal spaces in the city of Rio de Janeiro in total. It is important to have in mind that although I have methodically searched for venues using a variety of sources, I expect that the following dataset may omit a small number of venues. If taking into account only the built environment, the main finding is that the LGBTQ+ nightlife venues in Rio is mainly polarised between nightclubs and bars, and saunas, 46.2% (18) and 41% (16), respectively. Sex clubs represent the remaining 12.8%, totalling 5 spaces in the central zone.

For the purpose of data collection and analysis, I divided these spaces into three different groups: nightclubs and bars, saunas and sex clubs. However, as one of this thesis' purposes is a broad overview of the whole LGBTQ+ community, the next subsections are divided as follows: 1. nightclubs; 2. bars; and, 3. saunas and sex clubs. As will be discussed shortly, saunas and sex clubs are spaces focused strictly on cisgender gay men; therefore, these venues do not necessarily identify as part of the LGBTQ+ community nor do people identify them as such.

### ***NIGHTCLUBS & BARS***

This study was able to find 18 LGBTQ+ nightclubs and bars in the Rio de Janeiro city area, 38.9% (7) of them being located in South zone, 33.3% (6) in Central zone, 16.7% (3) in West zone and, only 11.1% (2) in North zone. From the map 6 at the beginning of this subsection to the actual numbers, it is not surprising that the majority of these venues are in richer and central areas of the city, mainly in neighbourhoods such as Copacabana (4 spaces), Centro (3 spaces), Ipanema and Lapa (2 spaces each). The table (Appendix H) indicates all of these spaces as well as some of their information, like name, opening year, years in operation, neighbourhood and zone.

**Figure 5. The Week during the Olympic Games 2016**



Source: Viajaj

The Week nightclub, one of the leading names in LGBTQ+ electronic music nightlife on the city's waterfront, essentially concentrates on an audience of gay men, with muscular physiques, who fulfill a certain standard of masculinity in force in our society. Due to the location, the audience becomes more democratic when it comes to issues of race and social class. However, indoors, there are divisions between VIP and non-VIP areas, in addition to VIP lists that can bring benefits such as not standing in line, enjoying all of the club's spaces and being closer to the stage. Thus, the interior space is divided not by gender and/or sexuality, but by social class and race.<sup>229</sup>

The Turma OK concert hall, with a majority adult audience, holds several LGBTQ+ shows, such as drag shows, contests and awards, theatrical plays, in addition to other activities, such as makeup, drama and dubbing courses. Turma OK was the first LGBTQ+ group in the history of Brazil, founded in 1962 in Rio de Janeiro, being one of the oldest active organisations in the world. Due to its historical and cultural heritage status in the city, the club has been trying to gain an official space with local government so that it can reduce its expenses and be able to continue its services. Elaine Parker<sup>230</sup> said that many LGBTQ+ halls, clubs and bars have closed their doors over the years in the city due to the high cost of

<sup>229</sup> De Jesus, "Corpo dourado".

<sup>230</sup> Elaine Parker. Interview with Davi Lemos. Personal interview. Rio de Janeiro, May 14, 2020.

maintaining and renting a space. Thus, in order to survive, they rely on the monthly membership fees, the events' box offices and revenue from the bar.

**Figure 6. Turma OK Festival**



Source: 2POS

The central region of the city, compared to spaces in the south zone, offers lower-cost options for the LGBTQ+ population and is not necessarily frequented only by upper-class white gay men.<sup>231</sup> De Jesus also claims that these are rarer options to find. However, my research reveals that this scenario is changing, mainly due to the rise of circuit LGBTQ+ parties, LGBTQ+ friendly parties and the city's port region that offers large, cheaper locations for nightlife producers to rent out, such as warehouses, car parks and land. Thus, as Léo Szel<sup>232</sup> said in his interview, a movement of decay is taking place in the city when it comes to clubs in favour of the rise of labels<sup>233</sup>, that is, of LGBTQ+ parties that are being held in the central port region. Now, the central area may still not have more nightclub options than in the south, but there are more options in general due to these itinerant parties. More democratic parties, which present a more diverse audience in all aspects - gender, sexuality, race, social class - coming from all areas of the city and more accessible in value, both in terms of entrance fees and the cost of drinks.

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<sup>231</sup> De Jesus, "Corpo dourado".

<sup>232</sup> Léo Salles. Interview with Davi Lemos. Personal interview. Rio de Janeiro, May 20, 2020.

<sup>233</sup> By labels, he means the circuit LGBTQ+ parties. Each party has its own name, its own label.

On the outskirts of the city, there are few physical LGBTQ+ night spaces, the west area having a higher concentration of nightclubs, for example, outside the centre-south zone axis. The ‘1140’ nightclub, focused on more national rhythms such as funk and pagode<sup>234</sup>, in addition to drag queen performances, can be found on Praça Seca. Another great name of the night in this region of the city is the ‘Boite Casa Grande’, in Bangu, which has a large presence of transvestites and transgender people in its audience. The biggest name in the last few years, Espaço Fênix, in Campo Grande, founded nine years ago by the producer Raquel Dias, it has always sought to attract all audiences, but the LGBTQ+ community has particularly embraced the place’s ideas and themed nights, such as pool parties. In his interview, Igor Santos<sup>235</sup> said that the goal has always been to produce a space where everyone feels good, respected and safe; he hypothesised that this is perhaps why the cuir community identifies so much with the place. Fênix’s importance for the city is crucial as it is located in an area that specifically lacks LGBTQ+ spaces and parties.

**Figure 7. Espaço Fênix**



Source: Crzzy

<sup>234</sup> Funk and Pagode are very popular Brazilian music genres.

<sup>235</sup> Igor Santos. Interview with Davi Lemos. Personal interview. Rio de Janeiro, May 29, 2020.

With regard to bars, cafes and restaurants, it can be said that there is also a similar pattern of inequality in the spatial distribution of these spaces in the city of Rio de Janeiro. Like the nightclubs, these sociability spaces are also concentrated in the central region and in the South Zone. Boleia Bar, as an example, is a lesbian bar located in Botafogo, South Zone that opened in March this year, some days before the quarantine brought on by Covid-19. Even if it is too early to measure any impact this bar has had on the city's LGBTQ+ nightlife, it is important to stress the idea behind it as well as their boom in the first few days. Lela Gomes, a DJ and also the founder of the bar, decided to open this venue as she thought there was a lack of space for lesbians in Rio. Even if the bar is open to everyone, including non-LGBTQ+ people, she emphasises that this space was created by lesbians for lesbians. Due to this, everyone is welcome but should keep in mind that it is a (safe) space where women - lesbians, bisexuals and transgender - have the voice.<sup>236</sup>

The LGBTQ+ Urbanito bar, located in Praça da Bandeira, in the north zone of Rio de Janeiro, started in 2017 as a bar focused on craft beers. The founder, Bianca Fraga<sup>237</sup>, reported that it took her about a year for the bar 'to come out' as an LGBTQ+ bar when, one night, whilst talking to a lesbian couple about how they found out about the bar, they said a gay friend had recommended it to them, saying it was the only place he felt safe to be with his boyfriend. From that moment on, Bianca realised that she had to do something about it, especially because she faces the same situation when going out with a woman due to the restricted cuir scene in the city. In late 2018, she redesigned the bar and changed Urbanito's identity, the same period in which Bolsonaro, the current president, who is openly homotransphobic, was elected.

Even though she went through several challenges, like any other establishment, she believes that the bar today has a much more faithful audience than it did before the change. For instance, the process of extending the bar onto the street, as seen in the figure 8 below, especially on the days when they have music events like 'Sapagode'<sup>238</sup>, happened naturally

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<sup>236</sup> Jaqueline Costa, 'Bar em Botafogo tem equipe formada só por mulheres'. *O Globo*. Accessed in June 15, 2020, <https://oglobo.globo.com/rio/bairros/bar-inaugurado-em-botafogo-tem-equipe-formada-so-por-mulheres-24291293>.

<sup>237</sup> Bianca Fraga. Interview with Davi Lemos. Personal interview. Rio de Janeiro, May 12, 2020.

<sup>238</sup> Sapagode is a combination of the words 'Sapatão' (slang for lesbian) + 'Pagode' (Brazilian music genre).

since they cannot place chairs and tables on the pavement. Thus, people occupied this space, where they stood, danced and talked, causing the street to have to be closed on these main days. This is because the LGBTQ+ community feels at home and free in that environment, embracing all causes, activities and events, so that the bar can keep working.

**Figure 8. Urbanito Bar & the LGBTQ+ Flag**



Source: Urbanito Facebook Page

Finally, when naming the bar with the word ‘community’, Bianca said that Urbanito preaches sustainability, social responsibility and prioritises local producers. In addition to being an LGBTQ+ space, the aim is to have an impact and change people’s lives, such as in social actions together with Casinha<sup>239</sup> or generating income opportunities for refugees, inviting them to cook on certain days.

### ***SAUNAS AND SEX CLUBS***

This subsection portrays adult entertainment spaces that, as the research shows, have consolidated themselves as a category of highly relevant G spaces<sup>240</sup> in the city. This part will always refer to the figure, community or group G since these spaces are not only focused on the cis man - that might be gay, bi or straight - but also restrictive to any other member of the LGBTQ+ community that does not fit the aforementioned criteria. As mentioned previously,

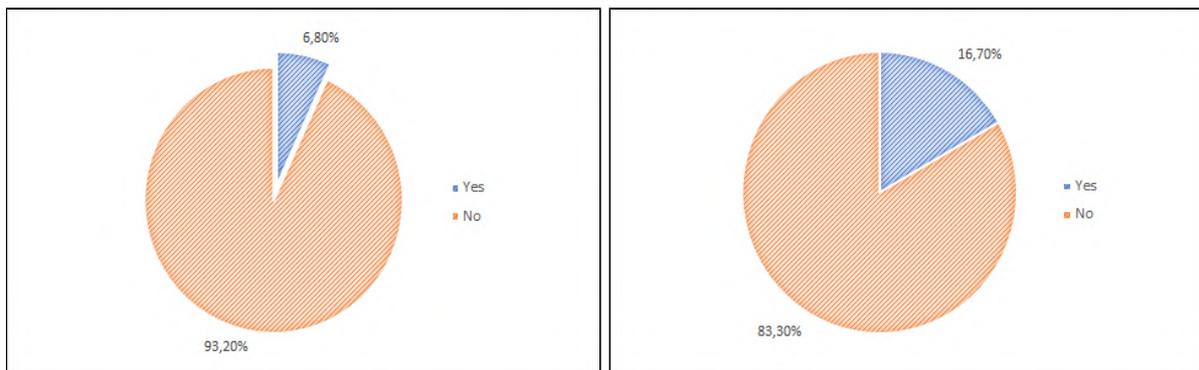
<sup>239</sup> Casinha is an LGBTQ+ organisation that will be further explored in the next chapter.

<sup>240</sup> G space means spaces gay-oriented (cisgender gay man).

there are 16 saunas<sup>241</sup> exclusively for cisgender [bi/gay] men in the city, where 68.8% are in South zone, 18.8% in North zone and 6.2% in Central and West zones, each.

Map 6 also reveals clearly the locus on the South zone, especially in the rich neighbourhoods such as Copacabana, Ipanema and Leblon. It is not a coincidence as these areas are central for the upper class, white, cisgender gay men; therefore, spaces towards their sociabilisation have a priority. It is important to stress the presence of sex clubs only in the central area of the city; one of the reasons might be that men mostly go to these spaces after work. However, even with a greater number than nightclubs and bars, the survey results confirmed that these spaces do not reach all cis individuals as only 6.8% of respondents knew that there was this many spaces in the city and only 16.7% of them had ever been to one as graphs 1 and 2 show below, respectively.

**Graphs 1 & 2. Survey answers on Gay saunas in Rio de Janeiro**



Source: own elaboration based on survey answers

Rio G Spa was founded by Rosane Amaral in 2007 and is one of the most famous saunas in the city. It was created to be a place where people - men - could go to after work to have a chat and, if they wanted something more, could go upstairs to do so. Rubinho Barros<sup>242</sup>, the manager, claims that the success of the space is due to it being extremely clean, organised and well looked after, going through maintenance every six months, ensuring that the service is always of the highest quality. The place has three floors: the ground floor homes the main changing room, the steam room and the bar; the first floor has the gym, a massage room,

<sup>241</sup> Please check Appendix E to see the table that indicates all these spaces and their location in the city.

<sup>242</sup> Rubinho Barros. Interview with Davi Lemos. Personal interview. Rio de Janeiro, May 19, 2020.

another changing room and a dry sauna; on the second floor, there is the video room, individual cabins and the famous dark room. With multiple frequencies, mainly on Sundays and bank holidays, Rubinho says that the public profile has remained the same for 12 years. In addition, he reveals that, whilst gay men frequent the sauna, they themselves discriminate against such places. This is because, due to them being the saunas' neighbours, they often see familiar faces in the street but they do not greet one another; instead, they act as if they do not know each other.

