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The Queer Right to the City:
Social Spaces and the role of LGBTQ+ parties in Brasília (2015 to 2018)

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List of Acronyms

CSO	Civil Society Organizations
db(A)	Decibels
DF	*Distrito Federal* (Federal District)
GGB	*Grupo Gay da Bahia* (Bahia Gay Group)
HDI	Human Development Index
IBGE	*Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística* (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics)
IBRAM	*Instituto Brasília Ambiental* (Brasília Environmental Institute)
ISS	Institute of Social Studies
LGBTQ+	Lesbians, Gays, Bisexuals, Transsexuals, Queers and other diverse identities
PEC	*Proposta de Emenda Constitucional* (Constitutional Amendment Proposal)
RA	*Região Administrativa* (Administrative Region)
UN	United Nations
UnB	*Universidade de Brasília* (University of Brasília)
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
WB	World Bank

Abstract

The current paper looks into the activities of Queer people in promoting their right to the city in Brasília, Brazil. Through this work, I investigate how Lesbians, Gays, Bisexuals, Transgenders, Queer and others non-conforming sexualities and genders (LGBTQ+) are transgressing hetero-sexist laws and urban planning in a highly regulated context: the city of Brasília. To explore those meanings, I use theories of Queer Geography, Urban Planning and the Right to the City. Additional concepts such as gender performativity, precarity and homonormativity are used to capture the nuances more accurately. The research is also done based on a standpoint epistemology. Through theories, concepts lived experiences and subjectivities I show how marginal lives are slowly gaining ground by building new queer-diverse spaces in Brasília. I point out how not all experiences are the same, as women and people from lower classes face greater challenges. Finally, I show how their work in these spaces (and lives) are constantly challenged and threatened at different levels, which may well increase given Brazil's current political scenario.

Relevance to Development Studies

Heteronormativity and the promotion of heterosexual lives have been at the core of development studies and interventions since its beginning. As Budhiraja et al. (2010: 133) point out "policies to the persistently dominant use of the 'household' (read: heterosexual family, at best inclusive of single-parents and extended families) as the primary unit of development strategies, heteronormativity remains the assumption […]".

Therefore, just by investigating and promoting LGBTQ+ lives, the current research poses a direct challenge to development norms. But regulation in development does not start or stop in our bodies and sexualities; they also extend to the geographical realm. In this case, they are seen through the tools of planning.

As Escobar highlights "[…] planning lent legitimacy to and fuelled hopes about, the development enterprise" (Escobar 1992: 132). Considering that the city of Brasília, built in the 19050s, was designed to represent modernity and development, planning tools and modern architecture were used extensively. The consequences of this *method* linger today at multiple levels and producing different meanings.

Using theories on the right to the city and sexuality in this context is relevant to urban policies and planning while contesting the dominant idea of development. As Correa and Parker (2004: 19) points: sexuality (and gender) diversity is "among the most important forces of change in contemporary society, with key contributions to broader debates related to social development and human security in the contemporary world". The power of queer lives to change the modern city is highly relevant in the current political context of Brazil with the election of Jair Bolsonaro.

Keywords

Brasília, LGBT, LGBTQ+, urban planning, queer geography, queer spaces, right to the city, urban policy.

Chapter 1
Peeking at the scene
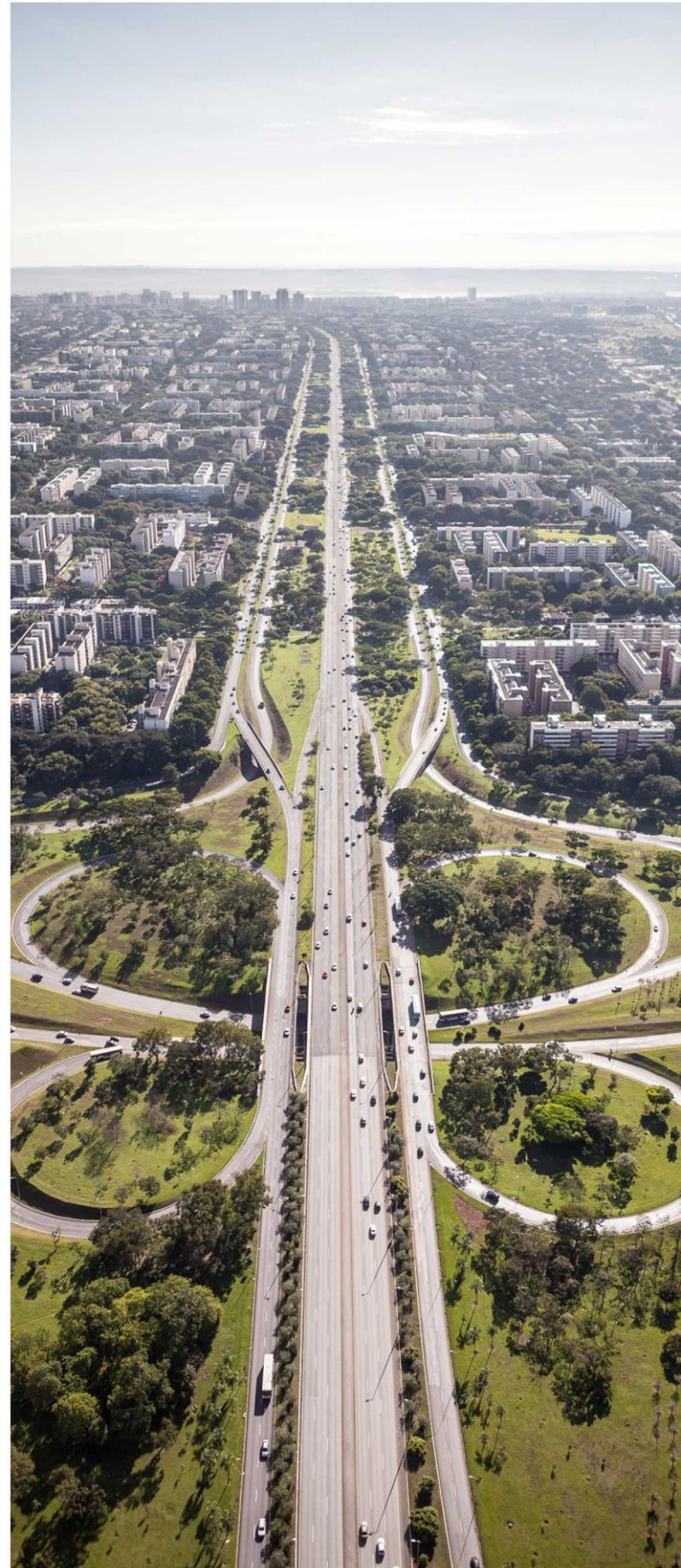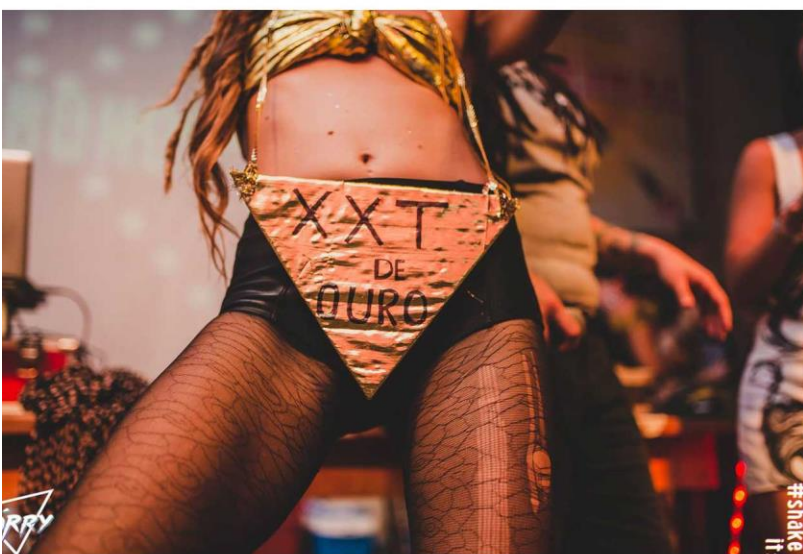
Figure 1 – Chapter 1 (from the top right to bottom, clockwork wise)
Figure 1.1 - Bloco do Amor 2016 / Source: Facebook (2016a) / Credits: Fernao Capelo Amorim Rocha
Figure 1.2 - Brasília *Eixão*/ Source: Baratto (2017) / Credits: Joana França
Figure 1.3 - Pórry party @ Outro Calaf / Source: Facebook (2017a) / Credits: #shake it

Figure 1.4 - Party @ SuB – Dulcina / Souce: Facebook (2018a) / Credits: #shake it

Brazil is often represented as a unique puzzle: a giant economy with high inequality and violence. Minorities face multiple challenges, going from systemic racism to high rates of feminicide and homophobic crimes. When talking about LGBTQ+[1] people, the rates are alarming. For 38 years, Grupo Gay da Bahia (GGB) releases annual reports with death numbers due to homophobia or transphobia[2] - 2017 hit a record: 445 people (Mott et al. 2018: 1).

In a country where one LGBTQ+ dies every 19 hours, hate speech is also increasing. 2018 was marked by an extremely polarised society, evident with Jair Bolsonaro's elections. Among others, Bolsonaro has openly stated that a fellow congresswoman did not deserve to be raped because she was too ugly and that would rather have a dead son than a gay one.

The country is a ticking time bomb for queer lives. Of the deaths mentioned, 56% occurred in public spaces and 6% in private establishments (Mott et al. 2018). The data shows how those lives are a constant challenge to the existing norms and how they resist on a daily basis. Considering that 86% of the Brazilian population live in urban areas (WB, 2018), my research investigates the role of the cities in the modern queer life.

It interrogates how urban social spaces can affect and promote livelihoods under the right to the city. According to Harvey (2008: 23) "the right to the city is far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city". How is the right to the city lived by those that usually face negative experiences in the urban context and constant threats to their bodies and existence?

Reflecting about it and thinking about my own lived experience in the capital, Brasília, I decided to undertake this research. The research is a personal one, based on my own experiences in Brasília (2010-17), when I supported initiatives related to the promotion of social gatherings and was part of the LGBTQ+ community.

As a starting point, I thought on my experiences in multiple city spaces and how people have been reclaiming their city. Brasília has a unique landscape when compared to other cities in the world. The Capital was planned and built in the 1950s (1956-60). Its location was carefully chosen, and every aspect was designed and planned, as we see in Figure 1. Brasília was envisaged as an icon of modernity and symbolising the country's transition from agriculture to industrial progress (Cardoso 1983: 93).

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[1] Throughout this RP, I use the acronym LGBTQ+ and the word "queer" to refer to the same group of people. Queer Studies claim that the word "queer […] is more than short hand for LGBT" (Oswin 2008: 886) – stand that I agree since I strongly believe that there is a need for more fluidity in regards to genders and sexuality. But most Portuguese-Brazilian current literature, news and civil society movements uses the acronym LGBT+ and, second, "Queer" is an English term and used mainly by academics and upper-class activists, not reaching lower segments of the population. Therefore, the use of Queer and LGBTQ+ simultaneously is an attempt to conceal this academic production made in the Global North with the lived realities in the Global South.

[2] The data used by GGB is collected through media post (either newspapers, social media and others). They also consider suicide, since "international researches have showed that suicide rates among LGBT people is higher than among heterosexual people" (Mott et al 2008: 16).

Figure 2 - Lucio Costa (urban planner) sketch of Brasília's main area: Plano Piloto
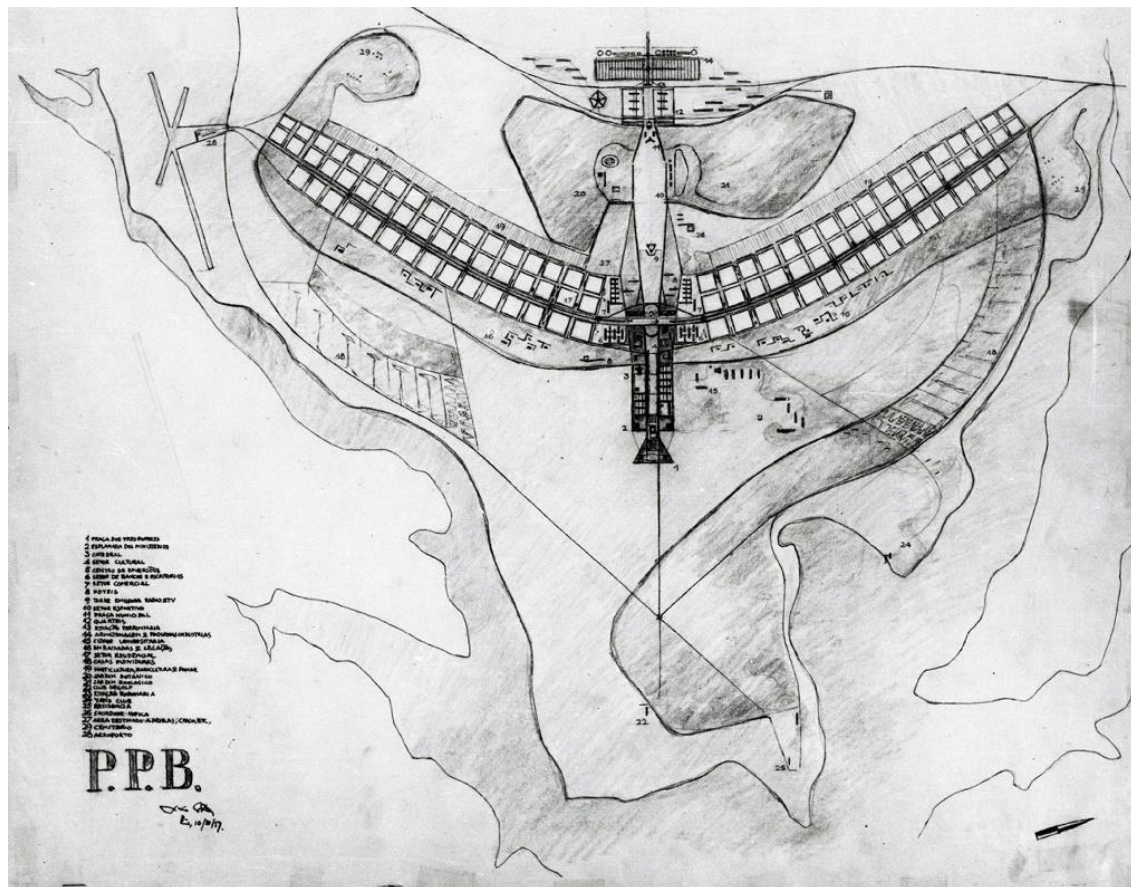
Source: G1, 2018

It is also a highly regulated landscape due to several reasons. Since its conception, Brasiia follows the "Lei Orgânica do DF", where the Senate must review any structural changes. It is also recognised as a World Heritage Centre (UNESCO, no date). Thus, the District Law 4.092/2008 (known as the Silence Law) regulates the number of public noises in all areas. Law enforcement is noticeable in some cases. Since it started in 2008 dozens of restaurants, bars and local venues located in (or close to) residential areas have been either fined or closed due to its restrictions, causing a heated public debate.

It is within this context that I saw many people occupying or creating social spaces in Brasília. They were fighting for the right to pleasure and party, as part of human rights and civic freedom. In marginalised groups, such as the LGBTQ+ one, this fight is even stronger, and the act of promoting new queer spaces seems to be political. Therefore, the research sets out the histories of party-producers and party-goers: their opinions, challenges and, also, joys.

1.1 Research objective and questions

I investigate how the LGBTQ+ community in Brasília exercise their right to the city through social gatherings. In Brazil's third biggest city, the queer population has multiple entertainment possibilities. But not all the "alphabet soup letters" necessarily enjoy and access them equally.

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Therefore I explore how diverse genders and sexualities experience those spaces according to intersectional lenses on those LGBTQ+ lives.

Constituted by different urban centres, the Federal District is formed by *Regioes Administrativas* (RAs). Besides Brasilia, it also has the *satellite cities* - historically perceived as peripheral neighbourhoods to Brasília. The region faces the usual challenges of developing countries: lack of good public infra-structure, extreme inequality, high crime rates and insecurity. But data suggests that RAs inhabitants suffer the most, also due to the extreme planning in Brasília that positioned poor people to the outskirts even before the city's inauguration.

Socioeconomic status plays a key role in collective identity. In this context, the Pilot Plan has a utopic idea of safeness and high life quality for those that live in the region. Meanwhile, those that live in the RAs face higher criminality, discrimination and structural challenges to reach workspaces, schools and entertainment centres.