**Figure 9. Rio G Spa's Facade**



Source: Posto Zero

### ***HYBRID/FRIENDLY SPACES***

As verified in most interviews and, especially, in the survey, nowadays there is a tendency of having LGBTQ+ parties in hybrid and friendly spaces as well as in public areas. That is because, in the past 5 years, there is a nightlife shift from the South zone to the Central zone (the revitalised port area) as there are bigger and cheaper spaces available to rent out. The table in Appendix (F) shows all the spaces in Rio that are considered to be either hybrid and/or friendly to the cuir community. Similarly to nightclubs, the most famous LGBTQ+ parties are also very targeted at the white cis gay man. In order to break through obviousness,

I chose to exemplify this part with lesbian [LGBTQ+] parties that have been held in these hybrid areas as pointed out by Yohanna Barros<sup>243</sup> during her interview.

**Figure 10. Isoporzinho das Sapatão & Velcro Party**



Sources: I Hate Flash & Velcro Facebook Page

Isoporzinho das Sapatão (image above to the left) was created collectively, in January 2015, by 9 women aiming to rectify the lack of lesbian spaces in the city. This free event, which takes place in public spaces, like public squares, managed to gather more than 200 people in its debut edition. The purpose is for lesbians to occupy the street, whether to talk, drink, sing or dance. Velcro, created in August 2015, was a development of Isoporzinho for a closed night party environment with DJs and better structure (image above to the right). Yohanna and other women came together to elaborate on this other form of lesbian socialisation. The party has been going on for more than 5 years, once a month and has an 80-90% female audience.

### ***CLOSED VENUES from 2000 onwards...***

This subsection will provide an overview of how many spaces closed during this time frame. Cine Ideal, for instance, closed due to the urban revitalisation of the central area. According to Leo Salles, all of the spaces are failing in South Zone, with the exception of Fosfobox (which is quite famous amongst foreign tourists) and Galeira Café (which reaches capacity on

<sup>243</sup> Yohanna Barros. Interview with Davi Lemos. Personal interview. Rio de Janeiro, May 15, 2020.

a Wednesday during the Treta party). Now, given the pandemic, he believes that things are going to change even more because everything has become uncertain. Welton blames the economic crisis and constant unemployment in Rio de Janeiro for facilitating the process of bankruptcy for LGBTQ+ locations in these areas.

Welton also revealed that the closure of Le Boy, one of the largest LGBTQ+ complexes in Brazil with a sauna, nightclub and lesbian spaces, happened in a process of decay over the last few years. Jorge, claiming that it was a major closing milestone in the city over the past few years, believes it closed due to financial difficulties. However, he also realised that this does not represent a blow for the cuir night as a whole, just for South zone. “There was the epicentre, today it is no longer popping.” But, he points out that the profile of the public at night all over the world is changing and that is why old spaces are closing, but the night itself is not dying. For example, "nowadays a party for the queer public does not need to be confined within a [closed] space anymore, it can occupy the street".

**Figure 11. Le Boy**



Source: Vamos Gay

In this way, from some interviews and internet articles, I argue that, like other cities in the world, urban redevelopment plans as well as economic crises are the main reasons behind LGBTQ+ spaces closing in Rio. If we analyse the table (Appendix G), most spaces closed

during, and where, the last urban revitalisation took place, prior to, and after, big events and during our current economic/political crisis. However, in a more optimistic stance, Jorge sees that, since the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century to the present day, there has been a great change on the LGBTQ+ nightlife scene in the city, having more wins than losses as he affirmed that he is from a time when there were only two or three nightclubs in the city.

### 3.3. Final Remarks

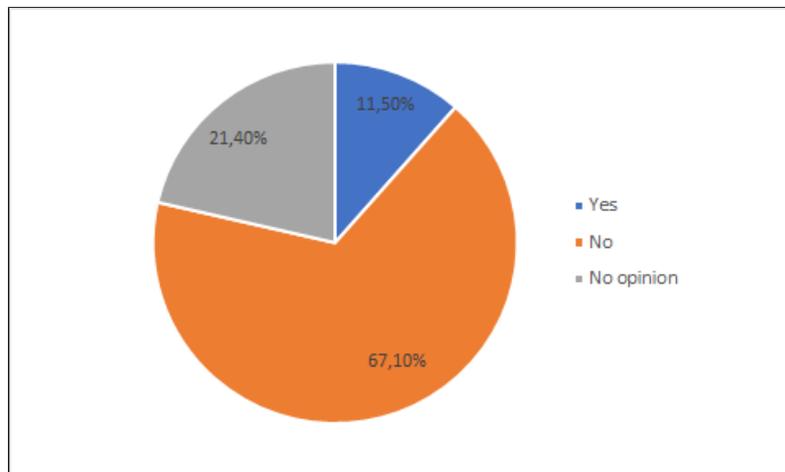
This chapter has illustrated the relationship between Rio de Janeiro and the cuir bodies as well as the city's current LGBTQ+ nocturnal life. After mapping and analysing these spaces, the overall impression and main characteristics that shape these urban dynamics were confirmed through the questionnaire. For instance, respondents were asked to describe how it is to be an LGBTQ+ person in the city in one word. Due to the ongoing discrimination, the results were not surprising: having a vast majority of negative words (87) with only 46 positive ones.<sup>244</sup> In addition, respondents were also asked to define the city's cuir nightlife in one word. The results were well balanced this time with 65 positive answers, 50 negative and 22 neutral ones.<sup>245</sup> At the same time, the vast majority (67.1%) do not think Rio's LGBTQ+ nightlife is plural and accounts for every transviado (graph 3 below). To sum up, a particular word was mentioned a few times in the survey and in the interviews that can sum up the current scenario very well: *phallogentric*. This is due to most built environments being targeted at cis gay men - especially those with higher income (25 out of the 39 ones).

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<sup>244</sup> See appendix K for the word cloud.

<sup>245</sup> See appendix L for the word cloud.

**Graph 3. Do you think LGBTQ+ nightlife in the city is plural and accounts for all of the community's members?**



Source: own elaboration based on survey answers

Furthermore, saunas and sex clubs represent an important space in the city, although, again, only for G members. This was also confirmed in the interview with Welton who highlighted the lack of places for lesbian and bisexual women; during the time he has been running Guia Gay, he has only been able to log two or three locations. Welton believes in several factors for this reason, such as income inequality brought on by the gender pay gap. He also believes in the different demands of lesbian women and gay men. While gays seek and appreciate these sex places more, such as saunas, he does not see that this demand exists for other members of the LGBTQ+ community. However, in my survey results and in some interviews, like Natália, there was a good amount of women who said that there should be saunas for lesbians/bisexual women as well. She stated that saunas and bathrooms are in fact clandestine ways of experiencing sexuality, especially in the culture of gay men. However, she also emphasises that little is said about lesbians and these spaces, but that many of them begin to have a sex life also in bathrooms or dressing rooms.

Another important remark is that most nighttime LGBTQ+ venues are located in the wealthier regions of the city. In the survey, when respondents were asked if this bothered them, 64.6% said yes while 19.3% said no and 16.1% were indifferent.<sup>246</sup> Of course, there are cuir spaces in these peripheral areas, as mentioned earlier, such as Espaço Fênix, but these

<sup>246</sup> See Appendix J for the graph.

initiatives are punctual, do not have a lot of funding or infrastructure and a limited audience. As De Jesus affirmed: “These events remain unattractive to white gay men of the upper class, who prefer entertainment and leisure options in areas where they feel more secure and can interact with gay men of the same social status”.<sup>247</sup> All in all, 90.1% of respondents believe there should be more LGBTQ+ spaces and parties in the city regardless its location while 9.4% said maybe and only 0.5% no.

The research also identified the closure of nine LGBTQ+ nightclubs over the past years, especially in the last decade. Even if the reasons behind their decisions to close down were not fully investigated, at least at an individual level, it is possible to infer through social media and interviews that the city’s latest urban redevelopment project for the mega-events had an impact on their businesses as the majority of these spaces were located in the main areas where this project took place. Other reasons, such as lack of audience and mismanagement, should also be taken into account.

The research also found that there is a shift of attendance from traditional LGBTQ+ nightclubs in south zone towards LGBTQ+ friendly parties (that are mainly hosted at neutral/friendly/hybrid spaces in the city) over the past two decades. A rising number of parties that are more open towards other members within the community, other than just cis gay men, parties that are located at neutral spaces in the City Centre. Moreover, out of a necessity to explore other places, other than the 'black box' that is the nightclub, street occupation movements and parties in open spaces, such as a car park, started to come to life in the city. These parties are cheaper and more accessible than a nightclub, where drinks, for example, are a lot more expensive. In addition, the warm climate and the connection with the beach are factors that, according to Léo Salles, help to create a more favourable environment for street activities in Rio. This phenomenon seems to be aligned with Brazil’s current third Act of the LGBTQ+ movement previously mentioned in the second chapter. The moment we are in is all about revoking the ‘right to the city’, celebrate and express ourselves in a freer and more transgressive way.

However, if I had stopped my investigation at this point and tried to answer my main question, I would be contradicting myself, as I criticised, in the literature review, scholars

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<sup>247</sup> De Jesus, “Corpo dourado”, 304, own translation.

who only focused either on nighttime spaces or gay-oriented venues. There is much more than that in the LGBTQ+ world, there is also a life during daytime there. Moreover, as shown in the survey results, there are many more types of spaces that LGBTQ+ people consider as being LGBTQ+ other than just nightclubs. That is why, I, in order to provide a more complete answer to my research question and expand the debate by bringing other LGBTQ+ realities than the nocturnal life one, decided to have four short case studies in the next chapter, which I have called ‘Other spaces’.<sup>248</sup>

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<sup>248</sup> Even if all these LGBTQ+ spaces are within another context other than the Global North, as this thesis title implies, there are also *other spaces* (than the nocturnal ones) even within other contexts, such as in Rio.

Figure 12. Word cloud of survey answers of LGBTQ+ spaces' characteristics



Source: own elaboration based on survey answers, April-June 2020.

#### CHAPTER 4: *Of Other LGBTQ+ Spaces: Different contexts, different settings?*

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The word cloud above is based on survey answers on respondents general view of LGBTQ+ spaces. There is a clear understanding of it being a place of freedom, safety and self expression. All in all, this chapter, attempting to address the third set of sub-questions, not only discusses the idea of what a cuir space is in Rio but also presents four short case studies of *other LGBTQ+ spaces* in order to go beyond the nighttime life.

## **CHAPTER 4: *Of Other LGBTQ+ Spaces: Different contexts, different settings?***

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This final chapter will start by trying to find a common definition of what an LGBTQ+ space is or should be in Brazil through interviewees' and survey respondents' answers and opinions as the mainstream ones do not necessarily relate to Brazil's reality. To illustrate the plurality behind LGBTQ+ spaces and go beyond the nighttime venues, this chapter will also have four short case studies: an LGBTQ+ shelter, an LGBTQ+ organisation, and two LGBTQ+ Carnival street parties. In the chapter's final remarks, a model of intersecting functionalities created to apply to this specific context will be explained and further explored in order to understand Brazilian LGBTQ+ spaces dynamics.

### **4.0. LGBTQ+ SPACES**

As previously discussed in the theoretical section, there is no common definition for a queer space; nor, as I argue, would such a universal definition embrace all realities and subjectivities. In addition, most existing studies and definitions rely on gay and lesbian spaces that many times do not transgress the norms - for instance, cisnormativity - nor include all members of the LGBTQ+ community for their analyses. Not dissimilar to other major cities in the world, Rio de Janeiro's cuir venues are still very focused on cisgender gay men, especially its nightclubs, saunas and sex clubs. Also, in the survey, when asked who were the most and least accepted individuals within the LGBTQ+ community, the majority of respondents answered white cisgender gay man (69), lesbians (30) and bisexuals (23) were the most accepted ones while transgender (66), butch and flamboyants (19) and black lesbians (5) the least accepted ones. Due to this, an attempt to define the city's LGBTQ+ urban geography only by its nighttime spaces would lead this research to repeat the vicious cycle of only taking a look at the more privileged ones within the community. In order to expand the discussion, this investigation focuses on other types of LGBTQ+ spaces as well as other individuals within the community, such as NGOs, shelter and Carnival street parties.

Through interviews and survey answers, I was able to identify directly - and indirectly - characteristics that cross people's minds in Rio when they think about an LGBTQ+ space, or what they believe it should be like. In the survey, when they were asked 'how would you define in a few words a queer/LGBTQ+ space?' there were a set of words that appeared quite

often in their answers: freedom (39), no judgment (32), welcoming (27), safe (21), diversity/plurality (11), respect (11), inclusive (11) and happiness (5). Also, in the table 2 below<sup>249</sup>, it is possible to notice that in the selected full answers a strong feeling towards feeling safe, free and be able to express oneself represent the common themes that permeate the ideals of a LGBTQ+ space.