Given this context, my research questions and sub-questions are:

Main Question
1. How do LGBTQ+ social spaces promote the community's right to the city in Brasília, from 2015-2018?

Secondary Questions
2. Which types of social spaces are used and made by the LGBTQ+ population in Brasília?
3. What are the characteristics of those spaces and its goers?
4. What are the lived experiences (sensations, feelings and sense of belonging) in Brasília and its social spaces?
5. How are such factors perceived and lived differently among different classes, sexualities, gender identities and race in the LGBTQ+ community?

The research will contribute to the literature on the Queer Geography and the Right to the City. It also aims to contribute to national and international advocacy on the inclusion of the Queer Right to the City in public policies. As well as future urban design and development initiatives, for example the UN New Urban Agenda set in 2016 during the Habitat III meeting (Habitat III, n.d)[3].

1.2   Methodology

Considering that researchers who produce knowledge influence knowledge itself (Rose, 1997) it is essential that I situate myself within Brasília's context. I identify myself as a white and upper-class young cis lesbian woman. I am also currently studying abroad, while I also moved to Brasília in 2010 to conduct my first higher educational studies at UnB.

The country's capital was a place where I have understood what it is to belong and to be able to live my affections and body to an extent that I had not imagined until then. I have engaged with the city and its people at multiple levels and, yet, not enough. I have walked (almost) freely through Pilot Plan, claiming it as my home even though it was not my hometown. At the same time, I did not 'see' well its highly unequal society in the outskirts.

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[3] Despite efforts LGBTQ+ people were not included as a "vulnerable group" under the New Urban Agenda. During the meeting negotiations, a coalition of 17 countries "blocked the inclusion of LGBTQ+ rights in the agenda" (Perry 2016).

My lived experience in Brasília has determined how I went about this research. For example, I directly contacted producers that I knew could share relevant histories, while I avoided interviewing people that were close to me, since I did not want to undertake an auto-ethnography. Nonetheless, in the eleven interviews conducted, I have always introduced myself to the participants: how I identified and expressed myself regarding sexuality and gender, and mentioned my personal experience in Brasília, what I am now doing in The Netherlands. This allowed me to create relations of trust with most of the participants.

Following Haraway's (1988) theory of Situated Knowledges I want to capture the subjective experiences, meanings and attempts of queer people to walk through the city landscape and create social spaces, conquering their right to the city in Brasília. I have chosen to examine parties as part of an ongoing movement to use public space for entertainment and leisure among LGBTQ+ people. I chose the period of 2015-18 due to the political and social context: the increased polarization and intolerance marked by Dilma's second government until Bolsonaro's election.

I emphasise how the relationships between people in marginalised social groups are reflected in the physical realm – in the landscape, on walls, in party settings. As you walk, pass by or occupy spaces, you change the space, you can create shared feelings of belonging nd/or community. I have paid attention to this and have shared the visual sense of space through photographs in the text.

Each chapter will open with a selection of photos according to its arguments. First, I selected images, based on the parties and initiatives that I researched and, second, thinking on how they represent the relations among queer bodies and the city. By 'erasing' faces, I ensured anonymity, while also playing with the idea of 'precarious' queer lives.

In my research, I have interviewed party producers and goers, and/or private venues owners through a semi-structured layout, giving room to their voices. Questions focused on their self-identification; their relation to the city of Brasília and/or their RA, as well as their experiences in different city social spaces. Due to personal stories, questions among each interview differed, giving space for participants' subjectivities and experiences.

Participants were selected in three different ways: *(i)* direct approach through social media; *(ii)* a survey done online and disseminated through my social media platforms (Facebook, Twitter and Instagram); and *(iii)* snow-balling process, considered "one of the most effective means of reaching a socially marginalized group" (Doan and Higgins 2010: 9).

Before the interviews a term of consent was signed by both parties, assuring research integrity. They were also informed they could remain anonymous – which no one opted. All interviews were recorded (with their consent) and later transcribed to Portuguese with the support of a transcribing software. After, the documents (audio and transcription) were added into a coding software to support on data management. In total, sixty codes were created and added into eight groups to support data analysis.

As stated by Goh (2017: 468) "the status of gay safety in the city – in politics, economy, and popular culture – is historically constituted and contested, even between members of the LGBT community". Therefore, the current research does not seek to give a blueprint on how to promote the Queer Right to the City, since this concept will change in different localities, bodies and identities.

The research focuses on a more inclusive approach to the Right to the City and urban planning that can and should be taken globally. Those stories, interviews, informal chats and my own lived experiences, might have allowed me to start this research, but it will never be enough to reflect the total experiences that queer people live in only one city, even less in a country or globally.

Furthermore, I attempt to take into consideration non-Western non-Anglo literature, but I feel that the current research paper carries a concealed bias, such as white privilege. In an effort to counter-balance it I will focus on my participants' experiences along with my candidness about and my positionality. Queer Theory, along with decolonial theory, knowledges are based "on ideas and practices, embodied and geographically located" (Pereira 2015: 418). I do not use decolonial theories in this paper, but I am also looking for 'otherwise' knowledges and experiences aware of how histories have determined our visceral way of being, as I search for queer right to the city.

1.3   Note on participants and their spaces

Table 1, on page eight, sets out details of the research participants, their age and whether they were classified as party-goer or as producers. In the latter case, the name of their place/party was added, as well as a brief description.

The participants represent different identity characteristics; some identify as gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, cisgender, man, woman and others. Some are sure of their sexual and gender identities and expressions; others are questioning if it reflects their totality. The research tried to encompass diversity on all its levels, but I also fear there might be an overrepresentation of cisgenders and fixed identities, while non-binary people, for example, are underrepresented.

Nonetheless, I aim to push beyond the binaries: man/woman, cis/trans, hetero/homo, white/black, among others. To quote Oswin (2008: 100): a queer analysis "helps us to position sexuality within multifaceted constellations of power".

The party/social spaces mentioned are geographically situated in the Pilot Plan according to Figure 3 below:

The spaces I am investigating reveal very different stories to those of shame, prejudice and death.

Figure 3 - Venues location in Pilot Plan - Brasília
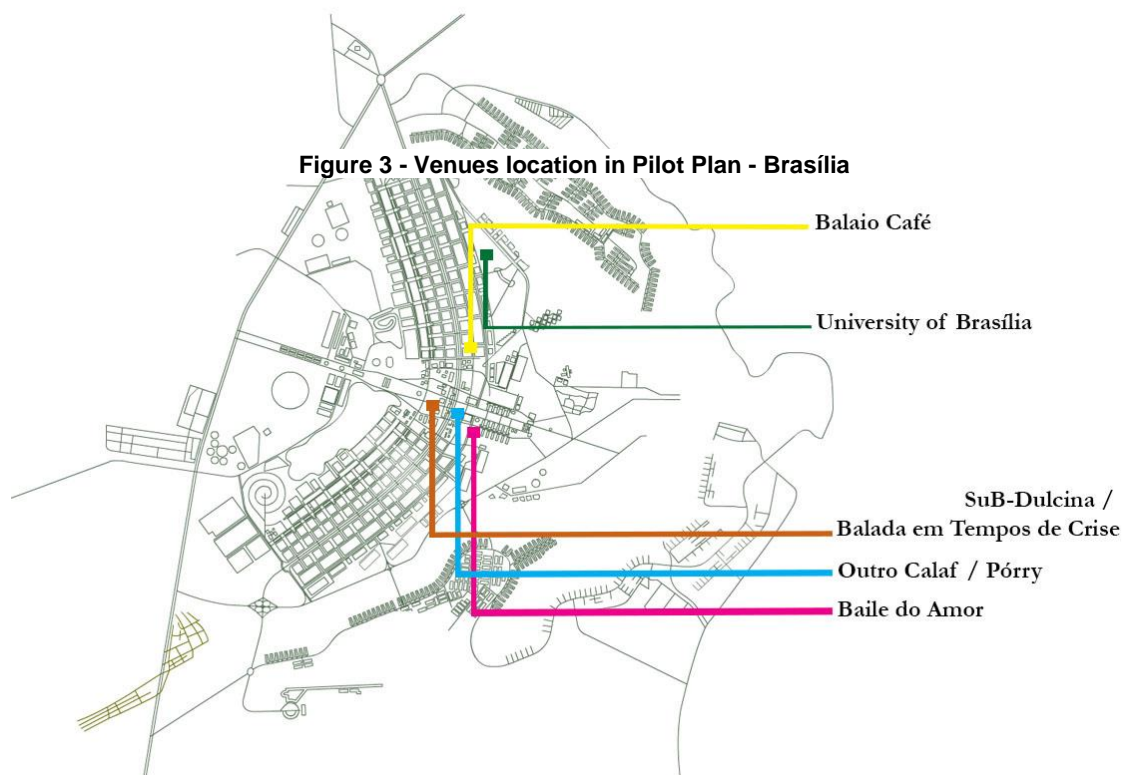
In a country where hate speech and essential rights could well be denied to LGBTQ+ people, my RP celebrates LGBTQ+ lives. These stories interweave with stories of prejudice and violence, but I have chosen to see how this community manages to promote their livelihoods and rights to the city.

Table 1 - Participants Profile

Participant	Classification	Age	Venue/ Party	General Observations
Vinicius	Goer	26		
Maria Eduarda	Goer	25		
Matheus	Goer	24		
Isadora	Goer	26		
Pedro	Goer	21		
Juliana Andrade	Producer	38	*Balaio*	Former owner of *Balaio*, a café/bar close to a public city square which made people party both at the private/public space. She currently promotes one of the main Carnival street parties to the Queer population (*Praça dos Prazeres* translated as Pleasure Square) usually situated behind former Balaio Café.
Ruan	Producer	22	*House of Caliandra*	Develops activities at the University of Brasília through the voguing House of Caliandra. The house runs bi-weekly voguing classes at the University of Brasília and promotes parties/cultural activities at UnB (called happy hours) from time to time.
Priscila	Producer	35	*Outro Calaf*	Produces and hosts parties at a private venue (*Outro Calaf*) in the city centre. Most of them are paid, and few are for free. The venue used to be managed by her father, in the past three years Priscila took over the place and tried to add more diversity to space.
Tita	Producer	25	*Cantigas Boleráveis / Bloco do Amor*	Co-produces one party (*Baile do Amor*, translated as Love Ball) in a private venue through the collective band that she's part of (*Cantigas Boleráveis*). This party is used to gather funds for the carnival street party *Bloco do Amor* (translated as Love Group), another major Queer carnival street party.
Igor	Producer	25	*Balada em Tempos de Crise / Túnel do Lago Norte / SuB Dulcina*	One of the founders of *Balada em Tempos de Crise* (Party in Crisis Time), an itinerant party situated in different public venues almost every two months. Igor also co-leads two other initiatives that happen on leased public spaces: *Túnel do Lago Norte* (a seasonal occupation) and *SuB Dulcina* (a permanent occupation under the once-famous Theater Dulcina).
Athena	Producer	28	*Pórry / METEoLOKO*	Producer of "itinerant" parties (*METEoLOKO, Pórry* and others) in different private venues in the city (among them *Calaf* and *SuB Dulcina*).

Source: Fieldwork 2018

1.4 Structure of the Research Paper

The Research Paper is structured as follows. Chapter 2 presents the theories and concepts that have been essential to guide my questions and findings further: the Right to the City; Queer Geography and Urban Planning. Chapter 3 present the city of Brasília: as a unique region that symbolises the strive for development in the Global South with all its positive and negative consequences symbolised in one geographical region. Chapter 4 dives into findings of individuals' subjectivities as they live and claim their right to the city. Embracing intersectionality, I share the experiences of those coming from the RAs in Brasília (*Samambaia* and *Taguatinga*). I also look at how gender identities and performance deeply determine how you experience and shape those spaces. In Chapter 5 I will focus on the social spaces and how they relate to urban planning. This will be done by looking at three different types of space: the privately-owned establishments, the parties conducted

in public spaces and, the in-between, public environments that create an enabling context, such as the University of Brasília. I use concepts such as homonormativity, gender performativity and precarity to support analysis. Finally, chapter 6 concludes by looking at how experiences can redefine the queer right to the city and what are the possibilities for queer people in Brasília in the near-future.

Chapter 2
Defining the Undefinable
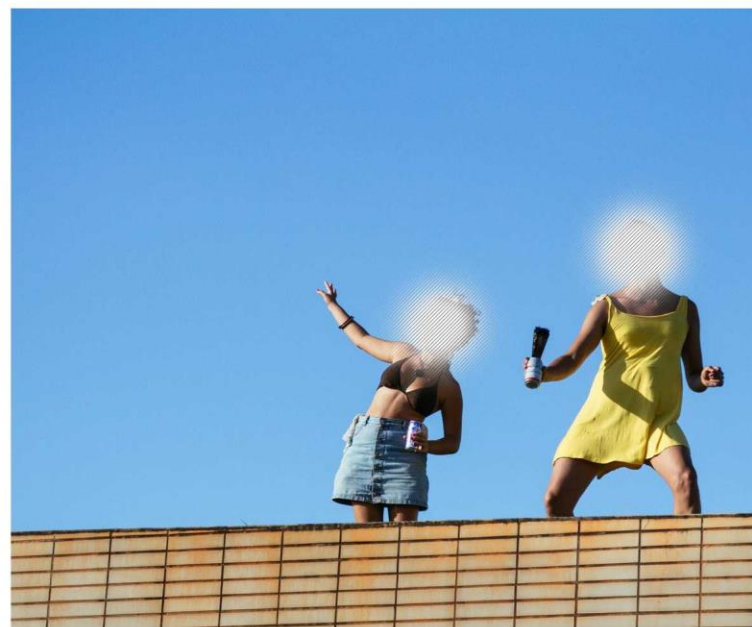
Figure 4 – Chapter 2 (from the top right to the bottom, clockwork wise):
Figure 4.1: Brasília Cathedral under construction / Source: Lomography (n.d.) / Credits: Lucien Hervé
Figure 4.2: Balada em Tempos de Crise @ Túnel do Lago Norte / Source: Facebook (2018a) / Credits: Julia Bandeita
Figure 4.3: Baile do Amor 2016 / Source: Facebook (2016a)/ Credits: n.a.
Figure 4.4: Pórry party @ Outro Calaf / Source: Facebook (2017a) / Credits: Pedro Lacerda

Talking, writing and theorising about people that self-identify as LGBTQ+ can be challenging after all, sexuality and gender are not about fixed identities. Often, this argument leads to theoretical arguments on "how adding letters to the alphabet only pointed to the potential absurdity of our effort to 'fix' sexual practices into nameable categories, rather than taking on the fluidity […] of sex and sexuality" (Budhiraja et al. 2010: 134).

I am talking about a community that defines their (transitory) identities in opposition to the existing social heteronormative cisgender binary norms. As Budhiraja et al. (2010: 132) pointed out, lives and bodies are full of nuances since "sexuality is always locally, historically and culturally embedded".

In the following three sections I look at how urban planning and social spaces can further regulate those bodies, practises and feelings, especially in the Global South. Countering this I also look at how the *queered* right to the city, taking into consideration the precarity of the LGBTQ+ lives, can resist this regulation and promote urban livelihoods, paving the way for queer people to use and shape the city of Brasília.

2.1 Planning: a global north heterosexist tool

Escobar (1992), states that urban planning was part of the development project to "provide solutions to the rampant urban chaos" (1992: 132) as part of the stratification, normalisation and regulation of the alleged under-developed world. Escobar states that "planning lent legitimacy to, and fueled hopes about, the development enterprise" (1992: 132).

The concept of planning came to the Global South following Global North's focus on order: giving priority to law, economic activity, traffic and hygiene. Systems of domination and oppression were created to control the urban-poor. Economic progress was made possible through a structured geography where poverty was made invisible.

Brasília's RAs are an illustration of this modern urban planning as discussed in chapter 3 and 4. Rolnik (2012: 91) states that the urban planning process in the Global South followed the "order of chaos": while the city centre was planned, peripheral areas were left aside to grow according to their own rules - only in the 1990s that too began to be regulated.

Urban planning was part of the "normalisation and standardisation of reality, which in turn entails injustice and the erasure of difference and diversity" (Escobar 1992: 134). Frisch (2002), Doan and Higgins (2011) and Doan (2011) have also highlighted how planning further regulated and oppressed non-conforming sexualities.