**Table 2. How would you define in a few words a queer/LGBTQ+ space?**

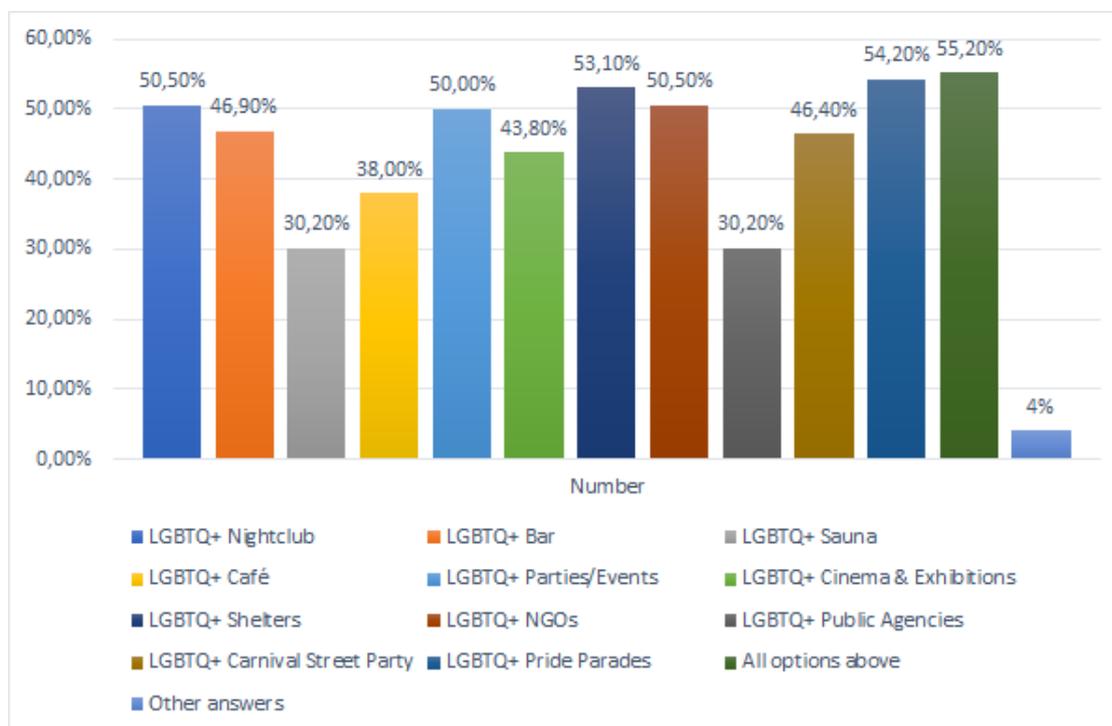
<p>Where most people or all are LGBTQ+.</p> <p>A space free of oppression and gender and sexuality stereotypes.</p> <p>A space where we don't have to hide who we are.</p> <p>A space where I feel comfortable enough to kiss or show affection to another LGBT person without fear of looks, judgment, etc.</p> <p>A space that encourages LGBTQI+ culture.</p> <p>A space in which prejudices on account of gender identity or sexual orientation are not tolerated.</p> <p>A space where we are not afraid to show and act as we really are, whether in the way of dressing, speaking or being with our partners.</p> <p>A space that welcomes, provides security, brings together and represents the Queer/LGBTQ+ community.</p> <p>Spaces aimed at the LGBTQ+ population, prioritising the deconstruction of prejudices, politicisation, acceptance and coexistence.</p> <p>A space for people who do not feel very comfortable in normative environments, which can mean a space that accepts, desires and/or encourages artistic/political expressions in their space; that respects the new, the provocative without discrimination, but that does not tolerate intolerance.</p> <p>What it is: a space generally dominated by (mainly white) cis gay men . What it should be: a space where freedom and respect reign.</p>
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Source: own elaboration based on survey answers

<sup>249</sup> In order to make this table, the more complete answers with full sentences were chosen.

Furthermore, academic scholars that investigated queer urban geographies and their spaces mainly analysed the nocturnal queer life of a particular city, neglecting other types of spaces such as shelters, organisations, museums, parties and events (temporal and itinerant). Due to this, in order to expand possibilities and the scope of analysis, in the same survey, respondents were also asked which types of spaces they would agree as being an LGBTQ+ space. There were 12 options (graph 4 below) and they could choose as many as they want, including all of the options and blank space for comments. The result is as follows: all of the options (55.2%), LGBTQ+ pride parade (54.2%), LGBTQ+ shelter (53.1%), LGBTQ+ nightclubs and LGBTQ+ NGOs (50.5%, each), LGBTQ+ parties/events in neutral/hybrid spaces (50%) and carnival LGBTQ+ street parties (46.4%). Coincidentally - or not - the first two types of spaces after ‘all of the options’ do not refer to nocturnal life, two of them refer to spaces for social activities and three of them refer to ‘spaces’ in a non-built environment. These choices surely reflect the city’s behaviour of being a very lively and outdoors atmosphere.

**Graph 4. Which of the below options do you consider to be a queer/LGBTQ+ space?**



Source: own elaboration based on survey answers.

That is why, in order to provide a more complete and true overview of Rio's LGBTQ+ urban geography, it is impossible not to mention and analyse the social initiatives and the carnival parties that are quite relevant and popular for the city's LGBTQ+ population. Leo Salles, for instance, considers LGBTQ+ carnival street parties as being *cuir* spaces due to the the great diversity amongst the party goers. For Natália, an organisation "has to be considered an LGBTQ+ space. Perhaps much more than a nocturnal space. [A nightclub is a] very important space for socialising, for discovering our sexuality, but we need safe spaces where there is debate [and] access to education, culture, health care". And lastly, for Yohanna, an LGBTQ+ space is a safer place to be "both physically and psychologically. If the whole world could be a [*cuir*] space, it would be wonderful, even for straight people".

#### **4.1. *Of Other Spaces 1: The NGO Casinha***

"A welcoming and mobilising network that mobilises many people from many different areas to promote health, education and the freedom of the LGBT individual; offering services that the State should offer".<sup>250</sup>

Natalia Pazetti, the founder and current president of 'Casinha', said during her interview that the project came about due to a series of events. Having studied political sciences at UNIRIO from 2013 to 2017, Pazetti got involved with research groups and social movements, especially those connected with human rights and LGBTQ+ rights. By studying the persecution of gay men in Chechnya, the theme of violence suffered by the LGBTQ+ community - both externally and internally, sometimes even at home - became a deep-rooted issue. Consequently, she started to think about safe spaces where these people could live and create links, "the question of safe spaces goes as far as including loving relationships, becoming a question of survival in many cases." Her thoughts were put into practice when she took in a lesbian who had been kicked out of her house and asked for shelter in a lesbian group on Facebook. Due to this, she started to investigate these topics and got to know the project 'Casa 1'<sup>251</sup> in São Paulo. She soon realised that there was a need for a space like that in Rio, and thus 'Casinha' was born.

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<sup>250</sup> Natália Pazetti. Interview with Davi Lemos. Personal interview. Rio de Janeiro, May 25, 2020.

<sup>251</sup> A LGBTQ+ shelter organisation located in the city of São Paulo.

**Figure 13. Casinha's two-year anniversary**



Source: Casinha Facebook Page

Due to them still not having a physical space, many of their meetings and activities take place in NEX, a co-working space in Glória, in the South zone. Pazetti explains that they are given the space free of charge because they believe in the project and also says that other activities take place in other partner spaces. During the almost three years of the project's existence, they have tried to rent a space in the city but it is very difficult due to many obstacles. Despite assisting varying facets of the LGBTQ+ community, Pazetti does not believe that they will be able to fully access the trans community because they predominantly help women, of whom more are cis than are trans. She says, "I feel the trans community is more shut off, perhaps for all the violence they have had to endure in their lifetimes, they feel more at ease with organisations run by trans people. [Although] we have trans volunteers, no one in the organisation is [trans]". However, over the years, they have created a strong network of services dealing with four principle areas of action: employability, education, health and culture (Table 3).

**Table 3. Casinha's Main Initiatives**

<b>Areas of Action</b>	<b>Initiatives</b>
<b>Employability</b>	<p>Their first focus with businesses: they carry out dialogues with employers and show them the reality of the LGBTQ+ community in the job market and the importance of relaxing the selection process, especially when it comes to the trans population. They also run awareness workshops with these businesses and their teams.</p> <p>Their second focus with the LGBTQ+ population: they empower those who need work, writing their CVs and even implementing selection processes with businesses specifically geared towards the LGBT community.</p>
<b>Education</b>	<p>In this area, they have many programmes and, when they have their own physical space, they want to host university entrance exams. At the moment, they coach virtually, in partnership with Descomplica, where people have free access to this platform's lessons. They also offer academic support and offer courses in gastronomy and cultural production, amongst other things.</p>
<b>Health</b>	<p>Casinha created a network of health professionals who offer their services to LGBTQ+ people at either a reduced rate or free of charge. The health professionals undergo an awareness course, accompanied by the organisation as well as the patients. They also have psychologists who host group therapy sessions and help in other aspects relating to health.</p>
<b>Culture</b>	<p>They host debates, lectures, film clubs, cultural events and parties with the goal of having spaces of exchange that are safe for the community.</p>

Source: own elaboration based on interview with Natália Pazetti

As said previously, they still do not have a physical space of their own and first and foremost they want to have a space to house an LGBTQ+ NGO, "which is already very difficult, and even more so when it is an LGBT NGO that provides shelter". Pazetti cites the fact that their institutional statute recognises them as a shelter, leading to them losing out on many tenancy agreements. Even when they told the owners that it would not be a shelter for the time being, or that they would not use that particular place to do so, the owners still did not want to sign a tenancy agreement. To begin with, they want a space for all the activities they already do,

bettering them, with meals, a communal bathroom, a communal laundry room, food baskets and hygiene packs; as well as becoming a delivery point for the homeless population, so many of whom are LGBTQ+. Only in the future would it become a true shelter. Today, there are 13 LGBT shelters in Brazil, only three or four of which are true shelters, the rest are projects that carry out other initiatives.

When asked what she believed the main motive for the refusal of and difficulty in arranging a tenancy agreement for the NGO, Pazetti claims that in most cases she is sure it was down to it being for the LGBTQ+ population. In a few others she puts it down to it being a shelter, believing the place would be ransacked, or attract the police's attention and also due to the connotations with prostitution. She recounts one of the times there was a place that had been on the rental market for a long time, completely trashed and she and her team made a renovation proposal, with a team to analyse the best way to do so, becoming a posterior bonus for the proprietor; despite this, the proprietor refused their offer. They were informed by the estate agent that the place was eventually rented out to a security company whose proposal was inferior to their own. All of their attempts to rent somewhere have happened in the neighbourhood of Tijuca, Casinha's main focal point, because there is a medical centre there, Heitor Beltrão, that does a lot of good work for the LGBT population, focusing on trans people, with groups of specialised care.

In an attempt to foster other spaces, Casinha helps other organisations, such as Casa Nem, one of Brazil's first safe shelters for the LGBT population. As well as collecting donations, such as furniture and clothes, given the current pandemic, they held an online festival to raise money for Casa Nem, Casa de Direitos da Baixada and the LGBTQ+ movement, donating the funds raised as either food baskets or as cash. Pazetti says that there is not direct channel of communications between the NGOs, regardless, with the pandemic, she feels things are being organised. In São Paulo last year, Casa 1 held Brazil's first forum for national LGBT shelters. Pazetti believes, therefore, that there is a bigger exchange between them, especially given the fact that in the beginning it was very hard to have a close dialogue with other institutions, it was even difficult to just find information about the organisations and these social spaces, owing to the informality in which most of them start.

## 4.2. *Of Other Spaces 2: Casa Nem*

"Whoever passes by Rua Dias da Rocha, in Copacabana, and looks at the old six-storey building, is already told: 'Cure your prejudice'. Upon opening the gate, before going up the stairs, the message is explicitly put on a banner informing that no forms of oppression are allowed. We are in Casa Nem, a shelter, a space for passage and actions gears towards LGBTI (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transvestites, transexual and intersex) people.<sup>252</sup>

Emerging in 2016 with the educational goal of meeting the needs of trans people doing a pre-vestibular course<sup>253</sup>, the so-called 'Prepara Nem', saw Casa Nem evolve into a shelter over the years. Indianare Siqueira, the project's founder, noticed that many of the students faced housing problems, such as precarious conditions in shelters or domestic violence, and that something needed to be done. Casa Nem currently finds itself located in Copacabana, after having already been in different neighbourhoods in Rio, such as Lapa, in the central region, and Bonsucesso and Vila Isabel, in the north zone. The organisation always suffered from the lack of its own space and the fear of eviction. Casa Nem has always found itself in complicated situations precisely due to not having institutional support, always squatting in the places they are in and by depending on the few donations they get, generally donated by those who already know the space.<sup>254</sup>

Casa Nem, which is one of Brazil's main LGBTQ+ shelters and is administered by trans activists, currently houses 54 people, as well as children and animals, who have been victims of prejudice. This space offers the necessary support and the recuperation of self-esteem to people who find themselves in vulnerable situations, often brought on by having been thrown out of their homes, living on the streets or for having been abused. Those who live in the shelter do so completely free of charge, including all of their meals as well as medical and psychological assistance offered by volunteers. Luana Paixão, a trans resident of Casa Nem,

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<sup>252</sup> O Dia, 'Casa Nem acolhe população LGBTI em Copacabana mas teme despejo'. *O Dia*. Accessed in June 15, 2020, <https://odia.ig.com.br/rio-de-janeiro/2020/01/5854088-casa-nem-acolhe-populacao-lgbti--em-copacabana--mas-teme-despejo.html>.

<sup>253</sup> Pré-vestibular is the general name of preparation courses for university entrance exams in Brazil.