Frisch claims that planning is a social project, by exploring the mechanisms in which it reinforces existing power relations and, "how planning laws were enacted to control immoral sexuality and especially women's sexuality" (Frisch 2002: 254). Frisch elaborates on how planning acts as a mechanism that strengthens institutions and societies that exclude certain perceived [sexual] orientations and, most important, how "planning discourses assumes heterosexuality, thereby leaving homosexuality closeted" (Frisch 2002: 255). Frisch explores how planners work was developed towards the cis heteronormative families and lives.

Doan (2011) goes back to a historical perspective on how planning has excluded women and black/people of colour in the urban setting. Doan (2011: 4) argues that women and racialised minorities began to participate in urban life only once the women's movement gained the ground, allowing them to enter the public sphere.For black people and people of colour, planning has played a key role in well-known processes such as the South African apartheid and the U.S. discrimination by the zoning of "coloured people" (Doan 2011: 6). This literature highlights that "at the most fundamental level there has been a failure to address two basic questions in these mainstream modernist planning histories. What is the object of planning history? And who are its subjects?" (Doan 2011: 2).

Those questions started to be answered with capitalism evolution and the expansion of gay men buying-power: planning started to profit from the LGBTQ+ community. Queer Neighborhoods (or *gayborhoods*) emerged in the Global North at the end of the 20th century. Cities such as San Francisco, Los Angeles, New York, saw previously marginal neighbourhoods transformed into gay and lesbian havens. In the search for their own (safe) space in the city and to "liberate territory where a new culture and political power could be concentrated" (Castells 1983 as quoted in Doan and Higgins 2010: 8), gay and lesbians (mostly white) started to move into the lower class and people of colour neighbourhoods.

This process changed the cityscape with new forms of social and economic relations, at times exclusionary ones. As put by Nast (2002: 880) "Euro White-identified gay men […] are well positioned to take advantage of key avenues of exploitation and profiteering in postindustrial world orders".

Doan and Higgins (2010) work on gayborhoods gentrification points to "waves of gentrification" (Doan and Higgins 2010: 7). They show that the forced displacement of local inhabitants due to urban development and real estate agents is not something new, but that eventually became more global and widespread since the 1990s.

Gayborhoods initially pushed out the local people of colour from their original neighbourhoods, but now some of them are also being gentrified. Collins (2004) emphasise how those areas were assimilated by urban planning. Such neighborhoods, for example, now have high-office complexes and queer spaces are closed-down through the enforcement of regulating laws (Doan and Higgins 2010), a phenomenon I will investigate in Brasília with Juliana's *Balaio Café* in chapter 4 and 5.

The experiences of US urban settings suggest that while *queering* and conquering their own spaces, queer lives can promote further marginalization - not necessarily leading to safeness. To explain this, I use Judith Butler's concept of precarity (2009: xiii) "precarious life characterises such lives who do not qualify as recognisable, readable, or grievable. And in this way, precarity is a rubric that brings together women, queers, transgender people, the poor, and the stateless" (Butler 2009: xiii).

Building on this literature I look at how precarious LGBTQ+ lives are perceived and built-in social spaces and urban policies, and at how they struggle to have their right to the city legitimised.

2.2   Queering social spaces and their heteronormativity

First, when talking about social spaces, we must understand what I consider as space in this research. Brazilian geographer Milton Santos defines spaces as "a set of representative forms of past and present social relations that are represented by a structure of social relations […] that manifests through processes and functions. Therefore, space is a true site of forces […]" (Santos 2002: 153).

According to Santos and post-structuralist theories, spaces are sites that are socially constructed according to current and previously existing power relations. If talking about spaces within cities "[they] are negotiated spaces where decisions are made about group identity, visibility, recognition and authenticity" (Fobear 2012: 723). They are constant sites of struggles and a material expression of abstract and fluidity identities.

When talking about the public space, Fenster (2005: 222-3) focus on its political sense by arguing that claims to make use of the public space "usually takes place when individuals wish to appropriate sections of public settings for various reasons, sometimes to achieve intimacy or anonymity or for social gatherings, mostly temporary".

Important to note that the public space is a gendered one, as argued by Massey (1984) and McDowell (1999), among others. Public spaces have long belonged to men and women have longed been denied their use – whether if in political life or even when walking around the city.

If "fear of use of public spaces, especially in the street, public transport and urban parks is what prevents women from fulfilling their right to the city" (Fenster 2005: 224), the same can be said for those who have diverse gender and sexualities. Especially for those who suffer with double/triple or more types of prejudices that intersects (gendered, sexualized, racialised etc.).

This led to studies on the previously mentioned *gayborhoods*. Its' main focus was on how public space has been conceived as heterosexual (Bell et al 1994; Bell and Valentine 1995; Binnie 1997). Heteronormativity determines how spaces are imagined and organised so that individuals who show non-normative behaviours, feelings and identities are seen as social outsiders and marginalised. According to Nast (2002 as quoted in Browne 2006: 886) heteronormativity "describes the normalisation of man/woman as opposites come together within heterosexual relationships that are based on specific class and race-based relations".

But, as mentioned, the LGBTQ+ movement and *gaybourhoods* have its silences. Duggan (2002: 179) defines homonormativity as "a politics that does not contest dominant heteronormative assumptions and institutions but upholds and sustains them while promising the possibility of a demobilized gay constituency and a privatised, depoliticised gay culture anchored in domesticity and consumption".

Through this, we can see that homonormativity has caused further regulation to LGBTQ+ lives and, that agendas such as same-sex marriage are part of a neoliberal institutional agenda that do not represent queer lives realities. Kanai (2014) also shows how gay neighbourhood redevelopment engaged in a sort of rainbow capitalism and excluded poor people, people of colour and other non-conforming identities and sexualities.

Oswin (2008: 90), drawing upon post-structuralist theories, has called for a queer approach to spaces mentioning how "just as individuals do not have pre-existing sexual identities, neither do spaces". I undertake this approach on the current research. At the moment that non-normative bodies occupy spaces, they transgress and build a "queer space that is also multivalent, porous and momentary" (Oswin 2005: 84).

Spaces are sites of struggles, and queer spaces do not just pop up out of nowhere. Considering that "space is not naturally authentically 'straight' but rather actively produced and (hetero) sexualised" (Binnie 1997: 223) and heteronormative, I aim to unpack stories of establishments that might not be queer enough for the LGBTQ+ community and not heterosexual enough for the ones that follow normative sexualities.

I bring to the queer approach to space an intersectional one. Socio-economic class, race, gender and other elements play a key role in how spaces are produced and may include further

marginalising segments of the queer community. I adopt the intersectional analyses of Crenshaw considering the "multidimensionality of marginalised subjects" (Crenshaw, 1989: 139).

Queer spaces can act both as liberating and oppressive in the lives of many and indeed, may not be accessible to all. Araruna (2017: 148) states that the process of self-questioning your gender identity and expression is usually followed by a need to prove yourself to others, which can be challenging. As people struggle, the existence of an external world can be denied, and the body and mind might go through this transformation alone. Therefore, there can be doubts on how others can (and most likely will) judge your sexual and embodied identities and feelings, so that trans people, for example, might suffer from solitude and avoid public and/or social spaces.

The work of Silva (2017) focuses on how, following the Brazilian population pattern, lesbians from the low socio-economic class are often black. They often have few spaces to socialise, considering that clubs are too expensive and, inside, you'll spend even more. Therefore, not only race and gender play a role under the lived experiences of those people, but also the socio-economic status permeates all the characteristics and play a key role, an issue that will be further explored in chapter 4.

All these theories help to underline that we are talking about how different people experience the city, how they build on and upon their subjectivity exercising their right to the city:

> […] the presence of queer bodies in particular locations forces people to realise (by juxtaposition of 'queer' and 'street' or 'queer' and 'city') that the space around them, […] the city streets, the malls and the models have been *produced* as (ambiently) heterosexual, heterosexist and heteronormative (Bell and Valentine 1995: 18)

2.3 The Right to the City and sense of belonging of Queer lives in Brasília

I wonder how do queer ambivalence and fluidity present itself in this claim to the right to the city? How do Queer lives express themselves? How can they actively change a space without facing further challenges?

Before answering those questions, we must go back to the conceptualisation of the Right to the City and place it within the Brazilian context. First, the term was coined by the philosopher and sociologist Henri Lefebvre in the late 1960s as the "right to command the whole urban process" (Harvey 2008: 28) but did not receive much attention until the late 1990s and early 2000s, when civil society organizations started to lobby around the Right to the City.

In 2005 the World Charter for the Right to the City was published during the World Social Forum (International Alliance of Inhabitants 2005). Among others, the Charter defines the city as a body with a social function and sets out how its inhabitants (fixed or temporary, present or past) must be included through participatory budgets and have equal rights to use and make their city (International Alliance of Inhabitant 2005). This two-folded action would happen by following principles of non-discrimination, freedom and integrity, while also engaging the public and the private sector, and setting clear mechanisms to measure and implement the Right to the City.

Brazil is one of the few countries that have adopted the Right to the City. In 2001 the country adopted the National City Statute, setting municipal participatory budgets and ensuring the city's social function. This paved the way for the Ministry of Cities (2003) and the National City's Council

(2006) (Rolnik 2012). Nowadays, the Brazilian City Statute is perceived as a site of conflict and struggle among urban developers, real estate speculation, CSOs, city's inhabitants and others.

This conflict connects to Harvey's (2008: 31) work on how the "quality of urban life has become a commodity, as has the city itself, in a world where consumerism, tourism, cultural and knowledge-based industries have become major aspects of the urban political economy". Harvey (2008: 23) states: "the right to the city is far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city" underlining how we are talking about a collective power that can reshape the process of urbanisation.

The Right to the City is about "the freedom to make and remake our cities and ourselves and is […] one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights" (Harvey 2008: 23). But how does this neglect take shape when talking about diverse sexualities and genders? Fenster (2005) examines to what extent the notion of the right to the city is sensitive to individual and collective difference: "the right to the city is therefore fulfilled when the right to difference on a national basis is fulfilled too, and people of different ethnicities, nationalities and gender identity can share and use the same urban spaces" (Fenster 2005: 225). Such ideals are rarely observed in other countries worldwide, even less in Brazil given the high murder rates stated above.

We must consider that the Right to the City goes beyond the public space influenced by the exclusion of women and people of colour (and other forms of diversity). Interestingly for my study, is to think how many LGBTQ+ people have been forced into the public space and removed from the heteronormative private sphere due to family prejudice.

For many LGBTQ+ people, especially youth, the city is the only space where they can be themselves. When facing prejudice at home, it is when they go out that they can fully perform their gender and sexual orientation. They feel liberated, it is where they belong, as it will be discussed in chapter 5.

Fenster (2005: 222) explore how "the right to use the city and the right to belong are mixed up" and how "the possibilities of daily use of urban spaces are what create a sense of belonging to the city" (Fenster 2005: 222). Belong here, meaning the repeated use of the city and its spaces. As Araruna (2016) asks "who can, today, inhabit the city? Who can, today, use the inside of its spaces, have relationships and reach its institutions? Who can, today, occupy and rethink its spaces of knowledge production?".

And if "Queer […] seeks to reconsider how we think, our modes of being and our conceptualisations of politics" (Browne 2006: 889), then there is a clear need to rethink how we are applying the Right to the City regarding LGBTQ+ lives. I now explore how, in the unique setting of Brasília, queer lives are acting to make their city and how this affects their experiences with the city, and its inhabitants, institutions and silences.

Chapter 3
Brasília, the symbol of modernity and economic progress
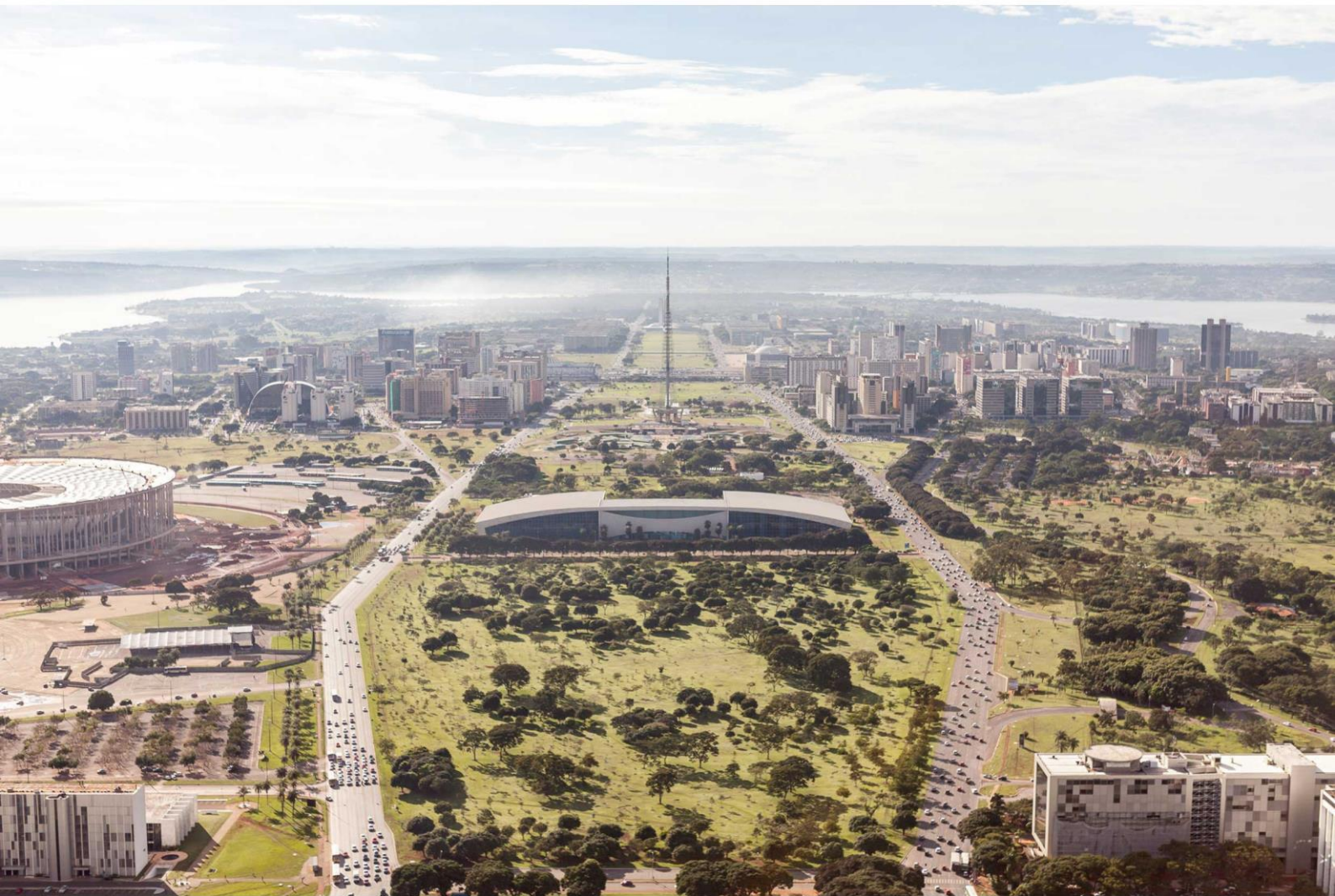
Figure 5 – Chapter 3 (from the top right to the bottom, clockwork wise):
Figure 3.1: Monumental Axe Brasília/ Source: Baratto (2017)/ Credits: Joana França
Figure 3.2: Bloco do Amor 2017 / Source: Facebook (2017b) / Credits: Daniel Fama
Figure 3.3: Brasília's Ministries Esplanade under construction / Source: Goose (n.d.) / Credits: Marcel Gautherot

Once again, Brasília presents a unique setting among many cities in the world. Planned and built within five years (1955-60), it was envisioned with enthusiasm towards development – the Capital should be the physical realisation of economic progress. Internationally, the modernist architecture and urbanism gained further attention.

Since its conception, Brasília presents many underlying challenges and "unplanned" consequences. During the next few sections, I will investigate how its modern plan envisioned an egalitarian city for an unequal society, producing dichotomies and multivalences that are still deeply rooted. This led to problems in housing, transport, urban development and others. According to Lauriano (2016: 157), Brasília was made with "ghettos, where politicians talked to politicians, and bureaucrats with bureaucrats". On a personal analysis, the planning and development of Brasília say a lot about Brazilian current context: segregation in a country/city made for and with few.

What used to be the symbol of progress, has been questioned and dismantled. Nowadays, the Capital is frequently associated with political scandals. But, avoiding stereotypes, what are the realities of the local people? How do they navigate through this modern territory? How planning influence their lives? In this chapter, I will explore the city's history, regulations and people's agency in shaping their lives and cityscape.