<sup>254</sup> Observatório G, 'Casa nem acolhe população LGBTQI mas precisa de mais apoio'. *Observatório G*. Accessed in June 15, 2020, <https://observatoriog.bol.uol.com.br/noticias/casa-nem-acolhe-populacao-lgbtqi-mas-precisa-de-mais-apoio>.

in an interview with the newspaper called 'O Dia', confessed that, in the shelter, she found her true family, since she could not count on the support of her biological family. There are many stories just like Luana's, like Christal, Morgana and Duda Correia. Duda had come from Ceará to live with her sister in Rio after their parents died, but, when she arrived, she was kicked out of her sister's house. Duda says that she is still trying to understand everything that has happened and is happening and, consequently, does not currently have any plans or dreams.<sup>255</sup>

**Figure 14. Casa Nem in Copacabana**



Source: Ricardo Cassiano / O Dia

According to Indianare, there is a current court petition to have the building they occupy repossessed so that it can be Casa Nem's headquarters. This is because, despite the social function performed by them, despite serving people referred to them by the city hall, public agencies do not officially recognise Casa Nem as an institution nor does it recognise its space as its own.<sup>256</sup> In addition to the support they provide, they also promote courses to generate an income for residents, such as sewing and photography, physical activities such as yoga and dance, cultural events, such as ballrooms, debates and even parties, such as "Desnatal".<sup>257</sup>

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<sup>255</sup> O Dia, 'Casa Nem acolhe'.

<sup>256</sup> O Dia, 'Casa Nem acolhe'.

<sup>257</sup> Explain it.

Desnatal was an event that took place between December 24<sup>th</sup> and 27<sup>th</sup> in 2019 to "deconstruct Christmas conventions that are full of rules and hypocrisy".<sup>258</sup> During these four nights, with more than 150 people present on the first day, everyone felt free, they dressed up, danced, talked, ate and enjoyed the festive period that is often so difficult for many LGBTQ+ people.<sup>259</sup>

Right before the pandemic began, in order to commemorate the National Day of Visibility for Transsexuals and Transvestites, on January 24, 2020, the trans visibility festival took place for the first time. It showed the film 'Indianara', which depicts the life of the militant, it also promoted the arts by making their walls available to graffiti artists and featured debates on racism, transphobia, toxic masculinity and veganism.<sup>260</sup> After 4 months of quarantine, Casa Nem currently struggles daily to raise funds, food, medicine, cleaning products and drinking water because, in a crisis, the most fragile are even more vulnerable. They have also been producing face coverings to earn money as well as to donate them to the LGBTQ+ population and homeless people in Rio. Ultimately, in the midst of chaos, they are still at risk of losing their home in Copacabana and are launching an online petition to support their staying in the building.

### 4.3. *Of Other Spaces 3: Sereias da Guanabara*

“An LGBTQI+ carnival street party yes, but a space for partying, tolerance, respect and refuge.” (Leonardo Salles)<sup>261</sup>

“A street party that celebrates life, diversity and always swims against the tide.”  
(Jorge Badaue)<sup>262</sup>

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<sup>258</sup> Gustavo (interview) , 'No Rio, Casa Nem é refúgio para LBGTBS excluídos das famílias nas festas de fim de ano'. *Época*. Accessed in June 15, 2020, <https://epoca.globo.com/brasil/no-rio-casa-nem-refugio-para-lgbts-excluidos-das-familias-nas-festas-d-e-fim-de-ano-24159426>.

<sup>259</sup> Ibid.

<sup>260</sup> O Dia, 'Casa Nem acolhe'.

<sup>261</sup> Original version: Um bloco de carnaval LGBTQI+ sim, mas com um espaço de festa, de tolerância, de respeito, de acolhimento. Léo Salles. Interview with Davi Lemos. Personal interview. Rio de Janeiro, May 20, 2020.

<sup>262</sup> Original version: Um bloco que celebra a vida, a diversidade e sempre nada contra a maré. Jorge Badauê. Interview with Davi Lemos. Personal interview. Rio de Janeiro, May 15, 2020.

The Sereias da Guanabara<sup>263</sup> street party, which debuted during the 2017 carnival, was the brainchild of two friends - Leonardo Salles and Jorge Badaue - who had noticed that there was a lack of street parties aimed at the LGBTQ+ community in Rio de Janeiro. At the end of 2016, following the election of the Universal Church religious extremist, Marcelo Crivela, as the city's mayor, and the springing up of alternative initiatives in the city, they decided to put their plan into action. With a group of friends and few resources, they took to the streets “to occupy this urban space with a party, to talk about whose space it is and how it should be occupied”.<sup>264</sup> Due to the extreme bureaucracy of the city hall and the series of difficulties imposed on carnival in recent times, the street party has not yet managed to be legalised, having to resort to establishments legalised by the government to carry out the street party. In 2020, for example, they joined forces with Rivalzinho, a permanent bar previously mentioned in the list of LGBTQ+ friendly spaces in the city, to hold this year's carnival and host the music stage.

**Figure 15. Sereias do Guanabara Carnival 2019**



Source: O Globo

The street party's story since its debut, from its name, its look, its language choice and how it was and is thought of year after year, reflects the link the creators have with the brands of the

<sup>263</sup> Guanabara Bay Mermaids.

<sup>264</sup> Léo Salles. Interview with Davi Lemos. Personal interview. Rio de Janeiro, May 20, 2020.

city and, above all, with the LGBTQ+ carioca community. Both thought of this name precisely because of the understanding that the Guanabara Bay was the birthplace of Rio de Janeiro, where the city was founded, in addition to the fact that the city revolves around the sea as well. The sea, in turn, will be understood as a diverse environment, due to marine diversity, but also as a resistance movement. That is because, as Jorge Badaue says:

“There is something very interesting about Guanabara Bay. It has never died because every two weeks all of its water is renewed, so there is still life. So, we think of Guanabara Bay as a kind of microcosm of Rio de Janeiro, a tourist spot, where the city was born, but that we often question the existence of life within this space due to the degradation of life in that space [...] We brought this microcosm, as an affirmation of life, space, the joy of this space, the diversity of this space, especially a celebration”.<sup>265</sup>

In addition, sereias (mermaids), mythological beings and two beings at the same time, allow you to explore the world of fantasy, sensuality, colours. Therefore, this name brings a set of meanings that reflects on the diversity of the public, of the production itself, and on all the flags that the street party has always carried. As a street party where there is no binarism, the feminist, sexual diversity, acceptance and celebration of all bodies and forms of existence flags are seen by the founders, gay men, as an act of activism through the carnival party.

The party goes - stylised as a ‘school of fish’ by Salles and Badaue, in a way that conveys the sense of togetherness, protection and welcome - has grown over the years, between 15,000 and 20,000 people are estimated to have been on the streets with them at the 2020 carnival. When they were asked how they gained such great support in such a short time, Léo Salles says that the street party 'is seen as a safe space, where everyone is very comfortable, where no one will harass or tolerate being harassed. In addition, much of the repertoire, which they call ‘pop-Brazil-Latino-sensual-tropical’, communicates with affective memory, making reference to the sea and contains various icons of LGBTQ + culture. Thus, Jorge states that:

“We built a space with a lot of freedom and security, and above all, an environment where people can exercise their sexuality [and] their nature without oppression, they

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<sup>265</sup> Interview with Jorge Badaue (own translation).

feel safe and protect themselves because they know they are in a space where they can be free, where they are not going to be oppressed and can live their freedom [and] sexuality, people go to the street party dressed to the nines”.<sup>266</sup>

As a way of monetising and financing the carnival, the brand 'Sereias da Guanabara' also produces parties throughout the year, aimed at the LGBTQ+ public, in the same neutral and closed environments of the city's port area where several other LGBTQ+ parties also hold their parties. Similar to the street parties of carnival, these parties provide a safe place, where anyone and everyone can express themselves freely and safely. As Léo says, they do not just play the music at these parties but also perform at them. In the next step of expansion for the brand, they started the 'Banda do Sereias', having their first show shortly after this year's carnival; unfortunately, the project has been interrupted by the current pandemic.

Although carnival street parties are more democratic environments, Léo Salles believes that this depends on the street party and nightclub's communication. In the case of Sereias, for example, they show all types of images and they even prefer to show people in full drag or those who do not belong to a specific stereotype. All of the brand's work, its use of language, the brand-persona created, even its tone of voice helps to shape its audience. Precisely due to this, they believe that their street party has such a great diversity because "we break away from the homogeneity of the cis gay man, we try to be the most LGBTQI+ possible”.

#### **4.4. *Of Other Spaces 4: Toco-Xona***

“A space of diversity and respect, where no 'phobias' or 'isms', such as sexism, are tolerated [...] We need to ensure that everyone who is there feels well, free and does not fall victim of violence or prejudices”.<sup>267</sup>

The carnival street party 'Toco-Xona' (TX), different to 'Sereias do Guanabara', was not originally meant to be the ostensibly LGBTQ+ street party that it is today; it was just meant to be one that appreciated diversity and freedom. In her interview, Bruna Capistrano, TX's founder, says that it was born out of her desire to transform her close, lesbian, friends' musical movement into a carnival street party. To do so, she joined forces with her friend,

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<sup>266</sup> Interview with Jorge Badaue (own translation).

<sup>267</sup> Bruna Capistrano and Michele Krimer. Interview with Davi Lemos. Personal interview. Rio de Janeiro, May 29, 2020.

Michele Krimer, who was also present at the interview, to debut the group as Michele was a professional musician and had already worked with carnival street parties, with rhythms and instruments. 13 years later, it has become one of Rio's biggest street parties, meaning it can sustain itself financially without any government initiatives and without any sponsorship.<sup>268</sup>

In the year it debuted, Bruna, who, still to this day, runs the musical and artistic aspect of the street party, says that they started without any pretences, in a square, with an air of 'foolishness' and very little structure. To be able to afford their first procession, they held a barbecue, selling tickets and all of the money they raised went straight towards paying for the street party. Due to this, likewise with Sereias, they realised they could make the street party happen, without any financial help from anyone, by hosting parties throughout the year. Furthermore, three years ago, they started to perform as 'A Banda do Toco-Xona' by way of earning money, since performing artists and their respective managers get paid. For 10 years the street party did not return any financial gains, yet it continued to grow and evolve every year, even hosting a street party in Flamengo Park this year at 8am, attended by over 20,000 people, with excellent organisation and paying all the costs of having a street party of that size in Rio, such as a producer, security and an ambulance.

With regards to its musical evolution and that of its party goers, Michele claims that the initial idea was to bring together friends, but they did not plan on it being a lesbian or LGBTQ+ street party. That said, however, they soon realised that the street party was purely made up of lesbians. Due to this, during its first few years, the street party's main audience was made up by lesbians and it started to be known precisely as that: Rio's lesbian carnival street party. Only in 2010, with the theme of 'Chacrinha', a famous Brazilian TV host in the '80s and '90s, did it start to be known unintentionally as a 'cool' street party and its audience started to diversify, with the arrival of other members of the LGBTQ+ community. In 2013, when the theme was 'Hebe', another famous Brazilian TV host, very popular amongst the LGBTQ+ community, and it was already a big and consolidated street party, there was a large presence of gay men who were accused of invading a lesbian space. Both Bruna and Michele believe that from that moment on the street party started to fly the LGBTQ+ flag, even

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<sup>268</sup> With the proviso that in the last two years, the TX carnival street party has obtained sponsorship, but that, according to the interviewees, do not necessarily pay for all the expenses.

though it never officially 'came out of the closet', as they did not deem it necessary to do so and in fact some of them still had not come out to their families or in their places of work.

Bruna claims that "we did not think we were flying the flag, yet, without knowing, we were. Everyone knew it was a gay, lesbian street party but we did not market ourselves as such. Despite denying the flag, they were worried they would be put in a box and people would feel they were no longer welcome if they were not LGBTQ+, after all, they want to be a street party for everyone. This was true, until they were 'outed'. In a report in the Globo newspaper, about the best carnival street parties, TX was quoted as an example and a small description was written about it. Even though they released a press release that did not make any reference to sexuality or use terms that could be interpreted as such, the journalist, who was LGBTQ+ and known to them, took the liberty to call them 'shameless lesbians'. This shattered the group as they were not prepared for it, neither as a street party nor as individuals. From then on, they all came out to their families, to their work colleagues and people pressured the street party to take a stance.

**Figure 16. Toco-Xona Carnival 2018**



Source: Gataria / Toco-Xona Facebook Page

Running parallel to the report, in 2017, the street party was ready to commemorate its 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary. They had already been planning for a long time what they were going to do and what the theme was going to be; until Madonna did an iconic interview with Billboard about feminism and they saw this as the perfect moment to stylise the street party as a lesbian, LGBTQ+ one, finally coming out of the closet. "We were going to say 'yes, we are lesbians and yes this is a secure space that has been achieved by us for an LGBTI audience.' We then started to embrace feminism and LGBT questions in our communications." The following year, the theme was 'feminism empowers'. Bruna emphasises the importance of defending the space they had conquered, despite not having any history aligning them to activism, even today, since they affirm that they are just a carnival street party. However, the existence of the street party in and of itself results in representivity. "Completely without merit, we are the only LGBT carnival street party officially authorised by the local council, which is a shame. Yet being authorised by the council shows representivity, which is important. The more LGBT representatives there are, the better it is for us".