3.1   The beginning: from dust to the capital

In 2018, Brasília[4] has 2,974,703 inhabitants – being the third biggest Federation Unit. It also has the highest household income per capita (around € 630) and an HDI of 0,824, the highest in the country (IBGE 2018). Map 1 on the next page shows its geographical location within Brazil.Despite its small area and young age, the history of Brasília goes back to the late XIX century. The need to make idle land productive, promoting the country's economy and borders maintenance were among the motivating ideas for the process.

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[4] Following IBGEs use, by Brasília I mean the entire Federal District territory.

Map 1 - Brazilian Map with Federal District

Around 1890 an expedition towards the central part of Brazil claimed to have found the capital's "perfect geographical location": the Brazilian Central Plateau (Romero 2003: 44). But only with President Juscelino Kubitschek (JK), the Capital became a concrete plan. The President's "Goal Plan" (*Plano de Metas)* had the slogan: "fifty years [of economic progress] in five" (*Cinquenta anos em cinco)*. The goal-synthesis was Brasília's construction, evidencing the country's move from underdeveloped to developed.

Brasília would also promote Brazil's integration and regional balance. In 1960, the North and Central region of Brazil had 64% of the country's lands, but only 7% of its population (Santos 1964: 371). According to Santos, the Capital's construction would serve as a "connecting point" (Santos 1964: 372) as shown on Figure 7 and promote Brazil's economy too.

As argued by Peluso (2003), Brasília was the synthesis of three historical moments: *(i)* the verge of the conflict between modernization and the national inequality; *(ii)* the beginning of the modern architecture; and *(iii)* the mythical use of architecture and planning to represent progress. Through the works of Oscar Niemeyer and Lucio Costa modern buildings and straight large streets set the

cityscape, as seen in Figure 6. Through them, Brasília would have a clear horizon, a metaphor to the country's expanding future.

Figure 6 - Conceptual design of Brasília's Monumental Axe and the *Três Poderes* square buildings by Lúcio Costa
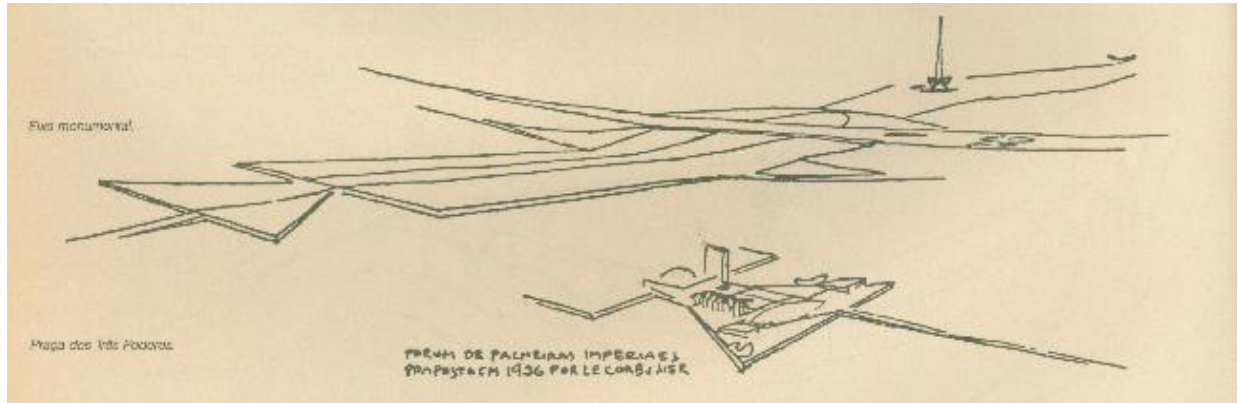
Source: Costa (1985)

Niemeyer's and Costa's plan gave Brasília international attention, but not without criticism. Among others, Gilberto Freyre, prominent Brazilian sociologist, argued how "there was a lack of an interdisciplinary team [when planning Brasília]" (Freyre 1968 as quoted in Lauriano 2016: 157). According to the author the city was left for the realm of architecture and engineering, without including social and environmental views since its beginning

Finally, if the city conception took into consideration the regional landscape and envisioned a developed equalitarian future, the following policies and practices contested that. In 1974, Lúcio Costa already pointed to the dangers of expanding the city beyond planned (Romero 2003: 49-50).

Figure 7 - Distances between Brasília and other Brazilian state capitals
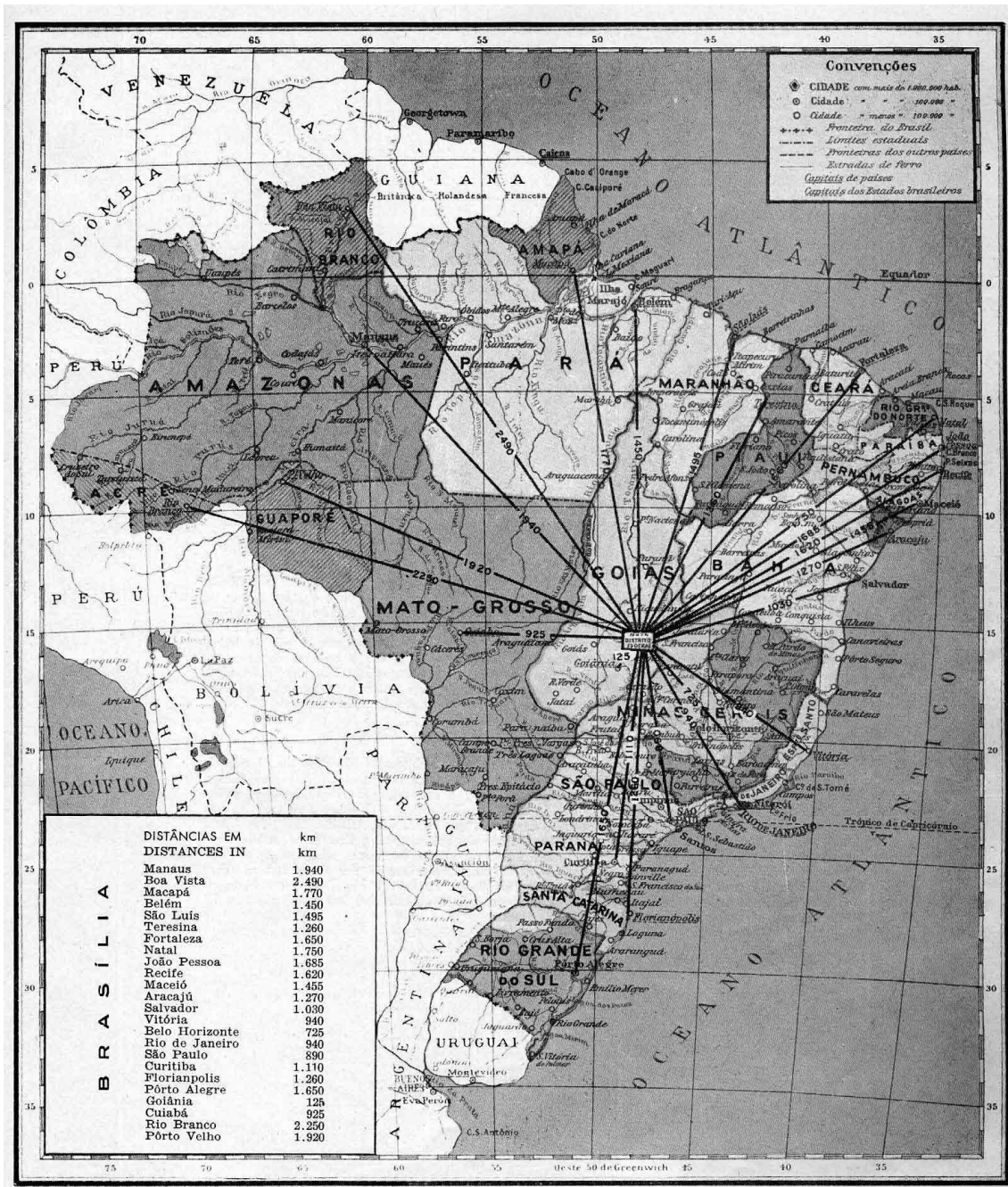
Source: Stierli (2013)

3.2 Brasília's construction, planning and expansion

Situated in the middle of Brazil, the meanings and limits of Brasília and the Federal District are often confused on the daily life, as we can see on this research too. Even IBGE when covering the size of Brasília's population, income average and others, measure the totality of the Federal District.

Upon its conception, the city was planned as the *Pilot Plan*: an area shaped by two straight axes/avenues crossing the city. The Monumental axe would contain governmental and institutional buildings, while the second, houses and local commerce. Upon the two axes intersection, entertainment, commercial and hotel areas would emerge in a central location to all its inhabitants, as seen on Figure 8.

Figure 8 - Setor de Diversões Norte with one shopping mall, on the right, and the National Theater (currently closed due to lack of maintenance)
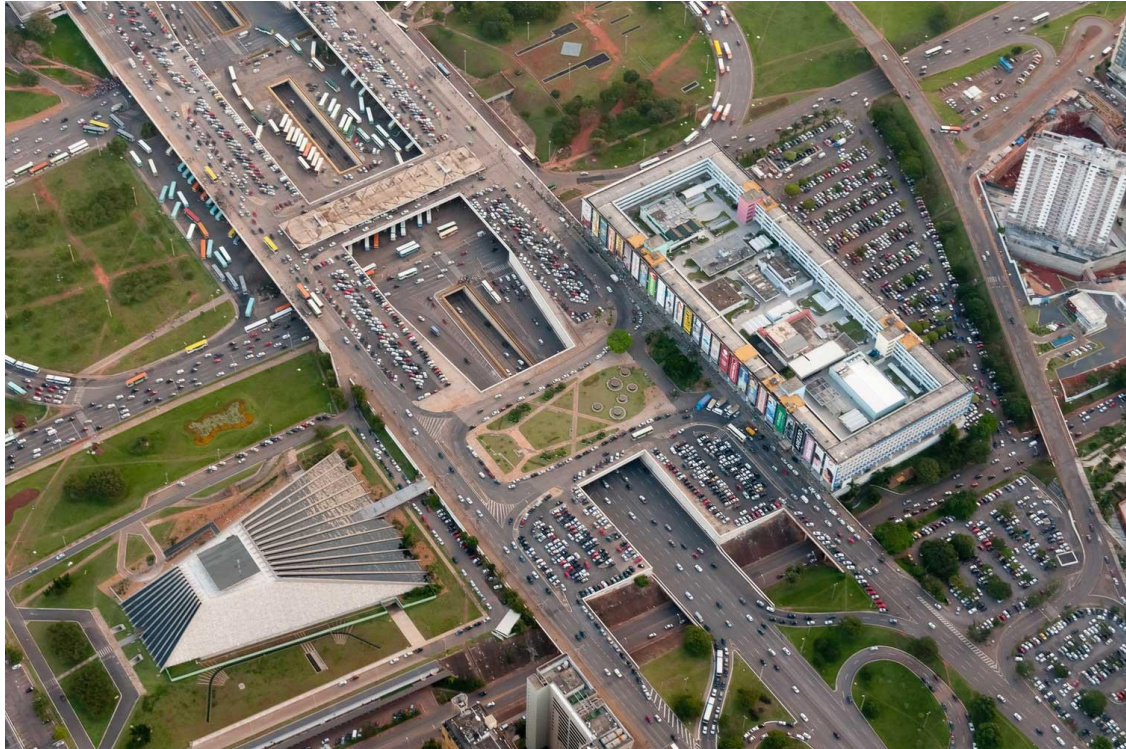
Source: Baratto (2017) / Credits: Joana França

Every neighbourhood within *Pilot Plan* is named after its activities: from the Individual Housing North Sector (SHIN) to the Commercial South Sector (SCS), among others. Neighbourhood's social function comes with its name and locations are always mentioned by its acronym - reinforcing the city's uniqueness and strangeness daily.

IF one of the most visible aspects of planning is felt since the beginning through language, one of its first consequences happened during the city's construction: the housing offer. And since housing is highly related to urban development, it has shaped the city past, present and future extensively.

In 1957 the city population was around 12,700 inhabitants (most of them, workers that should leave the capital upon inauguration) - thirteen years later the number grew 42 times and reached 534,200 inhabitants (Peluso 2003: 10*)*. Migration was the driving force for this expansion: upon the possibility of economic progress (and State-provided affordable housing), Brasília was the promise land.

Migrants and/or workers from lower social classes were either taken to provisory camps close the *Pilot Plan* or built neighbourhoods upon squatting. This led to the construction of Taguatinga,

Gama, Sobradinho, Núcleo Bandeirante and Ceilandia *satellite cities* within the first ten years (Peluso 2003), as seen on Map 2.

Important to note how, in Costa's conception "illegal settlements should be avoided in both urban and rural areas of Brasília. The Urbanizing Company should provide decent and affordable house for the entire population" (Costa 1985: 118). The government partially fulfilled this role from the 1960s to the 1980s, building housing sites on the satellite cities. In 1983, an assessment showed that housing policies were one of the reasons for increased migration and construction was suspended (Colela 1991: 53). Taking the city through further marginalisation and real-estate speculation.

Costa (1985: 118) pointed how city expansion was envisioned through the satellite cities and peninsula areas, instead within the *Pilot Plan*, avoiding urban condensation. But if planning was essential to maintain Brasília's original function, it did not lead to the same result for the RAs. The long distance among them and the Pilot Plan have isolated two-thirds of its population core. According to Dowall and Monkkonen (2007 as quoted in Lauriano: 2016: 163), today only 15% of Brasília inhabitants live within 15km of the city centre.

Map 2 - Federal District and its Administrative Regions/Satellite Cities
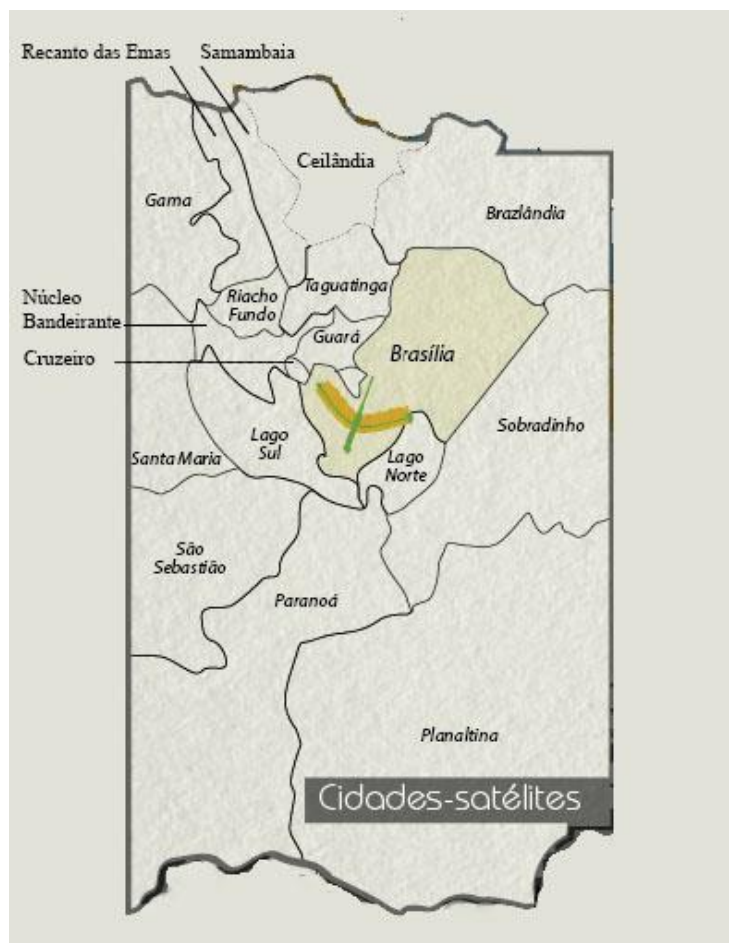
Source: an adaptation from *Revista pré-Univesp (2017)*

The city that was initially made for 500,000 inhabitants has almost 3 million sixty years later, but only 300,000 live in the Pilot Plan (IBGE 2010). As Peluso (2003: 10) argues "planning solutions were traditional, under the style of peripheralization and regulation of the working class". Soon enough, Brasília became a multinuclear city sieged by satellite cities.

Considering the distances, transport through private cars was made a priority since planning. Modernist architecture and large streets were key elements to promote car expansion, avoiding Rio de Janeiro's lack of mobility (Costa 1985: 117). According to Costa, building fast-lanes would allow a high-quality public transport system to flourish – something not noted until today.

This led to a common-sense belief: Brasília is the city for and of cars. Affirmation is also supported by data: in 2010, 41% of the city inhabitants owned a vehicle (Lauriano 2016: 170). Meanwhile, the country's average is 23% (IBGE 2018).

Planning and regulation aimed to preserve the city historical conception so future generations could benefit from its qualities (Costa 1985: 116). But as argued by Ferreira and Penna (1996 as quoted in Peluso: 25), this vision claimed universality by giving simple solutions to a far more complex scenario. This led to further inefficiency when dealing with problems on urban planning and structural inequalities.

The attempt to neutralise the social differences through the modern urbanist rational was limited. During its design and urban development, it did not consider that a city cannot be separated from its people, problem that lingers until today. Just as the Queer Geography approach shows, the physical realm is also made by the bodies that occupy the space on that moment.

Peluso (2003: 23) highlights that, nowadays, the city's "greater tragedy" is the use of its public space with private interests, "transforming a highly planned city in one that is explored and privatized through the actions of its social actors, […] promoting the chaos". Currently, the city suffers from irregular and illegal settlements on most of its lands, conducted both by all social segments.

Tensions can be felt on daily lives: through one to two-hours traffic jams for those that live outside the Pilot Plan; or when trying to rent or buy a house in one of the most expensive square meters in the country. But the most impactful side of stratification and segregation comes with stigma, especially for those that live on the RAs.

First, Pilot Plan inhabitants' rarely leave the city centre and know the reality of the surrounding cities, as it is usually perceived in stratified societies. Second, RAs inhabitants are not welcomed in the Pilot Plan if outside working hours (and areas) – they are excluded and seen as cheap labour, quite often facing prejudice. Therefore, this tension is of extreme importance to consider under the current research, since the pattern seems to repeat on queer spaces.

Finally, if considering Freyre's affirmation that "[…] inhabited Brasília is being made human by its inhabitants, since it [the city] started completely inhumane" (1980 as quoted in Lauriano 2016: 157), there is probably a reason why almost three million people still reside/choose to stay in the city. Therefore, the next section will investigate how the current inhabitants of Brasília are changing themselves and making the city Pilot Plan more humane and diverse in the face of the Silent Law.

3.3   The right to have (queer) pleasure on a highly planned context

On the planned cityscape, regulation is initially promoted through the designation of neighbourhoods for leisure and entertainment, while the residential streets (*superqudras*) are for houses and local commerce. The Law 4.092/2008 reinforcement adds a stronger element to this scenario.

Set in 2008 and known as Silent Law, it regulates public noises during daytime (6-10 PM) and night-time (10 PM – 6 AM) in all city areas During daytime only noises up to 65 db(A) are allowed, while during evenings the limit goes down to 55 db(A) (Garonce and Carvalho, 2018).

The Law is often a battleground among neighbourhoods with bars, clubs and entertainment areas situated in the local commercial areas, as seen on Figures 9 and 10 (next page). Bars, clubs and other social spaces on residential and mixed areas can normally stay open until 2 AM, as long the noises produced are not higher than allowed after 10 PM.

Figure 9 - Costa's sketch on *superquadras* structure (the square with buildings inside) and its local commerce (on the bottom right)
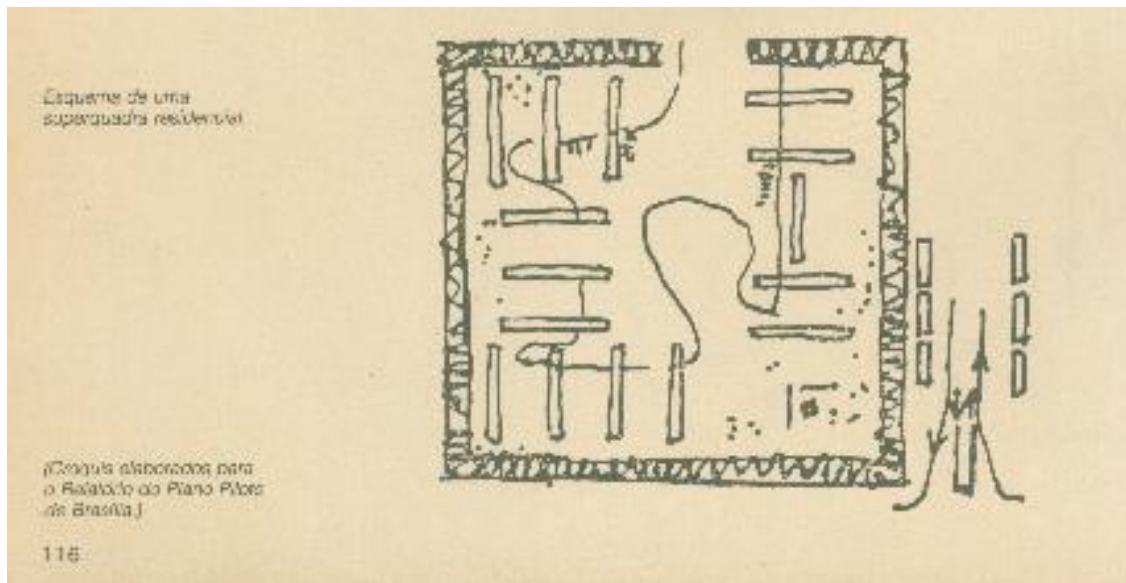
Source: Costa (1985)

In case of disturbance, complaints are made to the Government Ombudsman and IBRAM, the regulating agency. If proved that the sound origin is above limits, fines range from fifty to five thousand euros, and establishments can be either temporarily or permanently closed (Garonce and Carvalho 2018). Since 2008, dozens of restaurants, bars and local venues for small parties have been either fined or closed, causing a heated public debate about the law.

On top of it, some calls are also directed towards the police, or they also support the law enforcement[5]. This can lead to eventual use of violence (pepper spray and detentions, mostly), which started to be more frequent during the past years, receiving further attention among media and population[6].

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[5] On this case, Military Cops are the ones responsible for conducting daily patrolling within the Brazilian cities – a heritage still present on Brazilian society from the decades of military dictatorship.

[6] Important to note that the national context and memory plays a role. Going back to the national protests from June 2013, that moved the population against the increase of bus fares and, soon enough, became an anti-corruption movement, the police brutality was an ongoing reality. Since then, pepper spray and police confrontation have become part of the Brazilian (upper-middle class) lives that do not comply. On a personal side note, it is unaccountable the number of street parties that I have attended during the past five years and finished with police intervention, relying heavily on the use of pepper spray.

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Figure 10 - Plano Piloto's local commerce between *superquadras*

Source: Baratto (2017)/ Credits: Joana França

Most of the complaints happens in Brasília, Taguatinga and Ceilândia (Rolim and Lopes 2016). Beyond claims against the music level in bars and clubs, neighbours also mention the noise coming from people talking below their buildings windows after leaving bars, lack of parking on their streets on peak days and the "the need to buy an air-conditioner since the windows cannot be open due to noise" (Rolim and Lopes 2016).

Following this debate and advocacy from CSOs, on early March 2018, a new project tried to change the Law's limits and increase it: from 65 db(A) during the day to 75, and from 55, during the evening, to 70. The new law would also delimit that sound level checking should be done both inside the complainer property and close to the sound source (and at least 1.5m away from it) (Garronce and Carvalho 2018).

While the Law set in 2008 includes any sound source either on the concept of "noise" or "noise pollution", the new project would include also "music" considering human work, creativity and right to express and enjoy ourselves. Due to the lack of consensus among politicians, researchers and neighbourhoods' representatives, the project was not approved.

The battleground extends through all the city *superquadras'*, but some seems to be more targeted than others. Balaio became the symbol of resistance and persecution within this law, but some bar owners mentioned how once Balaio was closed, the target became a new one: the 408N *superquadra*, a street with bars in all its sides - home of the bohemian university scene.

It is important to note that Brasília gave birth to the Brazilian Rock in the 1980s and in this period the city went beyond its political status and became acclaimed a site of revolutionary musicians and lyrics, celebrating the end of the military dictatorship and shouting against US imperialism. Music had a lot to do with Brasília imaginary of citizenship 30 years ago and continues to do so in the daily lives of Brasília inhabitants. Each region/city is marked by their music and style, such as the strong hip-hop scene in Ceilândia and *samba* in Cruzeiro.

As Rolim and Lopes (2016) argued "Silence: you are in Brasília. Where bohemians feel they have been silenced and inhabitants feel deaf by external noise". Important to note that most of the sounds of our daily life are higher than the one settled by the law - schools produces 80 db(A) and nightclubs 110 db(A) (ibid).

Therefore, most of the city parties are traditionally situated in neighbourhoods on the edges of the Pilot Plan. They require the use of private transport since buses either do not reach them or do not work until late and infrequently, on the weekends. Not to mention the lack of safety on those neighbourhoods, since they are mostly commercial areas and do not have any other activities during evenings and weekends.

An exception are the streets parties held during or before Carnival. Contrary to the aforementioned clubs, most of them are conducted on the city centre (some between *superquadras*, others at the two central axes and, more frequently, on the commercial and entertainment sectors). They are day-time parties, finishing around 10 PM. But even in this context, police repression and law enforcement are noticeable, ensuring that parties "wrap up" in time and that goers go home.

With the law enforcement, Brasília falls further back into the same trap of its conception: it talks in a highly technical way, not taking into consideration social perspectives.

The right to have entertainment extends to the right to walk, enjoy music, dance and gather freely around the city (especially during the night). With this law, to gather is perceived as an act of resistance. It is within this context that people occupying or creating social entertainment spaces are fighting for the right to pleasure and party, as part of human rights and civic freedom. In marginalised groups, such as the LGBTQ+ one, this fight is even stronger, and the act of promoting new socialising places is more political than ever.

Chapter 4
(Not so) Queer spaces: stories of pleasure, prejudice and resistance

On the following pages, I will explore the stories of people making and going to Brasília's queer spaces. Cities are constituted by more than geographical points, also by their inhabitants'. This chapter is about subjectivities: how people feel, build and experience those spaces. Therefore, I will explore the constitutive aspect of people and spaces.

Following the theoretical framework and Brasília's reality, I will present and analyse their embodied experiences in a double highly regulated context: first regarding their sexualities and gender/class performativities, and second in the planned urban scenario. Going back to intersectionality, we will see how the experiences of queer people living in the RAs are quite often dismissed. Meanwhile, experiences of women adds an extra layer to this analysis.

4.1 "We are not an LGBT space, we are diverse."

Research conducted on queer spaces claimed how they are not truly inclusive and often exclude bisexuals (Hemmings 2002), transgenders (Namaste 2000), and gender non-conformists in general (Browne 2006). Therefore, I started this research based on two questions: how do you characterise a queer space? How different lives and experiences are negotiated and experience in them?

During interview' beginning most of the producers stated: "we are not an LGBT party, we are diverse" (Igor, personal interview 2018)[7]. Athena also mentioned how one of the parties she co-produces (*Porry*) never stated they were queer; they just made sure to promote the party considering diversity.

Both highlighted the importance of inclusive language (usually non-binary language – which in Latin languages includes the use of "@", "x" or "e" instead of gendered words or pronouns) and accessible prices. More important, those places do not practice different fees for men and women – a common (hetero)sexist practice done in most parties where tickets for women are cheaper, while men pay a higher fee.

Igor also argued how producing a party based on identity politics "seems outdated and that modern parties are those that bring everyone together, where they come for the music, the experience and not because of labels" (Igor, personal interview 2018)[8]. The goal is to make everyone feel welcomed and to embrace diversity - therefore a queer approach.

If queer is a definition that claims for a new way of thinking, producing and living, Isadora (personal interview, 2018)[9] agrees by mentioning that "there is not the need [to define themselves as a queer space]. If a place deconstructs the norms and ideas, by itself, it will become an LGBTQ+ space". As Juliana also pointed, Balaio was not an exclusive LGBTQ+ space, it brought together all sorts of people.

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[7] Personal interview with Igor, in Brasilia, 6 June 2018.
[8] Personal interview with Igor, in Brasilia, 6 June 2018.
[9] Personal interview with Isadora, in Brasilia, 8 June 2018

If identity does play a vital role, goers highlighted personal tastes when going to those spaces: the music and environment. The same was found by Fobear (2012: 731) when exploring lesbian areas in Amsterdam. Among participants, few goers have mentioned the need to make a political stand or to build a community, while most presented music preference and the innovative-experiences as motivation.

Nonetheless, the need to belong in a safe space was mentioned in all interviews. In this case, most have not even cited the possibility of going to heterosexual social spaces. Meanwhile, despite claiming diversity, the majority of owners and producers are aware that most of its goers are part of the LGBTQ+ community.

In this scenario of diversity, one of the few places that is still identified a gay, Victoria Haus (or Vic, for locals) was mentioned in all interviews. If you do not know where to go for an LGBTQ+ night-out in Brasília, you can always count on Vic.

Since 2011, the club is home to mostly shirtless guys with six-pack bodies and pop music. Women quite often face discomfort, as mentioned by Isadora, and non-normative gays feel they do not belong, as said by Vinicius and Pedro. As Tita (personal interview, 2018)[10] mentions "Vic is the personification of how an LGBT space can become GGG" an allusion to the white middle-upper-class dominated scene and homonormativity.

Homonormativity is "a politics that does not contest dominant heteronormative assumptions and institutions but upholds and sustains them while promising the possibility of a demobilised gay constituency and a privatised, depoliticised gay culture anchored in domesticity and consumption" (Duggan 2002: 179). Among the battle among assimilationist and radical LGBTQ+ agenda, the term coined by Duggan focuses on how the transformative approach of the 'gay rights agenda' went back to society's normative standards.

Considering the point mentioned by all the research participants, Vic seems to fit on the concept by reproducing the idea that queer bodies are homogeneous. The cisgender white gay male body is the one accepted as a queer body in society and any deviant bodies will not be welcomed, not even within the LGBTQ+ community.

Nonetheless, it seems that normativity is also observed in other social spaces. Pedro argued how in *Calaf* gay men might not be the same from Vic, but they also follow a certain pattern. Isadora also mentioned how eventually she noticed a stereotype among UnB's lesbians: hipster, brunette, thin and straight hair.

Even in the so-called innovative spaces, there seems to be an attempt to fit into the norm of innovation. There is a certain fluidity on how to express, dress and perform yourself. But it still seems to be contained under the social norms of how you look, a reflection on their socio-economic status, race, gender, sex assigned at birth and others.

Nonetheless, according to the participants, there is still a bigger mix of race, genders, sexualities and others on those diverse spaces. But as Goh (2017: 470) put, there are still some silences that the LGBTQ+ community (and those 'diverse spaces' as well) perpetuates. Upon this idea, the next section will reflect on how RAs inhabitants experiences those spaces.

4.2   Stories from the Administrative Region's

Due to social and spatial segregation, the experiences from those living outside the *Pilot Plan* are highly different. "Considering the importance given to the socioeconomic status as a way to

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[10] Personal interview with Tita, via Skype, 10 August 2018.

segment the Brazilian society, it affects the politics of identity of various groups" (Marsiaj 2003: 134) and this is not different in the Federal District, the second most unequal Brazilian Federation Unit (Russi, 2018).

When talking about queer social spaces, I will focus on what I will call a three-layered challenge, based on the participants' stories. First, there is a challenge in finding "diverse" spaces on the RAs. According to some of the participants' views, queer spaces lack on their regions, forcing LGBTQ+ people to the Pilot Plan when looking for leisure and pleasure.

Second, they find infra-structural and economic challenges to reach the city centre. Public transport is scarce during weekends and evenings, often working within limited periods of time and requiring a bigger financial investment. Third, even when reaching those places, LGBTQ+ people still find normativities where they do not fit in due to their socio-economic status, leading to prejudice and sense of not-belonging.

From the producers' point of view, entrance fees and public transport accessibility are the main characteristics that allow lower-class people to reach their spaces. According to Priscila and Igor, managing places within less than 0.5 kilometres from the central bus station, you can see a more diverse crowd on days that have starting fees at R$10 (2.5 euros) when compared to days with prices starting at R$30 (around 7.5 euros).

Igor mentioned how in one of the parties it is noticeable how the parking lot stays empty, while everybody leaves and arrives at the same time due to public transport. Meanwhile, Priscila (personal interview 2018)[11] mentions how it is noticeable "those that save their money to go out during the weekends and make sure to arrive early to have drinks with discounts". Nevertheless, they are aware that the majority of their parties constitute of middle and upper-class goers.