In this way, TX has established itself within the Carioca carnival, where everyone knows it is a street party formed entirely by lesbians. For an outsider, this is already something that inspires other to take a stance and talk. The street party's birth, as well as its existence, already results in great representivity in the Carioca Carnival, which is also pretty political. Although it is made up of lesbians, it reaches everyone and both Bruna and Michele claim that TC will never host an event or street party that is closed, only for women, for example, because:

“We have no intentions of creating walls and closing doors; building bridges is what makes sense [to us]. We understand that the lesbian, trans, gay movements build walls to protect themselves, to create their own group[s], and their own parlance and whilst it is important, we understand that the construction of bridges is more part of our history. This dialogue needs to exist, both within the LGBTI community as a whole and also amongst those from outside. If we only speak amongst ourselves, we will not conquer more spaces than [the ones we already have]. We need allies”.<sup>269</sup>

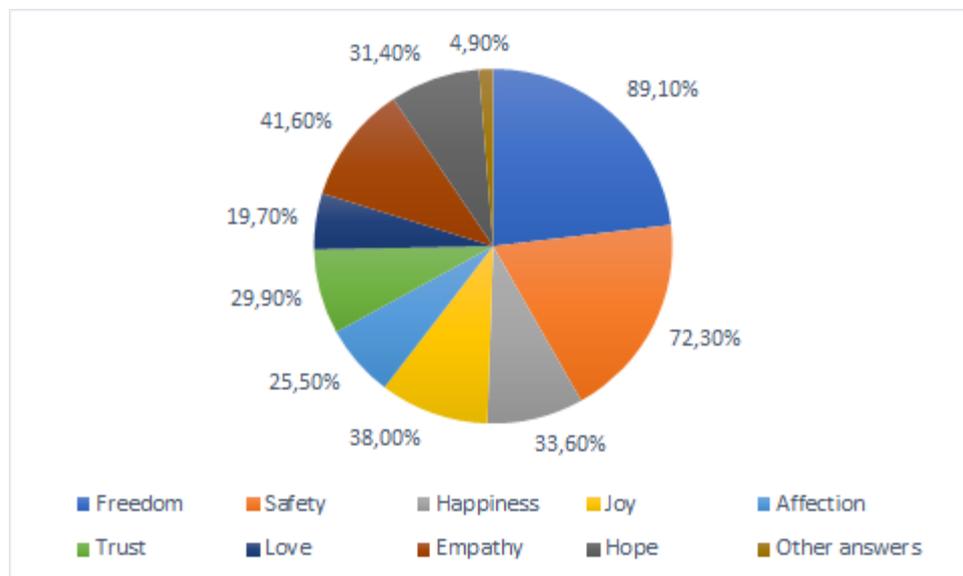
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<sup>269</sup> Bruna Capistrano and Michele Krimer. Interview with Davi Lemos. Personal interview. Rio de Janeiro, May 29, 2020.

#### 4.5. Final Remarks

In the survey, as discussed earlier in this chapter, there are two words and feelings that always come up: safety and freedom (graph 5 below). This is because, even nowadays, in 2020, queer bodies are still contested, discriminated and persecuted. What is going on in the whole world right now is proof that racism, LGBTfobia, and sexism are very much alive, even within the nations of the Global North. In Brazil, the previous election and the victory of many conservative politicians allowed people more freedom to expose their prejudices, but Rio, according to Natália managed to create and maintain its safe spaces for the LGBTQ+ population. Bruna, similarly, claims that we are currently living in a very dark time and that a very conservative wave is establishing itself worldwide, where people do not want to live with the 'different', nor will they let go of their privileges. Nevertheless, she emphasises that "at the same time, we came out of the closet, slaves were freed and women got out of the kitchen. We will not go back there again".

**Graph 5. What do you feel when you're in an LGBTQ+ place? (Select the three options most relevant to you)**



Source: own elaboration based on survey answers

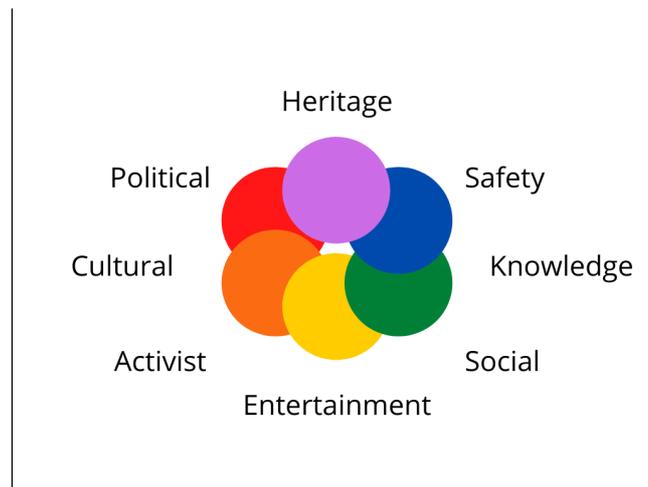
When asked if Rio's acceptance of cuir bodies is improving (or not), Natália, for example, stated that it is difficult to talk about this due to her being a white woman from the South zone, but that she has been attacked in some places and has a constant fear of walking by

different areas, such as Lapa, in the central region. Also, she believes that prejudice in the South zone is more veiled, but that does not mean that people do not stare, whisper and laugh at transviados. Likewise, Jorge recognises that he speaks from a male, middle class and resident of central Rio de Janeiro standpoint. Consequently, he believes that, in other areas of the city, this reality changes slightly, especially due to neo-pentecostal expansion in cities and the neo-pentecostal militia. As he says:

“I think Rio is a city of strong contradictions. Whilst [...] I have a strong feeling of freedom by being a gay man in Rio de Janeiro, I also think the city is extremely oppressive and shockingly unequal. Therefore, I am able to have both feelings [...] I live both of these environments, privileged to have never suffered repression or been assaulted because of [my sexuality], but at the same time I am not oblivious to the fact that this also represents that paradox that forms this city.”

The four cases presented in this chapter aimed to illustrate realities from the more marginalised ones as well as the dynamics behind non usual cuir spaces. In addition, it also sought to reveal how multifunctional these spaces are. Case Nem and Casinha, for instance, have a very strong social role but they also promote educational, entertainment and political activities. Similarly, the carnival street parties cannot only be seen as a space for fun as they also revoke the use of public space by the LGBTQ+ community and create a safe space for them to develop their heritage, their history, their culture. Due to this, I created the following model (figure 17), intersecting functionalities, to apply to the Brazilian context, and to some extent, it also applies to other realities. That is, while cuir bodies keep being contested in cities of the Global South, like Rio de Janeiro, even purely entertainment LGBTQ+ spaces, such as nightclubs and bars, will also embed a political, social, activist and cultural character. Therefore, *Brazilian LGBTQ+ spaces would be defined as a place where intersections of functionalities meet regardless of their economic - or lack thereof - purposes.*

**Figure 17. Intersecting Functionalities Model**



Source: own elaboration

Surely, as in the intersectionality approach, the level of each function will vary. In a shelter, for instance, the level of entertainment will be far smaller than in a nightclub, but the level of activism will be much higher. However, it does not mean that both spaces cannot have both functionalities within their own environment. Therefore, the concluding section will review the main discussions of each chapter and provide the main answers of this research investigation.

## CONCLUSIONS

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The purpose of this thesis has been to contribute to current LGBTQ+ urban geography discussions on queer spaces' definitions and their functionalities with new academic findings that are different from realities than the Global North. In doing so, not only have I sought to unveil Rio's current cuir scenario but also to produce knowledge from our own perspectives. I challenged the academic addiction of just looking at white gay male performances and spaces by prioritising experiences that are not often heard. I contested universalising concepts that try to define ideas that are impossible to be implemented without considering local specificity. Even if in some studies it is pointed out that it is based on a specific city or country, wording matters. If I have to write 'Brazilian' queer space to attempt to define what it means locally, an American scholar, for instance, should be writing in one's study 'American queer space' as well. After all, defining queer space in a generalised way is empty and unreliable. Finally, I tried to escape the place of passivity that is imposed on me by being Latino and gay and to write, along with so many cuir voices, our own story.

Chapter one has given an overview of the main literature while chapter two attempted to contextualise and understand Brazilian intersectional identities and their troubled power relations. Throughout the second chapter it was argued that the construction of the 'ideal' Brazilian identity with values brought by colonisation, such as patriarchy, white supremacy and heterocisnormativity has influenced society's behaviour towards marginalised bodies like black and LGBTQ+ people still today. It also deconstructed the myth of Brazilians being a 'cordial' individual and live in a racial and LGBTQ+ democracy by exposing the ongoing violence that these subjects suffer on a daily basis. This confirmed the importance of the LGBTQ+ spaces for Brazilian cuir bodies. More than a space for socialisation, it is a space for resistance and survival. Lastly, it narrated the history of the LGBTQ+ movement, dividing it into three acts (distinct moments). It is pivotal to understand the correlation of the movement with the formation of cuir spaces in the main Brazilian urban centres, such as Rio and São Paulo.

Chapter three focused on mapping Rio's LGBTQ+ urban geography, especially the cuir nightlife scene, in order to understand the main dynamics and characteristics that compose

this urban territory. It was possible to see how transviados have been consuming the city and the predominance of white cis gay man in the making process of the cuir built environment, especially in nightclubs, saunas and sex clubs. It was argued that most *phallogentric* venues are located in richer areas of the city and do not necessarily welcome every person within the LGBTQ+ community. However, it prioritised examples that illustrated a more diverse environment in order to enrich the analysis. Through research participants' answers, it was verified that LGBTQ+ parties (located mainly in neutral spaces) have become more popular than nightclubs especially for being more democratic, inclusive and cheaper. It also recognised that there is much more in the LGBTQ+ urban geography than the nightlife, reason why the last chapter explored the so-called [LGBTQ+] *other spaces*.

Chapter four attempted to explore spaces that challenge the mainstream idea on what a queer space would look like. It first discussed and collectively - through survey and interviews responses - built up a Brazilian view on queer/cuir space, its main characteristics and what it represent for us. It was clear that the understanding goes beyond the common sense of entertainment-only spaces. The way respondents answered the questions emphasised the importance of spaces that have a social impact as well as located in a non-built/fixed environment. Spaces that revoke the right to occupy, to exist and to resist (in) the city. The four case studies were able to tell these stories and document our LGBTQ+ memory. It was argued that all LGBTQ+ spaces in Rio/Brazil play a multifunctional role due to the existing discrimination towards cuir bodies. In this way, the 'intersecting functionalities' model was created in order to better explain this conclusion.

The empirical contribution of this thesis is the documentation of a not fully researched LGBTQ+ urban geography in a Latin American city, Rio de Janeiro. Through mapping the current cuir nighttime scenario, 13 in-depth interviews and 192 survey respondents, it was possible to collect new qualitative and quantitative data. This thesis has also aimed to expand the limited theoretical framework on queer urban studies by bringing a different context from the Global South. As in every investigation, this thesis has faced limitations, especially due to the Covid-19 pandemic that tremendously impacted Brazilian cuir lives. For future research, it is crucial to collect further responses and interviews especially from transgender people for better representativeness as well as to perform ethnographic work. There are also some other

areas of study to be explored such as: the ‘boom’ of LGBTQ+ shelters in Brazil and lesbian-led urban interventions in the city.

In this way, this thesis will leave you with two main conclusions:

The first being that I argue that the ‘Brazilian LGBTQ+ urban geography’ has always experienced what Campkin (2018) described as a ‘queer urban imaginary or future’, as mentioned in the literature review. The hypothesis is that Brazilian cities, like Rio de Janeiro, have never actually reached a high-level of acceptance towards their LGBTQ+ populations, stopping neoliberalism to co-opt these highly-political, yet commercial to some extent, spaces and draining them of their social value. That is why it is possible to apply the model of intersecting functionalities mentioned in the last chapter to all Brazilian LGBTQ+ spaces, regardless of whether they occur in a built environment or in the street. In this way, this ‘imaginary’, in the Brazilian context, is the reality and this ‘future’ is now.

And the second one being that I argue that spaces are dynamic and reflect the current necessities. Similarly, LGBTQ+ spaces are expressions of their current agenda. As I mentioned before, Brazil is facing the consolidation of the third act of its LGBTQ+ movement, that is, a moment of parties, activism, new identities, and plurality. This is reflected in their urban dynamics and spaces. Therefore, less old-fashioned and limiting spaces are needed; more fluid parties and occupations, more inclusion and more diversity are what LGBTQ+ people are looking for. If we are in a moment of deconstruction and revolution of our bodies, we will not want spaces that limit us, that shape us, that suffocate us. This does not undermine the impacts that Rio’s urban redevelopment projects and economic/political crisis have had on LGBTQ+ venues that shut down in the past 20 years. They do represent a loss to the LGBTQ+ history in Rio.

All in all, more queer spaces are needed. Spaces that are free from the chains of heteronormativity and cisnormativity, which still haunt even the LGBTQ+ community. Spaces that cross races, classes, genders, sexualities. Spaces that are plural, diverse, creative, political, social and activist.