Avoiding the stereotype of the Pilot Plan as the "metropolis" that dictates what development and progress for the other RAs is, Isadora (personal interview, 2018)[12] states how she never really needed the Pilot Plan until she started studying at UnB and, afterwards, began questioning compulsory heterosexuality. In her words:

> I've never really needed the Pilot Plan [until UnB], it`s strange, people did not seem to understand that. […] I won't say that I suffered prejudice for being from Taguatinga, but I went through small acts such as people surprised about my English quality questioning where I studied […] or even asking "do you go to Taguatinga every day? Is kind of far no? (Isadora 2018, personal interview)[13]

According to Isadora, was through Pilot Plan's inhabitants' structural prejudice that she started to notice the ongoing segregation within the cities, making her relate more to Taguatinga. But not without some struggles.

Since she came out when starting her studies at UnB, Isadora highlighted how she tried to fit in the normative looks of UnB's middle and upper-class lesbians, going out only in the Pilot Plan. But this decision was also due to other important reasons: the lack of LGBT spaces in her city and the effort to find a safe queer/diverse space away from family.

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[11] Personal interview with Priscila, in Brasilia, 8 June 2018.
[12] Personal interview with Isadora, in Brasilia, 8 June 2018
[13] Personal interview with Isadora, in Brasilia, 8 June 2018.

As previously said, queer people have conquered the public, but not the private. Therefore, Isadora pointed out how most of the queer RAs inhabitants have family in the same city/neighbourhood. To avoid unexpected encounters, being forced to come out and face further prejudice, they encounter a safe space in Pilot Plan's reality.

But this getaway also has its consequences. According to Isadora, it affects the economic life of the RAs queer entrepreneurs. She mentioned how important it is that LGBTQ+ people that are open about their sexuality support their local LGBTQ+ business. When looking for entertainment in the Pilot Plan, they also play a role in the lack of sustainability and dissemination of queer spaces in their region.

Falling back on the power of gentrification of the queer community, the "often exclusionary tendencies of gay urban spaces, particularly regarding class […]" (Goh 2017: 466) is not different in Brasilia. Social stigma and prejudice are reproduced by Pilot Plan inhabitants, perpetuating class discrimination.

In the case of effeminate lower-class gay cis men, prejudice also comes together with a nickname: *bicha POC* – *bicha* meaning faggot and *POC*, "egg and bread", a cheap meal usually consumed by lower class people. Meanwhile, lesbians from the outskirts are seen as the butch stereotype: they use loose shorts, sportive sun-glasses and outdated Nike sneakers. In both cases, those subjects are often seen as not worthy loving and respect inside the LGBT community.

Therefore, performativity adds an extra layer to those precarious lives constituting and constituted by homonormativity. According to Butler (2009: i) performativity is "a certain kind of enactment; the 'appearance' of gender is often mistaken as a sign of its internal or inherent truth; gender is prompted by obligatory norms to be one gender or the other (usually within a strictly binary frame), and the reproduction of gender is thus always a negotiation with power".

Under this concept, precarity is even more significant among poor and further marginalised queer people. They face regulations and normativities from the heterosexual society and within their community. The same can be seen in the case of Ruan, one of the co-founding members of the House of Caliandra, who goes by the *voguing* name Ruanita.

Having lived in Samambaia his entire life, Ruan mentions how he started to embrace queerness and gender-fluidity once he began his studies at UnB. But this excitement did not last long. Soon enough he had to adapt his style [pointing at his outfit – somewhere in between queer and sporty] to survive threats in his neighbourhood, in the daily public transport between his home, the university and other spaces.

In line with Isadora's comment, Ruan (personal interview, 2018)[14] highlighted how "nowadays I feel an aversion towards the Pilot Plan, I only come here because opportunities are here […] but I have realised that this is just a big bubble, that my reality in Samambaia is completely different".

RAs inhabitants embody the spatial segregation caused by urban planning. This forms an extra layer on the system of oppression towards queer people. If historically, queer people lives have been deemed as not grievable, so have been the poor and on this case, marginalisation is present on the abstract world of experiences and on the city's physical limitations.

Moving past the debate on personal tastes and escaping from family prejudice, Ruan also emphasised how homophobia is experienced differently in those cities. For him the Pilot Plan might provide a fake sense of safety – the lines are blurred, and acts of prejudice might happen. Meanwhile, on the RAs, you live with the certainty that something will definitely happen if you

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[14] Personal interview with Ruan, in Brasilia, 5 June 2018.

demonstrate affection outside the heterosexual spectrum – as Ruan (personal interview, 2018)[15] said: "intersections end up enhancing the level of brutality […]".

Nevertheless, they still find the small spaces and in-betweens whenever possible. Through the *voguing* classes offered by House of Caliandra, Ruan shows how they have built a community of students that is predominantly made by queer black and people of colour, activists and students. The *voguing* house meets two times a week to dance.

But more important, according to Ruan, is that they have constituted a family that helps out each other in times of need, provides mental support and promote their lives within the university. House of Caliandra serves not only as a leisure space, but also a group raising awareness in UnB, which will be further explored under Chapter 5.

As Marsiaj (2003: 143) writes "homophobia and social discrimination overlap and gays and lesbians of lower social classes suffer the most with this violent reality". On this quote, Marsiaj refers to only a small spectrum of queer lives, but the same can be said to all sorts of non-conforming identities intersecting with a lower socioeconomic status,

Through the stories of Isadora and Ruan, we can see that negotiating your queerness with your economic power is a constant battle. According to authors such as Smith (2006 as quoted in Lauriano 2016: 158), Brasília gentrification goes beyond the traditional concept of it. We are talking about gentrification that is not only economic but general, that reaches culture, consumption, among others. Social discrimination plays a role, enhanced by the infra-structural challenges found in a city where most of its population lives within more than 15km from the city centre.

In a highly planned city where "normalisation and standardisation" seem to be the norm, their lives from an unplanned (and spontaneous) RAs seem as not-fitting. And, more important, how under a homonormative scenario they might feel further oppressed. Ruan has changed this by his agency when building the House of Caliandra, while Isadora went back to find the queer reality of Taguatinga.

4.3   "My identity starts from a place of denial": stories of trans and cis women

Considering that "women's sexuality […] is regulated in all communities and maintained through particular legal responses, strict social constraints or severe punishments" (Budhiraja et al. 2010: 137) the experience of women going and making those diverse spaces in Brasília are not different. Among the participants that self-identified as a woman, none of them had normative sexualities and gender, having faced explicit cases of lesbophobia, transphobia and biphobia.

To start with, when reaching out to potential participants, women were often more receptive and, during interviews, they often shared the need to support other women's work, economy and/or knowledge production. They showed me strength, determination and inspiring sisterhood that goes beyond the significant existing literature about experiences of fear in public spaces. Considering the producer's segment, two of them have highlighted the challenges of being a producer/entrepreneur woman.

Juliana, known as Jul Pagul, probably has one of the most significant stories on Brasília's recent history about sites of resistance. Owner of the former Balaio Café opened in 2005, Jul closed her venue in 2015 after an increase of complaints regarding the Silent Law.

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[15] Personal interview with Ruan, in Brasilia, 5 June 2018.

Balaio was a mixed space: café, restaurant and a cultural venue, open from 8 AM to 1 AM. According to Jul, she initially started Balaio due to economic reasons. Nonetheless she made sure the space promoted her believes and practices: a venue that celebrated happiness and embraced diversity. Under the slogan "the house of pleasures", Balaio was not necessarily a queer space, but rather a place to cherish the collective shaped by multiple intersections.

The venue went beyond a space for non-conforming sexualities and gender identities and expressions; it also embraced non-normative religions, children's activities, alternatives to capitalism, among others. Figure 12 below is a poem about Balaio at its closing which indicates this. It was one of the few spaces within the Pilot Plan that different social realities came together.

Balaio had a further characteristic: it had a private space for parties in its basement, but their central site was the small public square situated right next to its building. With the Silent Law enforcement, the noise and music production on the square became a constant source of complaints.

Eventually, Jul faced multiple fines in 2015 and closed the venue, with a debt of thousands of euros. But the closure was permeated by misogyny, lesbophobia and power abuse, supporting McDowell`s argument that "women who did not confirm or keep their place were constructed as wicked or fallen" (1999: 149). For example, just before the venue closed, Jul's friends sought the help of local authorities who, in turn, replied "who told her to be a dyke?".

Women who dare to go into the public life will have their personal lives scrutinised. Persecution went from some neighbours constantly watching the times she left the venue and/or arrived home to activities happening in Balaio.

One of the constant arguments was that the Café promoted promiscuity in the neighbourhood, in a clear attempt to regulate sexualities. In one of the hearings, one neighbour even argued having found "twenty used condoms in the streets after a party" (Juliana, 2018). Once again, sexuality is framed as a source of the problem and "as a kind of natural force that exists in opposition to civilisation, culture or society" (Parker 2009: 253).

Figure 12 – Poem-manifest wrote at Balaio's door upon its closure
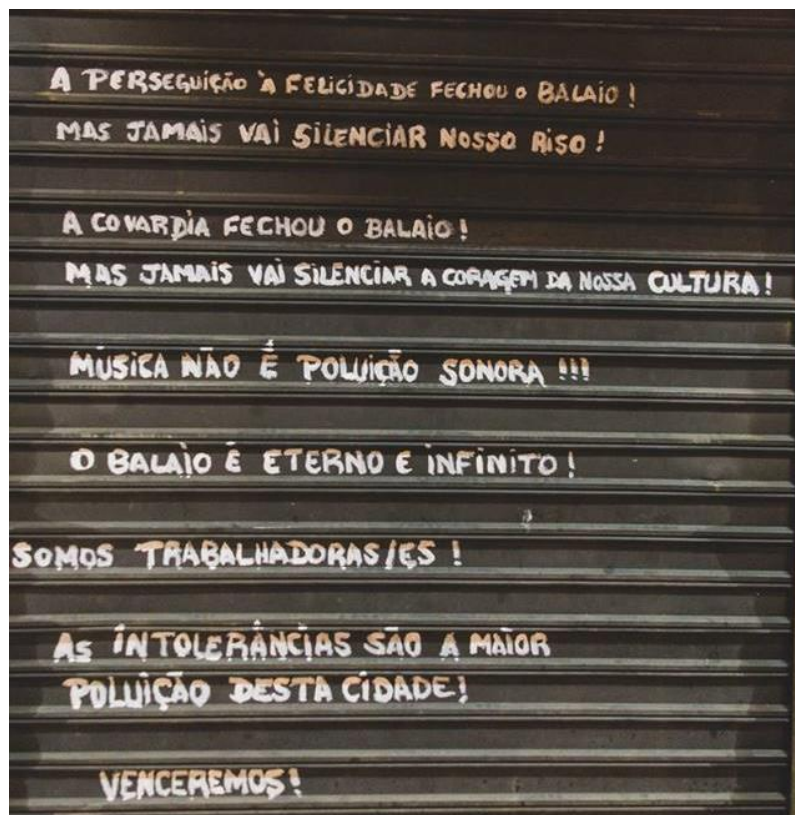
Source: Facebook (2015a) / Credits: unknown

The persecution to happiness closed down Balaio!
But it will never shut our laughter!

Cowardliness closed down Balaio!
But it will never silence our culture courage!

Music is not noise pollution!!!

Balaio is eternal and infinite!

We are workers!

Intolerances are the biggest
pollution in this city!

We will win!

In December 2015 Balaio hosted its farewell party according to its motto: promoting happiness and pleasure. Three years later, the producer is still promoting the right to live your city and culture through Carnival. Once a year, Jul builds a temporary structure on Balaio's *superquadra* under the slogan "Carnival of the Pleasure Square", as seen in Figure 13. But even though the initiative aims to break the restrictions imposed by having a fixed establishment, she still faces prejudice.

Figure 13 - Flyer on the Carnival of the Pleasure Square

Source: Facebook (2018c)

Another woman who made her way through the city's queer cultural spaces is Tita. Graduated in Arts by UnB, she is part of the band *Cantigas Boleráveis* and the duo *Rainhas do Babado*. Self-identifying as a trans non-white transvestite woman, Tita highlights how she does not think and feel that Brasília is a dangerous place. Having lived on the Pilot Plan for five years (she moved to Brasília to study), she recognises having a privileged urban experience in the Pilot Plan.

According to Tita, she can easily navigate city places and enjoys the respect from others. She still feels, however, that she must work harder than men to show that she is a player in the city cultural segment as a local woman artist. As Puar (2002 as quoted in Oswin 2005: 95) says "[…] the claiming of queer space is lauded as the disruption of heterosexual space, rarely is that disruption also interrogated as a disruption of racialised, gendered and classed spaces".

To avoid marginalisation, Tita seeks to strengthen links and build a community, especially among women. For her, women and queer people with non-normative genders must place themselves differently from the LGBTQ+ movement. She enhances how we must support each other and acknowledge that we are fighting an even more significant obstacle.

Tita emphasises the power of gathering in "herds". She rarely walks around by herself, not necessarily as a conscious choice, but as something that "just happens and that decreases the sensation of fear" (personal interview, 2018)[16]. As an example, she mentions when one of her friends was harassed by a cis heterosexual man outside one of those parties and that, soon enough, a group of ten women appeared to protect their friend and send the perpetrator away.

In this scenario, Tita still has a particular perception about how her body navigates the city. It seems that she is just floating within the urban cityscape, as an abandoned body that is not recognised. On a daily basis, she is aware that when riding the bus, the seat next to her is usually the last one to be taken. She does not take it badly and claims to enjoy doing the route by herself.

As an artist, she says that her group of friends (mostly trans or non-binary) is often "doomed to the underground since you are deconstructing language in the search for a new way to produce knowledge" (personal interview, 2018)[17]. Some exceptions can be found among initiatives that are made by local women, independent of their sexual and gender identities.

The mutual support among women is in accordance with Budhiraja et al. (2010: 137) claim that "cultural sources of oppression that target women demand advocacy and organising that highlights and distinguishes this reality from those of gay and bisexual men".

Maria Eduarda and Isadora stated that quite often love between two women is not recognised. This love, when in a public space, is constantly interrupted by heterosexual men asking if they can join or gay men acting as if they are disgusted. In a patriarchal society it is hard for women to express love actively, when they are expected to be the objects of love: openly loving another woman is an ongoing transgressive act.

An oppressive gendered public space, as mentioned, is part of women's lives. Women still struggle on multiple levels: from riding the bus to representing their business in associations and when negotiating with institutions. Just as sexuality is locally embedded, so is gender, forcing women to navigate differently in multiple contexts.

Jul, Tita and Priscila suggested there is a current growing trend of women's participation among producers. In a scene historically dominated by men, they are conquering their space slowly, being the chief promoters of the so-called diversity above. But the downsides of being a woman

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[16] Personal interview with Tita, via Skype, 10 August 2018.
[17] Personal interview with Tita, via Skype, 10 August 2018.

producer is still there, evidencing how you must take a stand every day whenever running a business or starting an initiative.

According to Butler, their performance of gender, just as the space they are building and occupying, are negotiations of power. For example, male organisers have not emphasised such issues when dealing with local authorities or colleagues. Igor mentioned how the last local government has "been good" to them, allowing them to use the public space based on a specific type of lease. While Ruan mentioned how the activities ran by House of Caliandra are now supported and recognised by UnB as an official extracurricular project.

All the participants occupy different intersections within society, facing their battles and obstacles. While it is not only women who faces further challenges and prejudices, gender oppression emerged as a common point of struggle experienced by many of them.