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## **APPENDICES**

### **APPENDIX A: In-depth Interviews Guideline**

**Main topic:** LGBTQ+ nocturnal life in the city of Rio de Janeiro

#### **Part 01: Introduction**

1. Personal questions, such as: name, age, place of birth, gender and sexuality, profession.
2. If you're not from Rio de Janeiro, how long have you lived in the city?
3. In general, how would you describe Rio?
4. Which are the main challenges you face in the city?
5. In the past 20 years, what do you think has changed in the city?

#### **Part 02: Rio de Janeiro and its LGBTQ+ population**

1. Do you think Rio is open to the LGBTQ+ community? Why?
2. Do you think Rio is inclusive of the LGBTQ+ community? Why?
3. Do you think people's prejudice of the LGBTQ+ community in Rio has decreased or increased?
4. Do you think there are different levels of acceptance depending on where you fit within the community? Is there a member of the LGBTQ+ community who would be more accepted by society than another?
5. Do you believe that there is prejudice within the LGBTQ+ community?

#### **Part 03: LGBTQ+ spaces**

1. How would you define a queer/LGBTQ+ space?
2. And how would you define this space in Rio de Janeiro? Is there a particular peculiarity?
3. For you, is an urban LGBTQ+ space just a club, bar, sauna? Or do you think other spaces count too? (i.e. shelters, community centres, etc)
4. Have queer spaces been important to you? Why?
5. What do you feel when you're in these LGBTQ+ places?
6. Do you feel more accepted or free in these spaces?
7. Do you think these places have a historical, social, cultural importance/heritage?
8. Do you go to more LGBTQ+ friendly or non-LGBTQ+ spaces?
9. Which non-LGBTQ+ spaces do you go to? Why? Do you see a difference between both types of spaces?

#### **Part 04: LGBTQ+ nocturnal life in Rio de Janeiro**

1. How would you describe LGBTQ+ nightlife in Rio de Janeiro? Does it have any differences to other Brazilian cities, such as São Paulo?
2. What was the city's queer nightlife like in the past? 10, 20 years ago, or from whenever you started to go to them/work in them?
3. Was there more or less spaces? More or less parties?
4. In various cities worldwide, like London and New York, LGBTQ+ spaces are constantly closing down. Have you noticed this in Rio? Can you remember any places that have closed down in the last 20 years?
5. If so, do you know why? Did you hear anything at the time?
6. Did you used to go to these spaces? If so, what were they like? Were they different to those we have today?
7. Do you think there's a need for more spaces for the queer community? Why?
8. Did you know that practically half of all queer spaces in Rio are gay saunas? Do you know why? Did you used to go to them/do you go to them?
9. Do you think that the saunas are popular in Rio?
10. Do you think LGBTQ+ nightlife in the city is plural? Does it account for all of the community's members? (there's only one lesbian bar in the city)
11. Have you noticed this at parties, in places, at events?
12. There's a greater concentration of these spaces in south zone? What do you think of this or why do you think it's like this?
13. Another interesting point is the fact that there are many parties and events aimed at the LGBTQ+ community, but that do not necessarily occur in LGBTQ+ spaces, but rather secular ones. Could you tell me why? Do you see a problem with that? Do you agree with that statement?
14. Another interesting point is the fact that many of these parties and events aimed at the LGBTQ+ don't necessarily happen in LGBTQ+ places but in secular ones instead. Why do you think that is? Do you see a problem with this? Do you agree with this statement?
15. There's also a great presence of the LGBTQ+ community in parties that aren't necessarily LGBTQ+ but rather alternative/underground. Why do you think that is? Do you think the fact that LGBTQ+ spaces tend to be geared towards gay men might influence this?

### **Part 05: LGBTQ+ and the public space (Carnival, Pride)**

1. How do you see the queer community and Rio's carnival? Do you think that there's a bigger participation and acceptance of the LGBTQ+ community during this period?
2. Do you consider carnival and, more specifically, LGBTQ+ street parties as being queer spaces, even if ephemeral? Do you think this is important?
3. Have you seen an increase in LGBTQ+ street parties during carnival? Or has it stayed the same as those 10 or 20 years ago?
4. Do you think carnival and the pride parade serve as ways of the community claiming public spaces in the city?

5. Do you think that these events are more democratic, with regards to race, class, gender, sexuality, and that the LGBTQ+ community's members interact more with one another in comparison with physical spaces, which tend to be aimed towards a specific group?
6. Do you know why that would be?

### **Part 06: COVID-19**

1. What impact has Covid-19 had on you? And on the community, your friends, from what you've seen?
2. Many of the LGBTQ+ community depend on nightlife, art, culture and I know it's hard to think this way, but what could be a possible solution to mitigate the effects of the pandemic? Do you think the LGBTQ+ community suffers more from all of this? Are they more vulnerable?
3. Do you believe these spaces could close, or the parties decrease and become less frequented after the pandemic?
4. As a professional, how was the scene before? Was it a good market to work in?

### **Part 07: Final Remarks**

1. In one sentence, how would you define/describe being LGBTQ+ in Rio de Janeiro? And in a word?
2. In one sentence, how would you define/describe queer nightlife in Rio? And in a word?
3. Any final thoughts? Anything you'd like to say, add, ask?

## **APPENDIX B: In-depth Interviews Further Questions**

### **Interview with Bianca Fraga (Urbanito):**

1. Tell me a little about Urbanito's history?
2. What was your main motivation?
3. What are the biggest challenges you face? Do they differ to those of a 'regular' bar?
4. What are your main activities and events? What makes you unique? LGBTQ+ body of work? Which days of the week are your busiest?
5. Is there some sort of association/group of LGBTQ+ bars/nightclubs?
6. Can you think of another LGBTQ+ bar?
7. Why do people go to your bar and not a non-LGBTQ+ one?
8. Have there been any changes during these last two and a half years?
9. How does it work during carnival?
10. Do you have any partnerships with other LGBTQ+ parties, events, productions?
11. Do you carry out any civic, social, cultural activities?
12. Whilst it is a physical space, it also extends to public spaces, doesn't it? Do you take care of the streets?
13. Could you describe Urbanito in a sentence? In a word?
14. Has it suffered from violence, hatred in the past?
15. What is the importance of Urbanito as an LGBTQ+ space for Rio? What is its importance for being located in one of North Zone's neighbours, where there is still a lack of LGBTQ+ spaces?

### **Interview with Leo & Jorge (Sereias do Guanabara):**

1. Tell me a little about Sereias da Guanabara's history, how did the idea come about?
2. What was your main motivation?
3. How many editions have you had? How big is your audience? Have you always been an LGBTQ+ street party?
4. Tell me a little about your first street party. Has anything changed over the years?
5. What are the party goers like? What is the feedback you tend to get?
6. How has it been since Crivella's election in 2017? Has it had an impact?
7. Vinha de uma crescente e parou?
8. How would you describe/define Sereias da Guanabara? In a word?

### **Interview with Yohanna Barros (Velcro):**

1. Tell me a little about Ferros Bar, Velcro and Isoporzinho das Sapatão's history..
2. How did it come about? What was your main motivation?
3. How many editions have there been? What is your audience like?

4. How have things changed over time? What feedback have you received?
6. How have things been since Crivella's election in 2017?
7. How would you describe Ferros Bar? And in a word?

**Interview with Rubinho Barros (Rio G Spa):**

1. Tell me a little about the sauna and the space's history?
2. What are the frequentors like? How often do they go?
3. Is it an LGBTQ+ space or G?
4. Why do you think that there are so many saunas in Rio? Why is yours one of the main ones? What is your differential?
5. What did it used to be like?
6. Is there some sort of association, or do you have a contact with other saunas? Other LGBTQ+ spaces?
7. Have you ever thought of a space for other members of the community, like lesbians?
8. Do you think that the sauna also plays a political, social, cultural role since these bodies are free in this environment?

**Interview with Toco-Xona (Bruna e Mick):**

1. Tell me a little about TX's history, how did it come about?
2. What was your main motivation?
3. How many editions have you had? How big is your audience? Have you always been an LGBTQ+ street party?
4. Tell me a little about your first street party. Has anything changed over the years?
5. What are the party goers like? What is the feedback you tend to receive?
6. How have things been since Crivella's election in 2017? Has it had an impact?
7. Vinha de uma crescente e parou?
8. How would you describe/define TX? In a word?

## **APPENDIX C: Survey - LGBTQ+ spaces in Rio de Janeiro**

Hello, I'm inviting you to collaborate with me in my master's project about LGBTQ+ spaces in Rio de Janeiro, in an attempt to not just map the LGBTQ+ scene in the city but to also understand how LGBTQ+ urban geography dynamics work in this territory. The questionnaire will be completely anonymous and is split into five parts, taking around five to ten minutes. Thank you very much!

### **Part 1. Demographic profile**

This first part is just some basic questions so that I can understand a little about your profile!

1. How old are you?
2. Which of Rio de Janeiro's neighbourhoods do you live in?
3. What's your level of education?
4. What's your profession?
5. Which economic class do you belong to according to the minimum wage bands (1 SM = R\$1.045)?
6. Which gender do you identify with?
7. What's your sexual orientation?
8. What race are you?
9. Do you consider yourself part of the LGBTQ+ community?
10. Do you identify with the term 'Queer'?
11. Is there any other aspect of your identity that you'd like to mention?

### **Parte 2. Thinking about LGBTQ+ spaces...**

In the second part, the questions aim to understand what an LGBTQ+ space could be and represent. There are no wrongs or rights, say whatever comes to mind!

1. In a few words, what would you define a queer/LGBTQ+ space as?
2. Which of the below options do you consider to be a queer/LGBTQ+ space?
3. Have these queer/LGBTQ+ spaces been important for you?
4. What do you feel when you're in an LGBTQ+ place? (Select the three options most relevant to you)

### **Part 3. Rio de Janeiro & the LGBTQ+ community**

The third part asks questions relating to Rio de Janeiro's relationship with its LGBTQ+ community.

1. In one word, how would you describe Rio?

2. Do you think Rio is open to and/or inclusive of the LGBTQ+ community?
3. Has people's prejudice towards the LGBTQ+ community in Rio decreased over the last few years?
4. Is there a member of the LGBTQ+ community who would be more accepted by society than another? (If so, which?)
5. Do you believe there's prejudice within the LGBTQ+ community?
6. In one word, how would you describe being LGBTQ+ in Rio?

#### **Part 4. LGBTQ+ nocturnal life in the city of Rio de Janeiro**

This fourth part looks at your perceptions of Rio's LGBTQ+ nightlife and how you consume it.

1. In one word, how would you describe Rio de Janeiro's LGBTQ+ nightlife?
2. What type of spaces do you tend to go to most?
3. Considering these spaces, what type of establishments of the Carioca LGBTQ+ nightlife do you most go to?
4. Cite three LGBTQ+ spaces, parties or events that you go to the most or prefer.
5. Did you know that practically half of all physical LGBTQ+ spaces in the city of Rio de Janeiro are gay saunas?
6. Have you already been to one?
7. Do you think LGBTQ+ nightlife in the city is plural and accounts for all of the community's members?
8. Does it bother you that the majority of LGBTQ+ spaces and parties take place in the city centre and south zone?
9. Do you think there should be more LGBTQ+ spaces in the city?

#### **Part 5. Rio de Janeiro, LGBTQ+ community & Public Spaces**

This final part asks you to reflect on Rio de Janeiro's carnival as a public space and its relationship with LGBTQ+ bodies.

1. Do you think that there's a greater participation and acceptance of the LGBTQ+ community during carnival?
2. Do you consider carnival and, more specifically, LGBTQ+ street parties as being queer spaces, even if ephemeral?
3. Do you think carnival and the pride parade serve as ways of the community claiming public spaces in the city?
4. Do you think that these events are more democratic, with regards to race, class, gender, sexuality, and that the LGBTQ+ community's members interact more with one another in comparison with physical spaces, which tend to be aimed towards a specific group?

5. Lastly, I would like to thank you so much for having participated in this project! If you'd like to leave a comment or make a suggestion, please do so in the space below. Also, should you be interested in the project's final result and would like to know, leave your email address. Thank you!

## **APPENDIX D: Interviewees cited in the Thesis**

Due to the word limit, a brief description of all interviewees at their first mention in the text was not always possible. Therefore, I have included an alphabetical list of the respondents' names interviewed for this study and their profile based on their self-identification and own answers when asked to introduce themselves<sup>270</sup>. All respondents agreed to have their real names exposed in this research.

**Bianca Fraga:** Twenty-six years old, cisgender bisexual woman. She lives in Tijuca, North zone and owns the LGBTQ+ bar Urbanito.

**Bruna Capistrano:** Founder and main organiser of Toco-Xona.

**Elaine Parker:** Drag Queen that works at Turma OK.

**Igor Santos:** Twenty-two years old. He works as an event production assistant and responsible for social media at Espaço Fenix.

**Jorge Badaue:** Thirty-six years old. He works as a DJ and cultural producer and is the co-founder of Sereias do Guanabara.

**Leo Salles:** DJ and co-founder of Sereias do Guanabara.

**Michele Krimer:** Co-founder of Toco-Xona.

**Natália Pazetti:** Twenty-nine years old, cisgender white lesbian. She is from Sao Paulo but has been living in Rio for many years. She is the founder and current president of Casinha NGO.

**Rubinho Barros:** Manager of Rio G Spa.

**Tatá:** Photographer of LGBTQ+ nightlife in Rio de Janeiro.

**Thiago Araújo:** He works as a DJ and cultural producer, owning his own LGBTQ+ bar 'Pink Flamingo' as well as media company Pheeno.

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<sup>270</sup> It is important to stress that all respondents were asked previously if they were part of the LGBTQ+ community. Even if some of them did not clearly state their own sexual orientation and gender identification, I can confirm that they were all LGBTQ+ individuals.

Yohanna Barros: Twenty-nine years old, cisgender lesbian. She is a sociology teacher and also a producer of LGBTQ+ parties and events, such as Velcro, Isoporzinho and Ferros Bar.

Welton Trindade: Journalist and editor of Guia gay magazine.

**APPENDIX E: Table. GAY Saunas and Sex Clubs in Rio de Janeiro**

Venue Name	Type	Neighbourhood	Zone
Club 117	Sauna	Glória	South
Sauna Point 202	Sauna	Copacabana	South
Rio G Spa's Men Club	Sauna	Ipanema	South
Sauna Copacabana	Sauna	Copacabana	South
Sauna Club 29	Sauna	Botafogo	South
Termas Leblon	Sauna	Leblon	South
Termas Catete	Sauna	Catete	South
Termas Spazio 18	Sauna	Glória	South
Studio 64	Sauna	Ipanema	South
Projeto SB	Sauna	Botafogo	South
Sauna Carioca	Sauna	Catete	South
Termas Kabalk	Sauna	Tijuca	North
Espaço 165	Sauna	Bonsucesso	North
Sauna Bonsucesso	Sauna	Bonsucesso	North
Termas Casa Grande	Sauna	Bangu	West
Termas New Meio Mundo	Sauna	Centro	Central
Klub Meetings	Sex Club	Centro	Central
K7	Sex Club	Centro	Central
Sex Rose	Sex Club	Centro	Central
Taurus Cruising Bar	Sex Club	Lapa	Central
Lapa Cruising Bar	Sex Club	Lapa	Central

Source: own elaboration

**APPENDIX F: Table. Hybrid/Friendly spaces in Rio de Janeiro**

Venue Name	Type of Venue	Neighbourhood	Zone
Fosfofox	Club	Copacabana	South
Espaço Rampa	Club	Botafogo	South
Casa da Matriz	Club	Botafogo	South
Espaço Bella Vista	Club	Glória	South
Gafieira Elite	Club	Centro	Central
HUB Rio	Club	Centro	Central
Espaço Acústica	Club	Centro	Central
Espaço Franklin	Club	Centro	Central
La Paz	Club	Centro	Central
Cais da Imperatriz	Club	Centro	Central
Teatro Odisséia	Club	Lapa	Central
Flórida After	Club	Centro	Central
Espaço Duplo Sentido	Club	Pechincha	West
Bar Comuna	Bar	Botafogo	South
Buteskina	Bar	Copacabana	South
Barraca da Denise	Bar	Ipanema	South
Void Botafogo	Bar	Botafogo	South
Void Arpoador	Bar	Copacabana	South
Sarreufa Club	Bar	Botafogo	South
Banana Jack	Bar	Ipanema	South
Mãe Joana	Bar	Botafogo	South
Rota 66	Bar	Ipanema	South
Eclipse	Bar	Copacabana	South
Soho Bar	Bar	Botafogo	South
Canastra	Bar	Ipanema	South
Bar do Nanam	Bar	Centro	Central
Durangos	Bar	Botafogo	Central
Casa da Cachaça	Bar	Lapa	Central
Beco do Rato	Bar	Lapa	Central
Estilo da Lapa	Bar	Lapa	Central
Rivalzinho	Bar	Centro	Central
Green's House Lapa	Bar	Lapa	Central
Caverna	Bar	Botafogo	Central
Sinuca de Bico	Bar	Lapa	Central

Coletivo Bar de Todxs	Bar	Tijuca	North
Bacanas Lanches	Bar	Ilha do Governador	North
Bar Raval	Bar	Barra	West
Void Barra	Bar	Barra	West
Cafeína	Cafe	Copacabana	South
Gringo Café	Cafe	Ipanema	South

Source: own elaboration

#### **APPENDIX G: Table. Closed Venues between 2000-2020**

<b>Venue Name</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Closing Year</b>	<b>Neighbourhood</b>	<b>Zone</b>
Cine Ideal	Club	2012	Centro	Central
La Girl	Club	2012	Copacabana	South
Gayligola	Sex Club	2012	Centro	Central
Boy Bar Bistrot	Bar	2015	Copacabana	South
Indiscretus	Club	2015	Lapa	Central
Le Boy	Club	2016	Copacabana	South
Café Grave	Cafe / Bar	2017	Botafogo	South
Sinônimo	Bar	2017	Lapa	Central
Éden	Club	2018	Centro	Central
Bateau Bar do Hélio	Bar	2018	Cascadura	North
Boate 1140	Club	2019	Praça Seca	West

Source: own elaboration

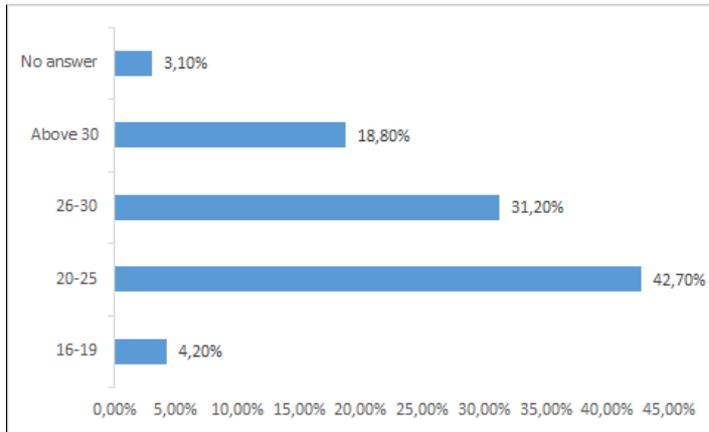
**APPENDIX H: Table. LGBTQ+ Nightclubs and Bar in Rio de Janeiro**

Venue Name	Opening Year	Years in Operation	Neighbourhood	Zone
Boate La Cueva	1964	56	Copacabana	South
Turma OK	1964	56	Centro	Central
Buraco da Laceria	1987	33	Lapa	Central
Quiosque Rainbow	1994	26	Copacabana	South
Boate Casa Grande	1995	25	Bangu	West
Galeria Cafe	1998	22	Ipanema	South
Up Turn Bar	2003	17	Barra	West
The Week	2007	13	Centro	Central
Bar das Quengas	2007	13	Lapa	Central
Tv Bar e Boate	2009	11	Copacabana	South
Papa G	2009	11	Madureira	North
Tô Nem Aí	2011	9	Ipanema	South
Espaço Fênix	2011	9	Campo Grande	West
Seven Cruising Bar	2016	4	Centro	Central
Pink Flamingo	2019	1	Copacabana	South
Bar Boleia	2020	0	Botafogo	South
Club New Meio Mundo	-	-	Centro	Central
Urbanito	2018	2	Praca da Bandeira	North

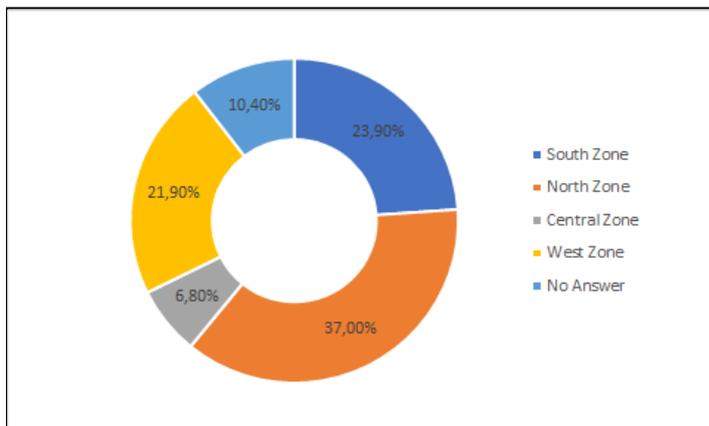
Source: own elaboration

## APPENDIX I: SURVEY RESPONDENTS PROFILE BY QUESTIONS<sup>271</sup>

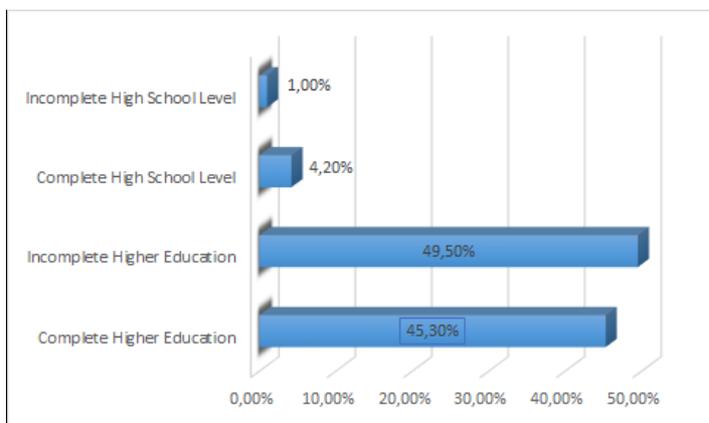
### How old are you?



### Which of Rio de Janeiro's neighbourhoods do you live in?



### What's your level of education?

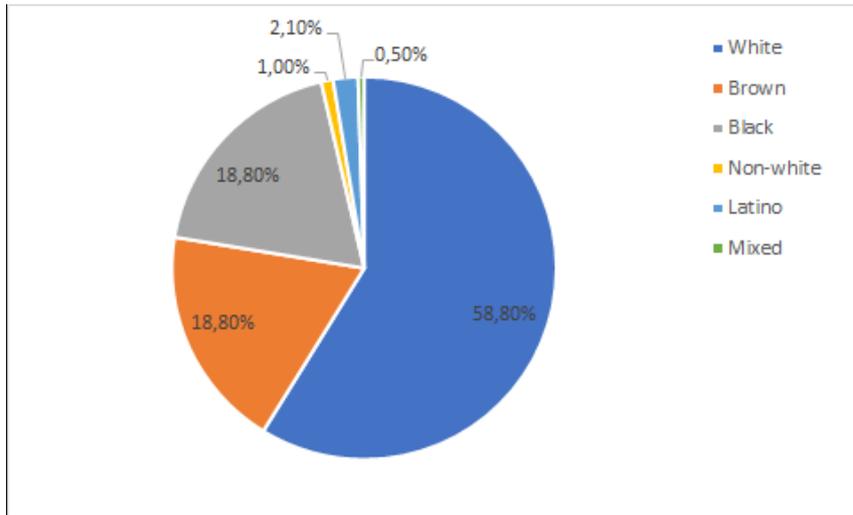


<sup>271</sup> All identities-related questions such as race, gender and sexuality were completely open so respondents could freely answer as they see themselves. All graphs and tables own elaboration.

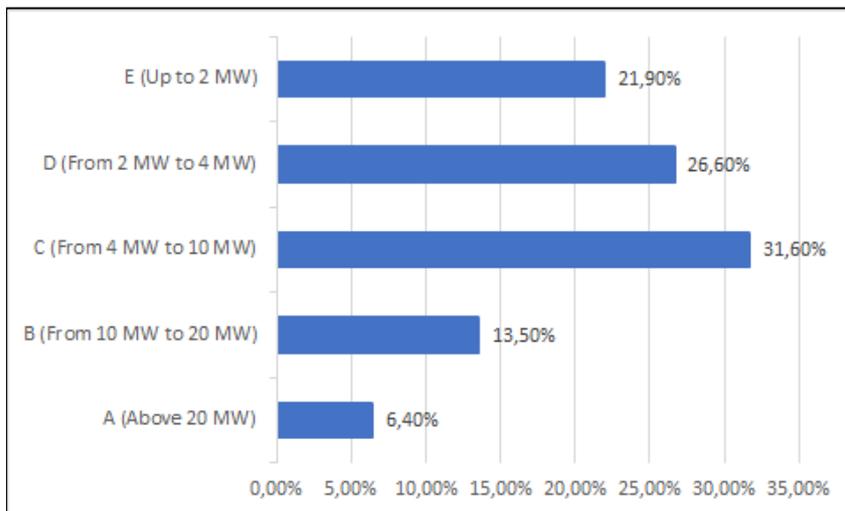
### What's your profession?

In order to simplify the results, 89 of respondents were students while more than 44 different professions were cited by the other 103 respondents.

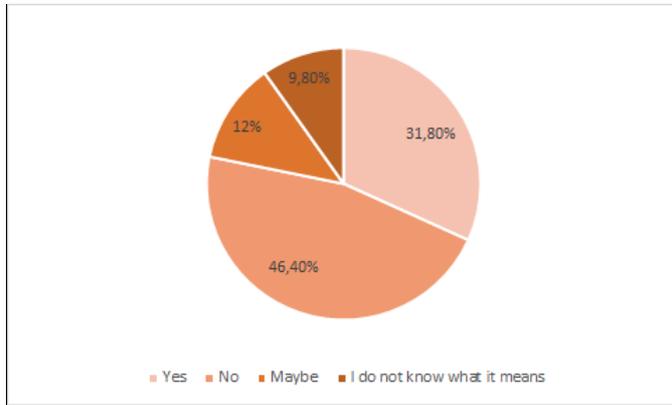
### What race are you?