Chapter 5
Queering the Right to the City and its spaces
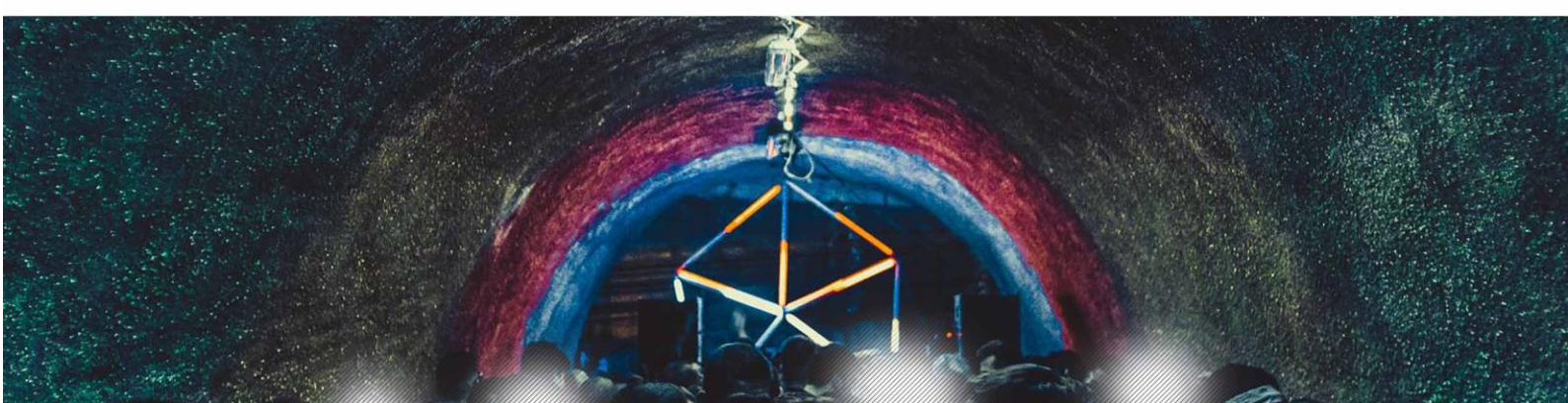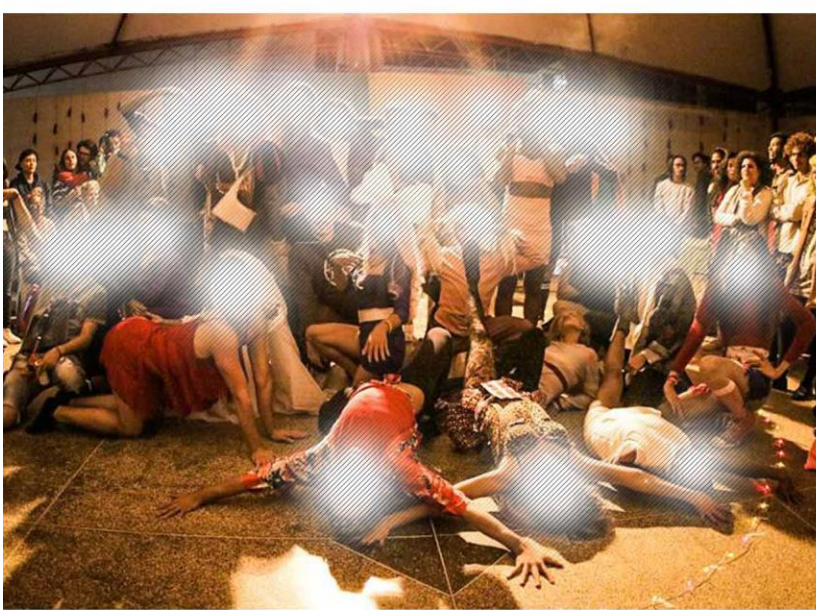
Figure 14 (from top to bottom, clockwork wise):
Figure 14.1: House of Caliandra ball at UnB / Source: Miranda (2018)/ Credits: Webert da Cruz
Figure 14.2: Bloco do Amor 2016 / Source: Facebook (2016a)/ Credits: Fernao Capelo Amorim Rocha
Figure 14.3: Balada em Tempos de Crise at Túnel do Lago Norte / Source: Facebook (2018a) / Credits: Julia Bandeita
Figure 14.4: Pórry at Calaf / Source: Facebook (2017c) / Credits: #shake it

In previous chapters I discussed how subjectivities are experienced and produced by those queer-diverse spaces, but how do they relate to the city? If city spaces are sites of force (Santos 2002), negotiated (Fobear 2012), gendered (Doan 2011) and sights to question hegemonic sexualities (McDowell 1999) what were the driving forces shaping those spaces?

Considering that queer spaces do not just "pop up" unexpectedly, I will investigate the process of queering those spaces in three dimensions. First, the private through parties and initiatives in private establishments where goers either must pay a certain entrance fee or producers have legal commitments. Second, what I call the in-between, grasping the reality of UnB. Third, I will consider the queer spaces on the city public streets through carnival.

5.1   Queering the private: the neoliberal context

First, I need to point how the relationship between LGBTQ+ people and their consumption power has been extensively observed within queer studies. Based on the white male privilege and the gentrification conducted by queer neighbourhoods, they have long claimed that "[…]certain gay men have been colonised by the market, their buying powers representing a potential niche that businesses are eager to cultivate" (Nast 2002: 880)

Academics, states and corporations have debated and profited from the power arising from gay economy. In this section, I want to go beyond that observation and investigate the struggles of the people making those spaces, especially in the case of the ones that are part of the LGBTQ+ community.

Priscila, Calaf's owner, took over her family business in January 2016, repositioning the venue and hosting more inclusive parties. Existing for over 28 years, Calaf is traditionally known as a venue that promotes local culture with a heteronormative past. Consequently, raising the flag for diversity came with considerable challenges.

During our talks, she described homophobic physical attacks inside her establishment, of people asking for their money back because they didn't know it was a "gay party" or of those asking security guards if they would let "such a nasty thing happen" when seeing two men kissing. Identifying as a lesbian, Priscila has made clear statements that she will not allow any homophobic violence go unpunished, and promotes training cycles about diversity with staff.

Despite these efforts, she mentions how Calaf is an "in between" place: not queer enough for the LGBTQ+ community and not heterosexual enough for those that follow normative sexualities. She highlights that even though "[…] you have to show to your audience that the venue has made a choice, and the venues' choice was to be a place for everyone. If you're not ready for that, you shouldn't come. And I have lost a lot of people, a lot of customers" (personal interview, 2018).[18]

Looking for alternatives, she hosts different kinds of parties throughout the week, and LGBTQ+ parties are usually held on Friday's and sometimes Saturday's. But even when hosting normative heterosexual parties, she ensures that promotional materials do not contain sexist

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[18] Personal interview with Priscila, in Brasilia, 8 June 2018.

and/or homophobic elements. For her, this is a way of negotiating and mainstreaming queerness, besides ensuring the venues financial sustainability.

The personal is also determined by the capitalist structures they are embedded within. Like Jul`s experience, Priscila shared how occupying the intersection of an entrepreneur and a woman can lead to prejudice. From dealing with customers to local bars association, she constantly faced discrimination based on her gender and looks (she identifies herself as being a fat lesbian woman – facing a triple site of prejudice).

As Priscila argues: if she were a white straight slim [cis] male of the same age, she would have enjoyed a different reach within entrepreneurial structures. According to her, the national association and local syndicate are highly misogynist and racist. Which show us that, independent if you have agency and the means to start a more diverse space, you still have to challenge patriarchal and heterosexist institutions.

The need to profit also makes Priscila work on a "tight leash". According to her, in the cultural and LGBTQ+ environment, she is still seen as the capitalist, with more rules and less flexibility on fees. But she shows the need to pay monthly rent, an employee payroll with 40 people and needs to respond to institutions legally.

Meanwhile, a scenario of incipient innovation happens in the city'. Following movements seen in São Paulo and other global cities, Brasília's cultural producers are leading the city centre regeneration, and, among the trendsetters, the majority is also home to the city's queer scene.

On the words of the producer Igor "gay people are the vanguard, we have always been" (personal interview, 2018)[19]. He is one of the co-producers of the party *Balada em Tempos de Crise*. From its name and carefully selected locations, *BTC* seeks to re-signify urban public places not noted during the daily life: abandoned or/and dangerous underground tunnels, green areas between monuments or city centre forgot buildings. There is a constant exercise on the making and unmaking of the city – looking for new suitable places, reclaiming your space and showing that you must go beyond the traditional places.

In 2017-18, producers focused on ensuring the party sustainability. BTC became more structured and nowadays counts with government authorisation and even sponsors. Meanwhile, what used to be a free party is also now paid, and tickets range from 2.5 to 5 euros – therefore, momentarily transforming public spaces in private ones.

Goers such as Mateus mentioned how parties happening on the "SCS tend to be more accessible, urban and […] by being in a different environment of living the city, it usually attracts groups that are interested in living an alternative city, which quite often encompasses the LGBTQ+ groups of the creative industry" (personal interview, 2018)[20]. According to him, those type of initiatives embraces the public that wants to see and experience new things, while the traditional parties encompass a more heterosexual and homogeneous crowd.

When using the word "innovative" or even "alternative", most of the participants referred to the non-conventional physical space. By breaking the boundaries on the nightclub with fixed location, and set experiences, those places invite people to connect with their urban context – questioning why they never noticed a particular street, square, painting or building, among others.

Those initiatives question the meaning of Brasília's daily public spaces, changing the city and its inhabitants' lives. The environment sometimes can be a private venue in a neighbourhood that you usually would not go to, alleys that used to be abandoned or even the public space that was

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[19] Personal interview with Igor, in Brasilia, 6 June 2018.
[20] Personal interview with Mateus, in Brasilia, 7 June 2018.

transformed such as SuB Dulcina. They re-signify and rebuild them into a new queer private space, while also escaping the Silent Law regulation.

By hosting them in the Commercial or Entertainment Sectors, the parties happen until 6 AM. Additionally, goers no longer have to go to the distant neighbourhoods (within the Pilot Plan) as the previous LGBTQ+ clubs. Those spaces gain on flexibility and diversity, something that will be explored under section 5.3.

But as Kanai (2014: 653) added "creativity and tolerance foster urban economic growth and prosperity", making me wonder: would that innovative aspect lead to gentrification at the city centre just as it did on global north gayborhoods? In SuB Dulcina area rumour has it that a future shopping mall might be built above them, but nothing has been mentioned officially. Meanwhile, Calaf goes through the opposite: the main corporate complex close to the venue moved to Balaio's street.

In Jul's perception, this was also an active component that promoted the Silent Law enforcement upon her. With the arrival of the new corporative complex, rent prices increased as well as attacks against her and Balaio. She saw the phenomena as directly related to gentrification and, in her case, further explored due to her gender and sexuality.

It seems that the innovative characteristic of the (new) queer-diverse spaces are an attempt to counter-balance the constraints faced by private venues. If Frisch argues that planning can be perceived as a social project by reinforcing existing power relations and, "how planning laws were enacted to control immoral sexuality and especially women's sexuality" (Frisch 2002: 254), the same can be said for the laws coming from planning.

In the case of people such as Athena and Tita, party producers without a fixed venue, they have more room to play with possibilities. In the case of Igor, with *Balada em Tempos de Crise*, there is also more fluidity since it is constantly a new public space. Meanwhile, the case of SuB Dulcina falls almost in an in-between: although they need monthly government authorisation to keep leasing the place (around 30 EUR), they do not have monthly employees or rent, but there is still the need of maintenance and others.

Especially for the private space, heteronormativity seems to be a challenge both when facing its customer/goers or institutions. And since spaces are sites of struggles, the people taking the lead on those initiatives suffer from further prejudice and challenges, which can increase according to their co-existing personal characteristics.

Nevertheless, by claiming new spaces and re-signifying them, those people are making their city and changing their life through it. Under this context, we can see that, despite challenges, they have been able to queer a few parts of the private, exercise their right to the city and celebrate diversity.

5.2   Queering the streets: performances on the open spaces

Recent years have seen a growing trend of inhabitants reclaiming their city. As explored above, the queer scene overlaps with the innovators'. In a mix between innovation and avoiding regulations and capitalism marginalisation, they are setting trends.

Considering that "cities provide spaces for resistance, and grounds for deprivation, as they become the sites of a specific urban experience, including both oppression and collective responses to it" (Kondakov 2017: 5), queering the streets does not comes easy. Therefore, I will explore the experiences of one of the main Brazilian celebrations: carnival.

Internationally and historically known, Carnival is a street party usually open for all, blurring the boundaries between social classes and public and private. Streets become a place where sexuality is performed and accepted, including the hyper-sexualisation of women, especially the black one, and constant gender-bending costumes, but mostly in a heteronormative setting.

As Perez (2011 as quoted in Rezende et al. 2018) claims, Carnival is characterised by fluidity, multivalence and non-normative norms. But even within this context, queer carnival parties took some time to flourish and have sustainability. Only during the last few years, Brasília saw an expansion of queer people taking over the streets. Impressively those parties happen in day-light, challenging the view that dissident sexualities and genders should be limited to the evening period.

Some carnival street parties are successful in negotiating their space and momentarily changing the cityscape. Brasília's carnival is currently in expansion – in 2018, 2.5 million people took over the streets according to Jul. To organise the festivities and government lobbying, the street parties have formed the Collective of Carnival Parties.

Among the main leading party organisers, four of them are openly raising the LGBTQ+ flag: *Bloco do Amor¸ Tutakhasmona, Virgens da Asa Norte* and *Essa Boquinha eu Ja Beijei*. In the attempt to contain sexual harassment and homophobic violence, the collective of Carnival Parties launched the initiative #PartyWithRespect (#*FoliaComRespeito)* in 2018 (Agencia Brasil, 2018).

The city has seen a more vibrant and colourful scene during carnival. With gender performances and non-normative sexualities, the "herd", as said by Tita, gives a different dimension to the grey and monumental city. At the same time, city walls, buildings and its omnipresent blue sky also shape those bodies.

Fluidity and transgressive bodies take over streets that are dominated by different activities and functions: either by cars, drug traffic, government buildings or sex work. This is the case of the party *Bloco do Amor*. Started in the Avenue S2, situated on the back side of the National Ministries, the party teamed up with Tita's band since its first edition, in 2016.

From the beginning, it counts with live performances by *Cantigas Boleraveis* that bend gender stereotypes. They give voices to those non-conforming bodies in one avenue that, during the daytime, belongs to civil servants and, during night time, sex workers. For transgenders, having the power to perform their gender and sexuality on that space already poses a challenge to the city permanent norms and segregation.

Bloco do Amor also partnered with local artists and invested in physical longer-term impacts. Quite often graffiti artists and wheat-posters are developed for their parties. Contrary to the porous and momentary transitioning bodies, they are permanent and fixed. Among them, there are messages promoting happiness, diversity, questioning cities greyness and others, as we can see in Figure 15 below.

This intervention helps to build a collective identity also on the long term. Collective identity is also built through city walls, buildings, avenues, architecture and others. Those elements are an essential part to the performativity of those lives beyond the personal body and they must also be queered.

Figure 15 - Baile do Amor 2016

Source: Facebook (2016a)

Nevertheless, among half-covered bodies, queer people still find challenges to exercise their right to occupy fully. As Priscila said "the campaign Carnival with LGBTphobia was great […], but violence is still highly present. So that`s it, you still get scared, […] and different than private establishments, violence is more likely to happen in the streets" (personal interview, 2018)[21].

Jul also highlights how it is still quite common to find people that go to those parties only to provoke queer people. In 2018, one of the city's pre-carnival LGBTQ+ parties was marked by homophobic violence, causing outrage among the LGBTQ+ community (Prisco and Almeida, 2018). Just like any other public space, carnival celebrations still constitutes a site of struggle and streets will not be queered easily.

According to McDowell within cities exists "explicit and implicit rules and regulation about whose bodies are allowed in which spaces and the interactions between them are set into the nature and form of building, the spaces between them and their internal divisions" (1999: 166). Tita mentioned how Brasília's carnival still has a lot of tensions and that you must be careful not to step in enemy territory, spaces that are not queer. She described how one of her friends, when passing through a heterosexual party, was threatened by men with wooden sticks.

Among the queer scene in Brasília, "claims for space are tied to the sense of where one's place should be and as such invoke regimes of placement where space, visibility, and meanings are interconnected" (Fobear 2012: 723). When trying to rebuild, reconquer and remake the heteronormative public spaces, queer lives are still threatened.

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21 Personal interview with Priscila, 8 June 2018, in Brasilia, Brazil.

Meanwhile, Tita (personal interview, 2018)[22] states "there is more respect towards gender and sexual identities once you take over the streets, it's mandatory to respect". Therefore, the previously mentioned innovative spaces seems to step forward from promoting dissident sexualities just during carnival. Nonetheless, as Maria Eduarda (personal interview, 2018)[23] suggests, sometimes it feels that we are still stuck within the marginal sides of the society when constantly finding spaces that you have

But both carnival and those innovative places seeks to go beyond the physical spaces that were built to party and socialise. Just as Goh (2017: 469) defines when talking about LGBTQ+ organisations "they work from the point of view that the state has never been a supportive presence when one is queer, brown, black, and poor, and the city has never been that same without the work of making safe spaces".

Such statements can endorse the idea put by Fraser (1990: 67) where "subordinated social groups [...] have repeatedly found it advantageous to constitute alternative publics" leading to the idea of "subaltern counter-publics". Therefore, even marginal street parties can be seen as essential to make the queer lives part of the public.

Finally, if queer "seeks to reconsider how we think, our modes of being and our conceptualisations of politics" (Halberstam 2005 as quoted in Browne 2006: 889) the work of re-signifying the streets and the right to the city walk hand in hand with queer politics. It is the physical and institutional consequence of struggling to bend the boundaries or urban and sexuality regulation.

5.3   The in-between: the role of the university and other similar spaces;

In analysing the daily enabling environment of queer lives, among the eleven research participants, nine of them emphasised the role of UnB as a social space that ensures LGBTQ+ lives and community.

Many stated how UnB allowed them to fully express their sexuality and gender identity by being an LGBTQ+ bubble in Brasília. The university shapes the city's youth social life: from parties in the campus during the evenings to the expansion of bars with more affordable prices in the neighbourhood, most of them are constituted by diversity – even if with backlash.

The diversity promoted by the institution students can be traced back to UnB's role as the first public university to adopt racial quotas in Brazil 15 years ago (Marques, 2018), among others. Post this move; several other universities have followed the trend and expanded the concept also to social quotas based on household income. UnB started to shake some systemic inequalities– but we cannot deny that more still needs to be done.

Nevertheless, the University is known for its plurality of voices and for being one of the main spaces of minorities' self-affirmation - which sometimes also comes with prejudice from more traditional segments. On this scenario, House of Caliandra found an enabling environment amidst a context of crisis and students' strike.

In 2016, under Temer's new presidency and within the context of dismantling Brazilian institutions and promoting an austerity agenda, a new constitutional amendment was about to be approved. PEC 241 aimed to limit the government expenditure in education, health and culture for

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[22] Personal interview with Tita, via Skype, 10 August 2018.
[23] Personal interview with Maria Eduarda, in Brasilia, 6 June 2018.

the next twenty years. Students were on the first line of resistance: elementary schools and universities were occupied, and classes would stop until the project was blocked.

The social movement became nationally organised and had one main rule: occupations should always have educational and cultural activities to gather population support. It was on this context that House of Caliandra started: hosting daily *voguing* classes in one of the campus occupations, the House became a permanent group until today.

Voguing is a dance style created in the U.S in the 1970-80s by precarious lives: queer people of colour. Its main activities are *voguing balls* in a setting of battle: members of different Houses compete to see who *vogues* the best. Therefore, Caliandra has queerness in its roots as well as gender-bender characteristics. Their performances play with gender-performativity, quite often presenting a non-binary look, as seen in Figure 16.

But, more important, Caliandra's existence is political since its roots. First, their voguing classes not only aim to promote queer lives but they also re-signify university spaces by conducting battles and classes on locations that were never planned to host entertainment activities. While blurring boundaries with their gender performativity, they also blur the lines of spaces within the university.

Second, the House has a structured agenda. Most of its students come from social movements, being aware of the political scenario and students demands. They claim for better mental health programmes, especially towards LGBT people, and for the re-opening of the HIV-testing centre the university had. Their *balls* often carry political statements and raise awareness of the multiple intersections and precarity lived by queer people.

Figure 16 - Ball by House of Caliandra

Source: Miranda (2018)

Finally, Ruan also mentioned how the *voguing* culture brought them together. They not only found a space to talk about their issues but also found a community that empowers them. As Ruan says, the House goes beyond entertainment. They bring the discussion about LGBTQ+ lives to the university and their neighbourhoods.

By challenging stereotypes amidst the main university places, they queer the university venues. They give new meanings, question its structure and bring awareness to students, as seen by the poster in Figure 17. The fluidity seen on their bodies brings a new queer approach to their lives and to the ones watching the spectacle and joining the party.

Figure 17 - Round table promoted during the LGBTQ+ awareness week at UnB about HIV and other health related issues
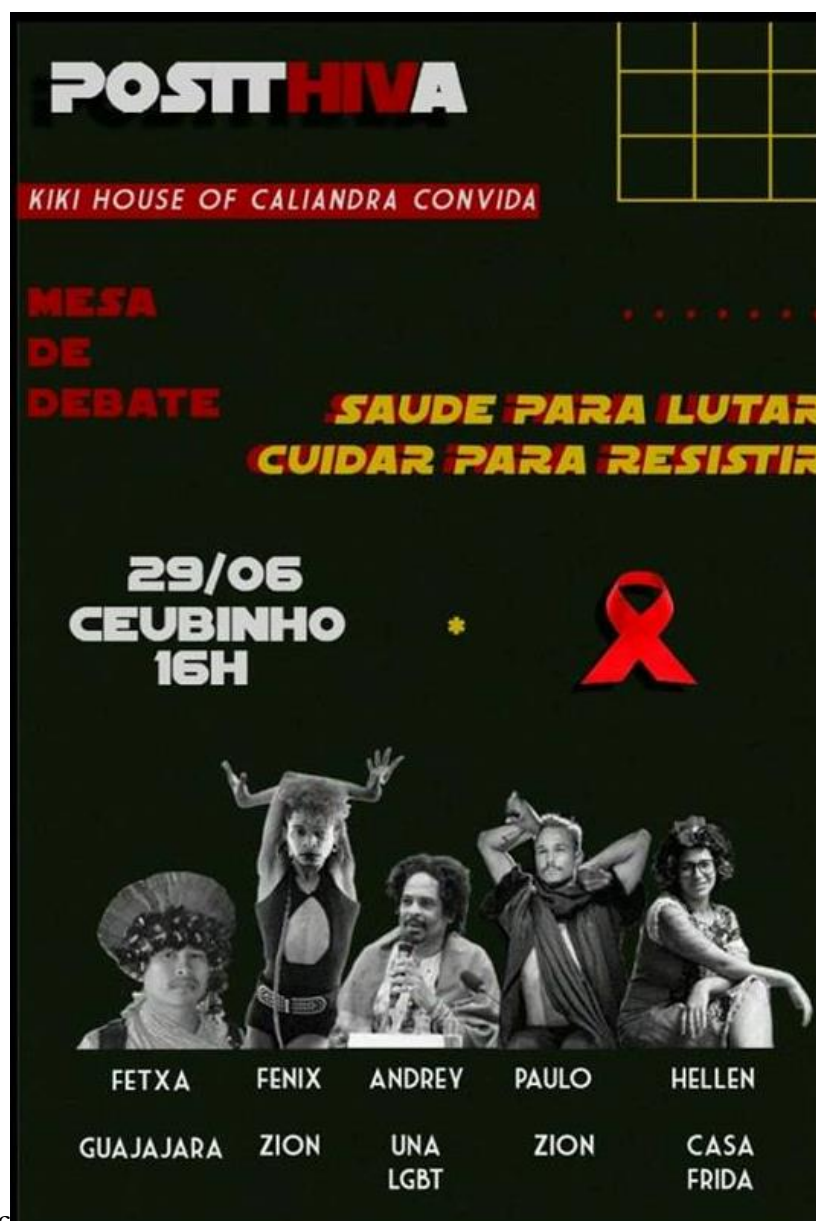
Source: Facebook (2018d)

Chapter 6
The queered right to the city

Figure 18 (from top to bottom, clockwork wise):
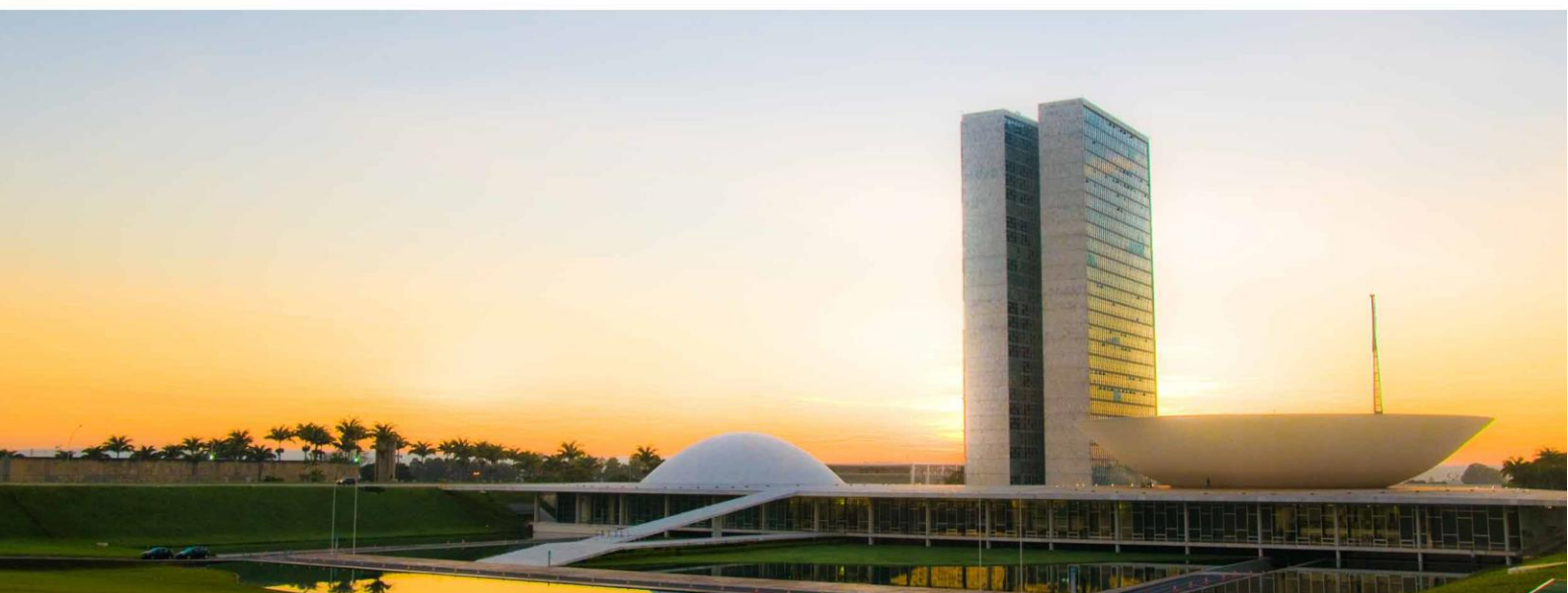Figure 18.1: Bloco do Amor 2017 / Source: Facebook (2017b) / Credits: Lainha Loiola
Figure 18.2: Baile do Amor 2016/ Source: Facebook (2015b) / Credits: Retratos Baratos
Figure 18.3: National Congress / Source: O Sul (2018)
Figure 18.4: Bloco do Amor 2017 / Source: Facebook (2017b) / Credits: Lainha Loiola

As "queering our analysis thus helps us to position sexuality within multifaceted constellations of power" (Oswin 2008: 100), so does the queered right to the city. By including sexuality, gender and queered lives as an active shaping force on the right to the city, we can further analyse the constant negotiation of powers happening in geographical spaces as multiple identities take the right "to change ourselves by changing the city" (Harvey 2008: 23).

In this RP, I explored queer lives within the regulated geographical context of Brasília. I argued that Brasília`s iconic planning and construction details of a modern city led to segregation. I showed how the city is permeated by gentrification that moves beyond the economic realm, impacting culture and consumption (Smith 2006 as quoted in Lauriano 2016).

In focusing on the right to queer culture and pleasure, we looked at the enforcement of the Silent Law. It determines the lives of Federal District inhabitants and, since it has started, there is a growing movement to change the law or innovate within its framework. I looked at how these resistances led to innovations in queer initiatives as they claimed their right to the city on multiple levels, in the public, the private and what I called the in-between spaces.

As Freyre (as quoted in Lauriano 2016) himself has said, it is these acts that are making Brasília more human. With its vast horizon and its big in-between green spaces, Brasília can seem like a whiteboard. Its content can be made and remade, erased sometimes (but not without leaving a legacy) and restarted [almost] from scratch.

Spaces that were previously neglected or overlooked are now transformed and queered by those non-normative bodies, sexualities and genders that occupy them either during night time or daytime. The heteronormativity informing space and planning are contested daily: by their lonely bodies navigating the city or their power when walking in groups in Carnival or private parties.

By promoting a (yet) small politics of visibility, they queer the city and its spaces even if for a moment. And more important, this is not done by segregating themselves and promoting identity politics, rather by building diverse spaces. There are spaces where the LGBTQ+ flag flies.

6.1   Beyond identity politics: diversity as the key

Following the idea that "basing your identity on sexuality is like building your house on a foundation of pudding" (Scott 1997 as quoted in Browne 2006: 885), the diversity of those spaces claim for something beyond than identity politics. This open space can be seen as genuinely queer when compared to previously existing gay white-male dominated spaces. As Goh highlights "Making queer safe spaces through spatial-political organising is not simply about an appeal to queer identity" (2017: 474).

They often encompass fluidity and more spectrums of sexualities, genders, races, socio-economic classes and others. As mentioned by Nast (2002: 881) "far from being radical, the queer white patriarchy discussed here promotes the status quo, often operating in leisure and labour capacities […]" (Nast 2002: 881). Brasília queer scene seems to be moving post the queer white patriarchy, but slowly.

Priscila and Jul highlighted how the cultural scene is still predominantly made by white men, where women, LGBTQ+ people (especially transgenders) and black people are often denied or marginalised. But at the same time, they mentioned how the last few years have seen an exponential growth of women conquering public space leading to a "diversification of the scene".

Nonetheless, "those who fail to qualify for homonormative" (Kanai 2014: 654), especially regarding socio-economic class, are not yet strongly present. As the stories of Ruan and Isadora illustrates the geographical, structural and social barriers pose an extra challenge for them in their search for queer spaces within their neighbourhoods and the prejudice they encountered when performing their gender and sexuality.

In this sense, parties can lower entrance fees to attract and bring together more spectrums of queer culture, but it is still hard for some to access those spaces. There is an attempt to be queer by holding anti-assimilationist stances and proclaiming their uniqueness, nevertheless structural challenges of class are perpetuated.

When queer lives don't conform, or perhaps more accurately the city doesn't acknowledge them, it is necessary to talk about policies that promote queer expression. Queering a city built through decades of planning perfectionism requires breaking down perfectionism into blocks and revealing the queer subjectivities that hide in-between.

6.2 Research relevance & the future ahead

First, I would like to highlight that future research can also look deeper into the role of gender, race and socio-economic characteristics on those lives. Adding Culture and Decolonial Studies might also bring new lenses of analysis on the importance of those innovative spaces in the Brazilian society. There is a visible expansion on the creative industries worldwide, which the country follows adding its own characteristics.

Nonetheless, we have seen that party social spaces plays a key role in promoting the queer right to the city. But relying on activists and inhabitants free cheap labour and entrepreneurs who put their incomes at risk, among others, is not enough. The queer right to the city must be intrinsic to urban social policies, design and planning. I hope this research set out the challenges of queer people in making their city and the need for more inclusive policy design both at local and national level.supported by the country's City Statues and Cities Ministry.

However, given the current national and political context, urban queer lives are likely to be further threatened. With the election of Jair Bolsonaro, not only has hate speech and intolerance increased, but also a series of structural reforms will take place – among them, the Cities Ministry will be dissolved and added to the Ministry of Integration. Furthermore, there are rumours that universities will no longer have autonomy.

Kanai (2014) points how support from local policymakers and politicians towards diverse and sexual tolerance spaces happens in other global cities (especially for white gay men). However this might not be the case in Brasília as from 2019: Federal District elected Ibaneis Rocha, a former political lawyer known for his intolerance, supporter of Bolsonaro and silent on LGBTQ+ rights.

Queer Brazilian lives (and any other minority) face a big challenge ahead. The next four years looks threatening. Considering the existing tensions and this political change, will they/we be able to flourish in an even more heteronormative oppressive setting? Will queer people have their right to change their lives by changing their city? Or, in general, will queer people have to fight for their right to live or just be facing further precarity?

International policies are essential to ensure that queer urban lives are still promoted. For example, the New Urban Agenda of 2016, a call for fostering urban planning, included the preservation of marginal lives, but did not count with LGBTQ+ rights due to external pressure. International players must also advocacy and debunk planning heterosexism.

If for the first time in years the convergence of the urban movement with the cultural production is successfully blurring the lines for those queer lives, we can must hope that it continues to happen. And more important is that, even though we are conquering our spaces and rights on a daily basis, we do not lose our rights on an institutional sphere.

Brazilian and Brasília queer lives are still existing and resisting. And they/we will continue to do so by promoting our joys and pleasure and building spaces and communities - either on marginal or innovative ways.

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