### Which economic class do you belong to according to the minimum wage bands (1 MW = \$1.045)?



## Do you identify with the term ‘Queer’?



What's your sexual orientation? <sup>272</sup>	Number of Respondents
Bisexual	60
Gay	44
Homosexual	41
Lesbian	19
Pansexual	10
Heterosexual	13
Asexual	5

Which gender do you identify with? <sup>273</sup>	Number of Respondents
Woman	54
Man	48
Feminine	29
Masculine	28
Cisgender	80

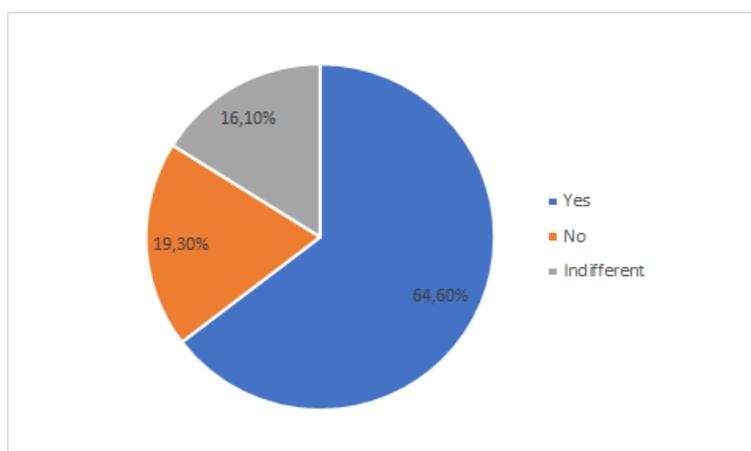
<sup>272</sup> As it was an open anonymised question, it is not possible to identify how many respondents that answered 'homosexual' are gay or lesbian. Also, there were some heterosexuals that answered the survey (13) and I decided not to disregard their answers as they see themselves as allies and also go to LGBTQ+ spaces regularly.

<sup>273</sup> This question also revealed the misunderstanding related to the difference between gender and sexuality.

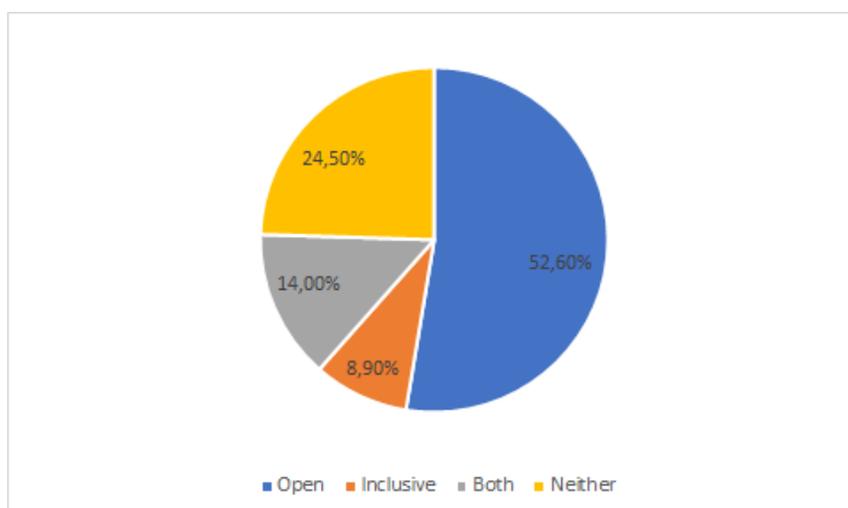
Bicha (Fag)	2
Transgender	2
Gender Fluid	1
Non-binary	2
Gay	2

## APPENDIX J: Other results<sup>274</sup>

**Does it bother you that the majority of LGBTQ+ spaces and parties take place in the city centre and south zone?**

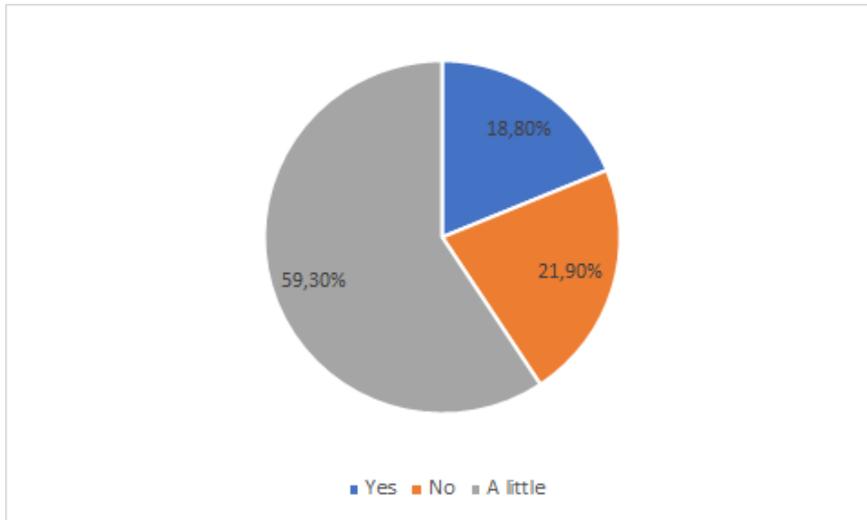


**Do you think Rio is open to and/or inclusive of the LGBTQ+ community?**

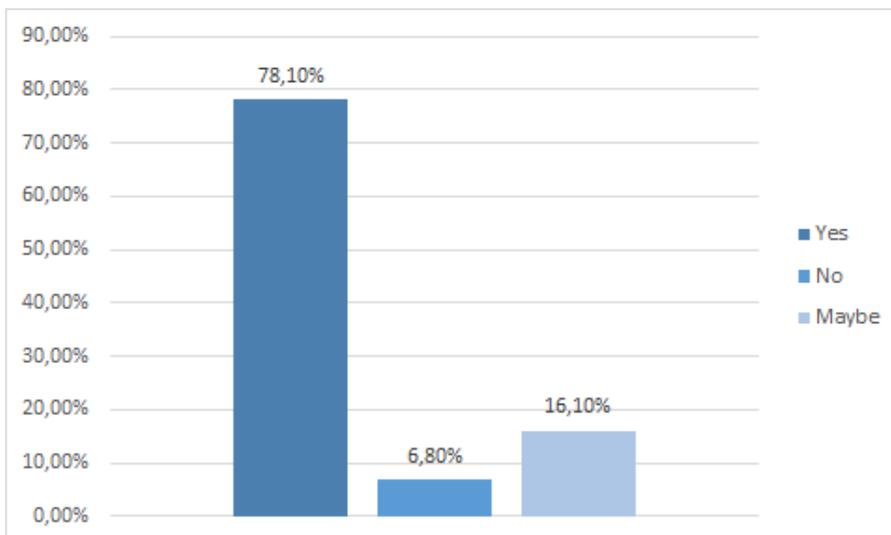


<sup>274</sup> All graphs own elaboration.

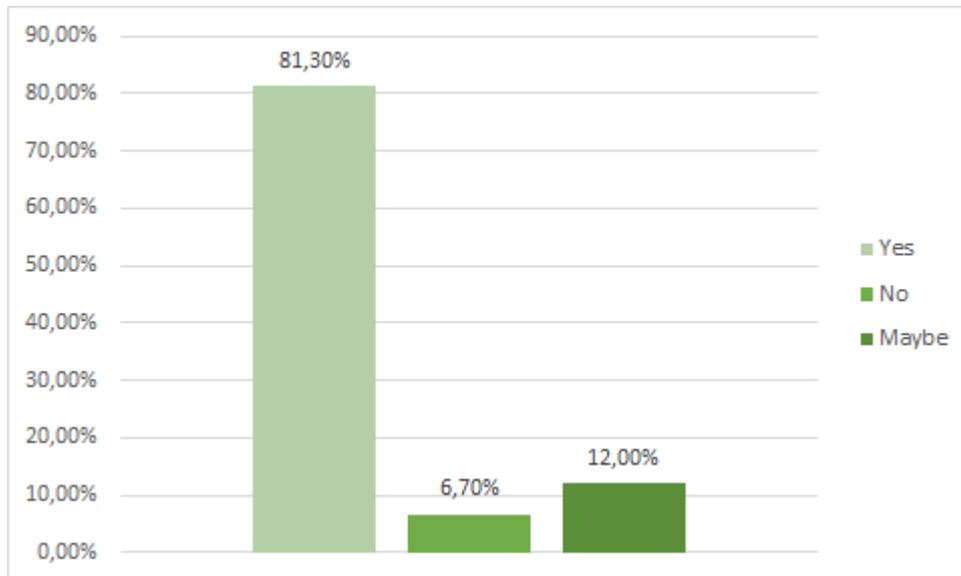
**Has people's prejudice towards the LGBTQ+ community in Rio decreased over the last few years?**



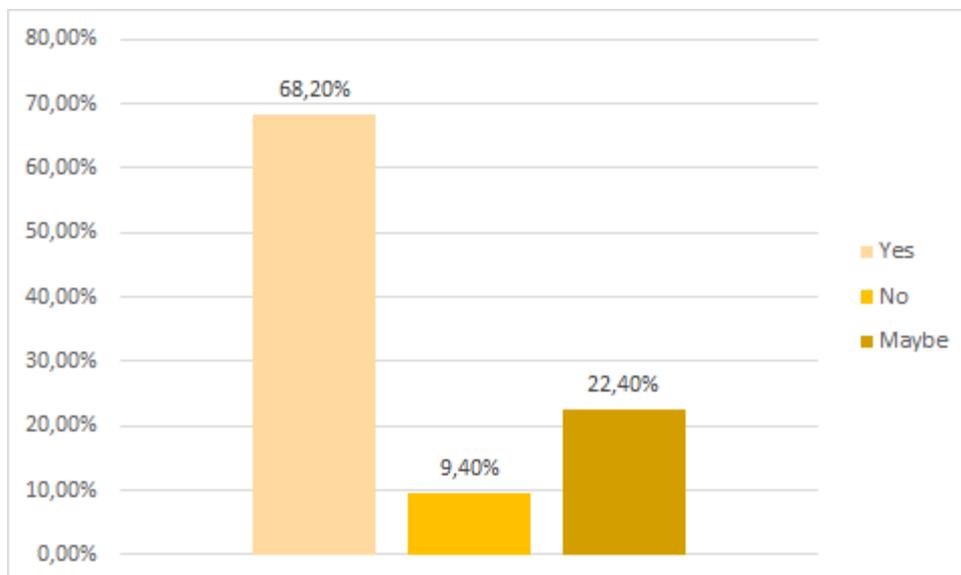
**Do you consider carnival and, more specifically, LGBTQ+ street parties as being queer/cuir spaces, even if ephemeral?**



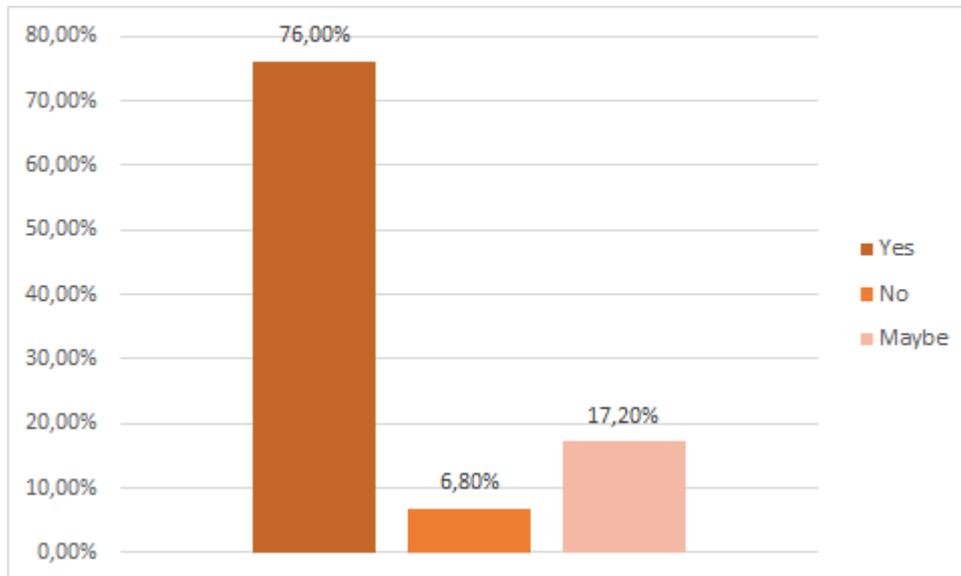
**Do you think carnival and the pride parade serve as ways of the community claiming public spaces in the city?**



**Do you think that these events are more democratic, with regards to race, class, gender, sexuality, and that the LGBTQ+ community's members interact more with one another in comparison with physical spaces, which tend to be aimed towards a specific group?**



**Do you think that there's a greater participation and acceptance of the LGBTQ+ community during carnival?**



**APPENDIX K: Word Cloud of being an LGBTQ+ person in Rio<sup>275</sup>**



<sup>275</sup> Appendix K and L (own elaboration).

**APPENDIX L: Word Cloud of defining Rio's Cuir Nighttime**

